'Civil Rights'

Free Press Detroit Mich

HARRY S. TRUMAN was nominated against the violent opposition of the Solid South over "Civil Rights," which means, in honest language, the Negro question.

Let us avoid all emotionalism in an effort to see what this is all about. Demagogs and fanatics, both black and white, in the South and in the North, have thrown such fogs of bigotry and blind hate across this Nation that there is no escape from it for any of us.

The word "geopolitics" has been used in discussion of international power balances. It has to do with the geography of politics and the politics of geography. It may well be our gravest domestic problem.

Fri. 7-16-48

There are 13 million Negroes in the United States. While the great majority of these are in the South a sufficient number have come North in recent generations to make them a powerful political factor.

The vote of the Negroes in New York City, in Chicago, in Detroit and in other cities can determine a close election.

It is that bald fact which makes the issue acute politically.

Fri. 7-16-48. Free Press

IF the Negroes had remained in the South, or if there were relatively few of them, they could not be used as political pawns. They would be given no more consideration than the North American Indians who are left to starve and suffer all the indignities of the neglected because they cannot vote.

So it is that the adroit Northern politician makes a great play for Negro support. All votes are white on a ballot sheet.

In all our Northern States the Negro has been accepted in our public schools. He has been taught to understand the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence. He has a right to believe these fundamental laws of our Republic and the awe-inspiring ideals of the Declaration.

Detroit Mich

It is logic absolute for him to hold, also, that he is an American citizen with all the rights and privileges that go with citizenship.

He, therefore, votes for the candidates that make articulate that doctrine whether they are sincere or are merely mouthing the phrases for vote-getting purposes.

In the South it is different.

Fri. 7-16-48 ★

THIS newspaper believes that the sincere and intelligent leaders of the South—the real leaders, not the Bilbo, Talmadge type of rabble rousers—realize the gravity of the situation and are doing their noble best to meet it.

But there is behind them always the horrors of the war of the states, the march of Sherman to the sea, the agonizing nightmare of the "Reconstruction" period when carpetbaggers swarmed through the South, to rob, rape and rack a beaten people.

Mr. Truman, himself a Missouri Southerner, is absolutely correct in his stand on civil rights. It is an integral part of our Constitution. But he is playing with this dynamitic question for political purposes.

The strategy is that the rebellious South will calm down and remain Democratic while the Northern Negroes will vote solidly for him.

Here, however, is a plan born of desperation.

The issue is not between the Republican Party and the Democratic Party. Gov. Dewey has gone much farther than the demands made by Mr. Truman. In New York he has already established a strong law providing for fair employment practice and has made it work.

★

MR. DEWEY has never been oblivious of the strength of the Negro vote. As between him and Mr. Truman the racial question cannot be an issue. As for Congress—the whipping boy—Mr. Truman would like to have us all believe that it is a terrific struggle between the Republicans and the Democrats for "human rights."

But more Democrats in Congress voted against Truman's proposals than they did for them. Party lines have been ignored in all such issues—including the Taft-Hartley bill—by the 80th Congress.

But, in a desperate effort to dramatize himself as a knight in shining armor charging against the wickedness of the "Republicans," Mr. Truman has called Congress back into session.

Fri. 7-16-48

He will pretend to be "driving" them to obey his will, but it will be the leaders of his own wrecked Democratic Party who will defy him more violently than the Republicans.

However, it is a daring gesture and all of a piece with his "civil rights" stand. A Roosevelt, with his showmanship, might have gotten away with it. With bumbling little Mr. Truman, however, it looks, in the parlance of Variety, as though he might "lay an egg."

Split Sentiment Over Civil Rights Is Nation-Wide, Not Just Southern

The Courier-Journal Louisville, Ky. 7-25-48

AMERICA SPEAKS By George Gallup

PRINCETON, N. J., July 24.—Wide differences of public opinion exist on the four major proposals of the Truman civil-rights program, which is almost certain to be an important issue confronting the special session of Congress.

In order to sound out attitudes on this program held by voters, not only in the South, but in the nation as a whole, the American Institute of Public Opinion has surveyed a national cross-section on the proposals for a federal antilynch law, abolition of poll taxes, a federal fair employment practices law (F.E.P.C.) and prohibition of segregation in interstate travel.

Poll Taxes Opposed

Senator Kenneth S. Wherry, acting majority leader, has stated that bills covering all but the last of these recommendations are the only measures ready for Senate action as the new session begins, indicating that one of them may become the first order of business.

Of the four proposals, the one which Southern voters oppose most overwhelmingly is the prohibition of segregation on trains and busses traveling between states, followed by a federal F.E.P.C. and a federal antilynch law. The South as a whole actually approves doing away with poll taxes, although a majority of voters in seven states still collecting the taxes want them retained.

Sun. 7-25-48

The rest of the country, on the other hand, approves the proposals for a federal antilynch law, abolition of both poll taxes and travel segregation, and is about evenly divided when it comes to a national F.E.P.C.

How They Voted

The above analysis of voter opinion is based on the following series of questions asked by the Institute:

The Courier Journal Louisville Ky.

Do you think Negroes should or should not be required to occupy a separate part of a train or bus when traveling from one state to another?

	Should	Should Not	No Op.
National	42%	49%	9%
South	84	12	4
Outside of South	36	54	10

Sun. 7-25-48

How far do you yourself think the Federal Government should go in requiring employers to hire people without regard to race, religion, color or nationality?

	National	South	Outside South
All the way	32%	9%	36%
None of the way	45	68	42
Depends on type of work	7	3	7
Should be left to state government	2	2	2
Don't Know	14	18	13

7-25-48

At present, state governments deal with most crimes committed in their own states. In the case of a lynching do you think the Federal Government should have the right to step in and deal with the crime—or do you think this should be left entirely to the state government?

	Federal	State	No Opin.
National	48%	41%	11%
South	23	65	12
Outside South	51	38	11

Some Southern States require every voter to pay a poll tax amounting to about a dollar a year before they can vote. Do you think these poll taxes should be abolished?

7-25-48

	Abolish	Retain	No Opin.
National	65%	24%	11%
South	48	43	9
Outside South	67	21	12
Poll Tax States	36	56	8

Southern Views Contrasted With Rest Of Country

The Times Birmingham Ala

Employment Practice Act Draws Heaviest Opposition In Nation

Sun. 7-25-48

BY GEORGE GALLUP
Director, American Institute of Public Opinion

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How Voters Answer Four Major Questions

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* * *

ANTI-LYNCHING BILL

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Civil Rights Cry Scored As Phoney

By GEORGE E. SOKOLSKY

(From the New York Sun)

BY WHAT IS euphemistically called "Civil Rights" in this campaign is meant the negro question. And let us call it that from here on. Since the Civil War the negro question has been a major American problem inadequately discussed and considered except by Southerners who had to live with it and in recent years by the Communists and their fellow-travelers and competing liberals who hope to garner votes out of it.

Under our Constitution and within the sanctions of moral law, the legal equality of negroes and whites can not be questioned. Historically and traditionally the question is not so simple either in the North or the South. Those Northern Democrats who make such a terrific to-do about racial discrimination in the South are generally liars—they will not live in negro areas in their cities; they do not entertain negroes in their homes; they do not hire negro secretaries or clerks, except political ones which is part of the vote-getting technique; they do not encourage association between their children and negro children.

IN A WORD, none of them practice in their private lives what they preach for others. It is a simple matter for a resident of Minnesota or Wisconsin to grow powerfully indignant about a problem that does not face him but that doesing. It comes upon us acutely face a citizen of Alabama or Mis- when we dare not have internal sissippi. Minnesota's negro popu- disturbances. Those who have lation, according to the 1940 cen- gambled upon it may also have sus, was 9928; Wisconsin's, 12,158; gambled upon the domestic peace Alabama's, 983,290; Mississippi's, of the United States. 1,074,578.

If the Civil War had not ended in the Reconstruction Era, during which Thaddeus Stevens created an unassimilable minority for political advantage, we should perhaps today not be facing this problem as the principal campaign issue of 1948. Perhaps had Abraham Lincoln not been assassinated, the emancipated negro slave would have been brought into American life without malice, with charity for all.

BUT THAT DID NOT HAPPEN. Instead the Northern carpet-bagger and his negro associates left in the South a heritage of bitterness which has continued to the present time. Franklin D. Roosevelt tried to solve this problem by exporting negroes from the South to the North, placing them on relief rolls and forcing them into industrial enterprises on a quota basis. Thus, in many Northern and Western areas the negro population increased startlingly.

The Northerners met the problems by segregating negroes into ghettoes. Make no mistake about that: In the North the negro is as segregated as in the South in spite of the lies Northern politicians tell. Harlem is a negro ghetto; the Bedford district of Brooklyn is a negro ghetto; the South Side of Chicago is a negro ghetto. The technic employed in New York is for the whites to clear out as soon as the negro moves in. If you want to see that process at work you can study it, if you are so inclined, in the East Bronx of New York.

I AM NOT JUSTIFYING these conditions either on moral or legal grounds; I am only describing conditions as they exist and I am protesting against lies and liars. The politicians who are shrieking civil rights are seeking negro votes in the Northern cities. They are appealing to prejudice and indignation and they are fanning the flames of race antagonisms not because they want to improve the condition of the negro in Mississippi, but because they want the votes of the negro in Harlem and South Chicago.

THE ANXIETY OF the Northern Democrats to be recorded as voting for the civil rights plank of the Democratic platform, after a voice vote had passed it, their insistence upon Senator Barkley's announcement of how they voted was for the consumption of the Northern negro voter. They fear that if they do not get that vote, Wallace, who represents Soviet racial concepts will.

Were that the entire story, it would be little more than an appeal for the Irish, the Jewish, or the Italian vote. But this negro question is pitched on a high emotional level and can result in riots and death. It requires thoughtful and considerate handling. It requires sympathy and understand-

MINISTER DEFENDS CIVIL RIGHTS PROGRAM

LOS ANGELES—(ANP)— Civil rights for everyone must be established in the United States before we can have true Americanism, Dr. Frederick D. Jordan, pastor, First AME Church of Los Angeles, told a radio audience last week.

He was one of six speakers on the radio program, "America's Town Hall Meeting of the Air." The topic for the evening, July 6, was "What Is Americianism?" Other members of the panel were Rep Earl E. Mundt, co-author of the Munt-Nixon anti-Communist bill; Miss Llona Massey, movie sta; Dr. Max Raden, University of California; Mike Kivatisky and Joe McNamee.

Dr. Raden supported Rev. Jordan's stand on human rights.

American thought, Dr. Jordan said, has always been a conflict between the ideals of democracy and authoritarianism.

"Americanism," he said, "requires that neither race nor color nor religion nor national origin should be a factor."

TREATMENT HIT

Criticizing the treatment of minorities in the United States, he minister said:

"The American creed is alive, but it has not yet been able to give citizenship status to the inhabitants of this country who preceded all of us here— the American Indian. Nor has it been able to remove the pattern of racial segregation and limitation from our armed forces; nor to abolish the system of wages based on race in the Panama Canal Zone, by which the natives of Panama are paid only a fraction of the wage received by a white American who performs the same services there."

He quoted from the President's Committee on Civil Rights, "We have surveyed the flaws in the nation's record and have found them to be serious. We believe the time for action is now."

In closing, Dr. Jordan recommended, "If we will, as government and a people, set ourselves seriously to making the American creed of equality of opportunity and protection under the law effective for all our citizens, we will not need to fear communism or facism."

Civil Rights

The Chicago Tribune

The civil rights debate in the Democratic convention was distinguished for lack of candor. Purposes were not honestly avowed. Motives were disguised. The appeals to high principle were hypocritical.

If the Southerners had been honest, they would have confessed a purpose to "keep the Negroes in their place." The Southern orators were contending, so they said, for state rights, but insofar as these rights included the authority to oppress or depress the Negro, they were lost by 1870 when the 15th amendment was adopted. The Southerners know this, of course. All their talk of state rights was merely a mask to conceal their real purpose, which is to prevent the federal government from using whatever authority it has to better the condition of the Negroes.

It is pretty late in the day for Democrats, and Southern Democrats in particular, to prate of state rights. The Southerners have generally supported TVA, which is no respecter of state rights. They voted for the whole line of New Deal legislation extending the authority of the federal government and reducing that of the states. Most of them were for the Volstead act and prohibition. They favored extending the meaning of the interstate commerce and general welfare clauses of the Constitution to the point where the law now stands: a window washer in an office building is engaged in interestate commerce and is subject to federal regulation of his pay and hours if a tenant in the building produces goods for sale outside the state.

The Northern Democrats were equally hypocritical. Their interest in this matter springs from a desire to win their state and local elections in November. Their appeal to principles of humanity is phony. Without giving the Negroes, North or South, anything substantial, Mr. Roosevelt managed to win great blocks of Negro votes in the Northern cities for the Democratic Party. The Northern politicians strove at Philadelphia to hold this support for themselves.

Any one who really wants to do something to establish the civil rights of the Southern Negro will find the formula spelled out in the 14th amendment. A state which denies or in any way abridges the right of citizens to vote can have its representation in Congress and therefore its voice in the electoral college reduced in proportion to the number of citizens so deprived. "The Congress shall have power to enforce by appropriate legislation the provisions of this article," the amendment concludes.

Action along these lines never could be criticized as unreasonable, unjust, or unconstitutional.

The Fight for Civil Rights

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

American Negroes and Negroes throughout the world owe a debt of deep gratitude to Mayor Hubert Humphrey Jr. of Minneapolis, former Gov. Maurice Tobin of Massachusetts, Representative Anthony J. Biemiller of Wisconsin and Mrs. Esther Murray of California for their unremitting fight on the floor of the Democratic convention in Philadelphia for the adoption of the minority report of the platform committee. Special praise is due to Mayor Humphrey for taking the initiative in that historic fight.

The few Negroes present were happy to be there and witness the fight, which marked the dawn of a new era in the political life of the nation. Unstinted praise should also be given to the Illinois, California, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania and Michigan delegations for their activity in behalf of the adoption of the civil rights minority report. In doing this they acted in defiance of the Administration group, which sponsored the original innocuous civil rights plank in order to appease the South.

In this history-making fight the delegates from New York, with its estimated 750,000 Negroes, remained tragically silent. It was in deep contrast to the aggressiveness of the Illinois delegates, sitting across the aisle from them. We would have liked to see the initiative taken by the Empire State delegation to uphold the reputation of "liberal" which the state has acquired; but we had to be content with a mere silent affirmative vote. Considering the prevailing attitude of the New York Democratic organization toward Negroes, it could have been worse.

G. VICTOR COOLS.

New York, July 19, 1948.

Virginians Condemn All Discrimination

Norfolk, Va. Journal & Guide

RICHMOND—A proposal for interracial action in Virginia to end glaring political, educational, religious, economic, and military inequalities based on race, creed, or color was adopted by the department of interracial cooperation of the Virginia Council of Churches at its meeting here Dec. 5.

Citing the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, and the recent recommendations for equality in education, the council expressed gratitude to Negroes and white persons who have worked together for advancement, declaring that "substantial advances have been made in recent years in the area of race relations, through the efforts of both Negroes and white persons."

Sat. 1-3-48

The group's statement added: "We recommend to the citizens of Virginia certain policies intended to eliminate discrimination and injustice that remain in various areas of human endeavor."

The group expressed hopes that church, ministerial, and lay organizations would accept the proposal as a special study project to the end of making an abundant life available for all people.

The full text of the proposal follows:

REGARDING POLITICAL AND CIVIL RIGHTS:

(a) That qualifications for voting or service in connection with elections be set and administered without discrimination because of race, creed, or color.

(b) That the constitutional right of Virginia citizens to serve on juries be more fully recognized and that Negroes, along with other qualified citizens, be empaneled for jury service.

(c) That Negro citizens be appointed to school boards and to boards of any other political, public, civic or social agency on the same basis of merit as other citizens.

(d) That the citizens of Virginia recognize the social and economic waste and sin of the anti-democratic practice of maintaining separate accommodations for white and Negro citizens on public conveyances and in stations. Such practices should be abolished now. Until as those of states which have no anti-lynch laws. Lynching is not a local or state matter.

REGARDING MILITARY SERVICE:

(a) That opportunities for military service in all branches be open to Negroes for full and unrestricted participation: and that promotions to positions of responsibility be determined by merit and ability rather than race.

Journal & Guide

This recommendation is based on the principle that every able-bodied, mentally-sound and intelligent citizen has the right to serve his country.

In the performance of this duty and the exercise of this right, all citizens should be protected from the humiliation and discrimination often experienced by Negroes in the Armed services. Virginia congressmen should be urged to help implement this recommendation.

REGARDING INDUSTRIAL AND SERVICE OCCUPATIONS:

Norfolk, Va.

(a) That people be safeguarded in their right to be employed at their greatest skill and for compensation equal to that of people already engaged in similar work.

Sat.

(b) That in order to implement the foregoing recommendation, this department and other citizens work for legislation which will promote fair employment practices as it applies to racial and religious minorities.

1-3-48

(c) That labor unions be urged to continue and broaden their efforts to eliminate any form of discrimination in their membership, laws or practices on account of race, creed or color.

REGARDING EDUCATION:

(a) That the state legislature, and state and local officials be urged to accept in fact as well as in principle, the concept of equality of educational opportunity.

This would involve vigorous action on both state and local levels in raising the level of all education and eliminating the inequalities between educational opportunities for Negroes and those for whites.

It would involve also federal aid to the public schools of the states. Virginia congressmen should be urged to support such legislation.

(b) That the Department and the citizens of the state voice their disapproval of an effort to establish regional graduate schools for Negroes in the South. Such a move would fasten on the nation a pattern of segregation which it would take a generation to change.

It would doom Negroes to an inferior type of training and would represent the anti-thesis of a more liberal attitude which is developing especially in the field of higher education.

(c) That Negroes be admitted to graduate and professional schools.

REGARDING HEALTH AND SOCIAL SERVICE

(a) That public health and social services for all citizens be on an equal bisis both in quality and extent. This applies to both state and local facilities.

(b) That Negro physicians and patients be integrated into hospitals throughout the state. That existing accommodations be improved.

Sat.

(c) That Negro nurses and social workers be used more extensively in implementing the foregoing recommendation.

(d) That the general plan of slum clearance and the erection of low-cost housing be continued and extended. The appointment of Negroes to boards controlling such work is strongly recommended.

1-3-48

REGARDING THE CHURCH:

(a) That an end be put to segregation in any form or fashion within the church and in all religious gatherings

Victors Hail Stand as New 'Emancipation Proclamation'

Washington Post Thu. 7-15-48

(Text on Page 16)

By Robert C. Albright
Post Reporter

Philadelphia, July 14.—The Northern leberal wing of the Democratic Party today completely routed Dixie's States' rights forces to nail a sweeping civil rights plank into the Democratic platform.

By a roll call vote 651½ to 582½, the convention spelled out four basic civil rights in a plank liberals hailed as a "new emancipation proclamation."

The delegates then ratified without a murmur the 4600-word "Roosevelt-Truman" platform that missed by one plank its own party harmony goal.

Three-Hour Debate

The civil rights upset followed a boisterous three hours debate, the first on a platform since 1924. Dixie rebels charged "repeal of the Constitution." Northern liberals demonstrated for 10 minutes and proclaimed human rights "the great issue of the twentieth century."

The vote blew the compromise civil rights lid off the platform and drove into it this resounding plank:

"We highly commend President Harry Truman for his courageous stand on the issue of civil rights."

"We call upon the Congress to support our President in guaranteeing these basic and fundamental rights (1) the right of full and equal political participation, (2) the right to equal opportunity of employment, (3) the right of security of person and (4) the right of equal treatment in the service and defense of our Nation."

States Rights Showdown

The Southerners, only mildly objecting to the resolutions committee's middle-of-the-road civil rights plank, had invited a showdown on States rights instead.

Led by former Gov. Dan Moody of Texas, they submitted three separate planks, ranging from a simple affirmation of States rights to a lengthy commitment to separation of Federal-State powers.

The first was smothered by a 925 to 309 roll call vote and the Southerners knew their show was over. The other two Southern planks were simply shouted down.

Delegate Eugene (Bull) Connor, police commissioner of Birmingham, Ala., frantically sought recognition after the full platform was ratified. Chairman Sam Rayburn gaveled him down, ordered a recess.

Thu. 7-15-48

Connor Promises Bolt

Connor told reporters at least part of the Alabama delegation will bolt.

"We're not going to walk, it's too slow," he said. "We are going to fly."

The new civil rights plank was presented to the convention by Representative Andrew J. Biemiller (Wis.) in a minority report signed also by Mayor Hubert H. Humphrey of Minneapolis and Mrs. Esther Murray (Calif.).

Actually, it was drawn Tuesday night during a 12-State Americans for Democratic Action caucus.

On instructions from his own Minnesoa delegation, Humphrey made a futile fight for it in the resolutions committee early this morning. Humphrey and Biemiller decided to take it to the floor.

In an effort to head off a floor fight, resolutions Chairman Frances Myers (Pa.), Senator Scott Lucas (Ill.) and other Administration members of the platform drafting group had accepted language submitted earlier by Humphrey slightly strengthening the party's 1944 stand.

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Myers predicted the compromise would prevail and few liberal wing extremists expected the upset that followed.

The Biemiller-Humphrey plank reinforced a previously adopted declaration that "racial and religious minorities must have the right to live, the right to work, the right to vote, the full and equal protection of the laws, on a basis of equality with all citizens as guaranteed by the Constitution."

The victorious Northern bloc let that and a civil rights preamble stand. They substituted their own anti-poll-tax, antilynching, FEPC and nonsegregation in the armed forces specifications for a weaker plank, which had read:

"We again call upon the Congress to exert its full authority to the limits of its constitutional powers to assure and protect these rights."

Humphrey touched off the only real demonstration of the floor show when he called on the convention to "get out of the shadow of States' rights and walk forthrightly in the bright sunshine of human rights. . . this is the issue of the twentieth century."

Southerners Silent

Northern and Western delegations broke into loud cheers, and there were cries for the band, but it never struck up. The delegates whistled instead. The Wisconsin, Minnesota, New York and Illinois standards waved wildly.

California, Oregon, New Jersey, Massachusetts, the Virgin Islands joined in the demonstration. Through it all the Southern delegations sat stoically motionless.

There was another brief demon-

Moody said he "never bolted a convention and never intends to" but appealed to the delegates to "restore harmony among members of the Democratic Party."

Sillers said his plank would "restore the fundamental principles of the party . . . this is a platform of pure Americanism."

Sims said Tennessee will never "take a walk" but warned that their separate fields of power and of permitted activities."

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Southerners with the first of the three States' rights planks. His report had 15 signers representing eight Southern States.

To prevent a talkathon, Chairman Myers persuaded the convention to adopt a one-hour debate limitation.

Moody proposed a plank declaring in part that "under the Constitution the general Federal Government and the separate States have

Wisconsin cast its solid vote of 24 for the plank, clinching the majority needed to wedge it into the platform.

Biemiller led off by the Northern liberals, commending the report of the President's Commission on Civil Rights and moving adoption of the plank.

States' Rights Proposal

And former Governor Moody started the ball rolling for the

rejection of the States' rights plank will mean "the dissolution of the Democratic Party in the South."

Sparks Cites Constitution

It remained for Gov. Chauncey Sparks of Alabama to say:

"We ask that you not vote down the Constitution of the United States."

Former Gov. Maurice Tobin of Massachusetts was the first to the platform in opposition to the trio of States' rights planks. Tobin said States' rights doesn't appear in any Democratic platform since 1928. Southerners tried to boo him but Northern cheers drowned them out.

"The Democratic Party has not receded from the doctrine of States' rights," he told the delegates. "But the great issue of today is not States' rights but human rights."

Mayor Humphrey and Aaron L. Jacoby of New York followed with their pleas for a clearcut civil rights stand.

"In a world of slavery, we must be in a morally sound position," Humphrey told the delegates. "There is no room for double standards . . . I do not believe there can be any compromise but the compromise we offer here . . . There can be no hedging on this issue."

Plea for Ireland Loses

Almost lost in the welter of minority reports was a plea for U. N. recognition of Ireland. This plank, too, was shouted down, but not before Thomas J. Buckley of Massachusetts and Mayor James Curley of Boston got in their plugs for "a free and independent Ireland."

For seven days and nights, members of the resolutions committee had struggled with the platform, moving it through taut-tempered subcommittees to a final angry full committee vote atop the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel early this week.

In an attempt to avert tonight's Gettysburg rout of the South, Administration "harmonizers" had traded alike with the North and the South, dropping a tidelands plank to appease Dixie members, strengthening the Israel plank to please some of the Northern liberals.

Two Extremes Clash

But the dove of peace flew for shelter after the early morning meeting. The two extremes of the party clashed with each other and committee members rowed with the press. There were shouted exchanges between representatives of the committee and some reporters after a partial text of the platform "leaked" to one press service.

Weary and sleepy-eyed, Chairman Myers started reading what he hoped was the complete platform to the convention at 1:50 p. m.

The delegates hardly listened at first, but then interest picked up and they managed a listless cheer here and there for some of the planks and the platform's running-fire attack on the Republican Congress.

They gave the biggest hand of all to a plank pledging Democrats to work for admission on a non-discriminatory basis of at least 400,000 of Europe's displaced persons.

Leaders Including Pro-Eisenhower Few, Attest Programs Worth

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn. —Leaders in the Demoratic Party who see eye-to-eye with President Truman's civil rights program have begun to make their observations vocal, and have announced their intention to press for the inclusion of the President' program for civil rights in the party's 1948 platform.

Included among those who will press for a civil rights plank in the platform are some who have become identified with the "Draft Eisenhower" movement within the party.

The first announcement of party leader's intentions to press for the rights plank was made here this week by Mayor Hubert Humphrey of this city, who is distributing a declaration drafted by a group of fifty, including some avowed pro-Eisenhower Democratic leaders.

Of the President's civil rights program, the drafted statement declares:

IS IMPORTANT MEASURE

The report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights is one of the most important measures of moral strategy devised by the United States of America in modern times."

The statement continues, saying:

"Although its recommendations do credit to all sections of American life represented on the non-partisan committee, its sponsorship will remain a landmark in the history of this Democratic Administration."

AMONG SIGNERS

Among the pro-Eisenhower signers of the distributed statement are James Roosevelt and Jack Arvey, Cook county (Chicago) Democratic leader. Among the signers who have not taken sides with the Stop-Truman movement are Herbert Lehman, Edward J. Flynn, William Green, Paul E. Fitzpatrick, James E. Murray of Montana, and Emma Guffey Miller of Pennsylvania.

Other signatures on the statement include those of Senator Robert F. Wagner, Henry Morgenthau Jr., Chester Bowles, Mayor David L. Lawrence of Pittsburgh, Pa., Will Rogers Jr., Archibald Alexander, Democratic candidate for senator in New Jersey, and Thurman Arnold.

IS WORLD CHALLENGE

Referring to the President's civil rights program as "an examination of America's political conscience", and declaring that the program as drawn up following the report of the President's committee as one that "dramatizes the internal vitality of our democracy and eloquently challenges the rest of the civilized world," the statement declares:

"As active members of the Democratic party, and as citizens, we support this program. Many of us will be delegates to the national convention of our party in Philadelphia. The issue of civil rights is in the worthiest tradition of our party. We hereby declare that we shall actively seek, at Philadelphia, to make the accomplishment of this program a part of our party's platform for 1948.

"Any dispassionate examination of this report will reveal that its fundamental principles are as old as our nation. The report measures the intent of our most cherished documents against the reality of the present and recommends concrete legislative measures to close the gap between profession and practice in the field of civil rights.

"We believe that the gravity of the present international situation cannot fail to convince patriotic leaders of our party everywhere, that neither imagined rights, private economic interests nor cherished customs of any section of America can remain sacred if they jeopardize the position of our nation in world affairs.

"It is as a measure contributing to the moral strength of America as a free nation that we uphold the President's civil rights policy.

"The cost of opposing this policy must, we believe, be measured in the same coin."

Orders on [illegible]ghts

The [illegible] rights for the Negro population is so [illegible] to our progress, and has been so consistently supported by this newspaper, that we welcome every move in that direction, however tentative or half-hearted it may seem. President Truman's executive orders, calling for an end of discrimination in the armed forces and in the Federal employment, do serve to affirm an ideal and define a goal. Beyond that, however, they leave much still to be proven, and they raise several doubts as to their motivation.

The new rules governing Federal employment carry out a policy against discrimination which has been in effect for sixty years. The administrative innovations, including the establishment of a Fair Employment Board and the designation of fair employment officers in each department, will depend for their efficacy upon the type of personnel in charge and the spirit in which they work. The orders with regard to the armed forces are hedged about by precautions. The basic issue of segregation is nowhere mentioned, and emphasis is placed upon implementing the directive only in so far as morale and efficiency permit.

One could have more confidence in the validity of these measures were it not for the circumstances in which they have been introduced. What might have been done effectively at any time since the report on civil rights was issued has been withheld until the political caldron has reached the boiling point, and until the very eve of the special session. It has been followed by a message which is conspicuously reticent with regard to civil rights legislation. These administrative orders, particularly if they are carried out inconclusively, are a poor substitute for Federal laws against poll taxes and against lynching. The strategy may be one to appease the South, while seeking to retain the favor of Northern liberals. It is hardly one to convince the country that we are making a firm and resolute attack upon the problem of inequality.

Voice Of The People

Bible And Civil Rights

To the Editor of The News:

The letter published by H. G. Morris, Methodist Church (col.) was one of the best I have read on the civil rights bill. We have not studied the Bible as we should.

Injustice is all over the country. All races are striving for supremacy. The Negro must have courage and face the issue as our Savior did. The Negro is the center of attraction in the civil rights bill. We must realize there have been laws made, passed and broken.

I am proud of my race. I am proud of the fine Southern leaders in the white race because they are interested in the Negro. There are many of them who want the Negro educated, and have helped to educate Negroes. Many of them want the Negro to be refined and intelligent. And with the two races using their educational advantages wisely, many unpleasant things will be abolished that at present exist.

Our parents taught us the traditions of the South. They lived by them. The better day is in the future, but it is coming very fast. God will be the judge.

PEARL THOMAS HOLMES.
Box 443, Columbus, Miss.

Give God A Trial

To the Editor of The News-Age-Herald:

Please allow me a little space to congratulate you on fairness to all writers. I will admit I don't know enough to discuss the civil rights program, but after reading so many articles on it I have gleaned a faint idea of what it is all about. I will say this much: If the politicians would step aside and let God rule, everything would be right.

When God got tired of the slavery that existed in America from 1612 until 1865, He changed it, but we Negroes are in a more reprehensible slavery today than we were then. For at that time we did not know the difference; today it is quite different. But I am willing to trust God to work out the whole matter, and the least said by a man who is down, the better chance he has of getting up. Violence or force should never be thought of.

Let us all go to God in this and all other matters as touchy as the civil rights bill, and He will fix it better than any of us.

2428 North 18th Street. I. S. MYRICK.

ish defenders of that city. The fact is that Jewish religious institutions suffered the major brunt of the damage and all the synagogues in the Old City were destroyed. Jewish synagogues are also holy places.

It is regrettable that such attempts to stir up hostility against the Jewish cause should be made by a partisan political group sheltering behind the cloak of religious sentiment.

The above is an official statement issued by the Israeli government.

Temple Beth-El. RABBI A. J. MESCH.

CIVIL RIGHTS: ETHICAL VS. POLITICAL APPROACH

Star New York, N.Y.

By GERALD W. JOHNSON

Much, and much the loudest, of the squalling done by Southern Democrats against the civil rights program — once called the President's, but now adopted in principle by the whole political alphabet, from Robert A. Taft to William Z. Foster — is so obviously phony that many liberals have been beguiled into thinking there is nothing in it worth the consideration of a rational man. Wed. 7-14-48

This is not quite true. The civil rights program, like any program that involves erasing or modifying a very old social pattern, will involve certain costs not expressed in money. This doesn't apply to all of it. The abolition of the poll-tax, for example, will not seriously bother anyone except machine politicians and their bosses. This was demonstrated when North Carolina did away with the poll-tax 25 years ago. Nothing happened except that the vote jumped from 300,000 to 800,000; the State kept on voting the same way, but poll-holders and judges of election had to do two and a half times as much work. They didn't like it, but nobody else was much disturbed.

Heavy Attack Valuable

The anti-lynching bill also is pretty thin. It transfers such cases to the federal courts, but the juries will be drawn from the same population and, as was shown at Greeneville, S. C., the refusal of juries to convict in lynching cases is the main difficulty. Star

But a heavy, determined and long-continued attack on the policy of racial segregation through the method of federal legislation would put certain Southern gentry in a very tight jam indeed. These are the men who made up their minds, long before Gunnar Myrdal came along to proclaim it to the world, that the so-called "Negro problem" in the South is in reality strictly a white man's problem — a conflict between his practices and his conscientious convictions. New York, N.Y.

For many years members of this group have been acting on the theory that while you can't use the law to bend men's consciences, you can use men's consciences to bend the law. Perhaps they have not been getting results as fast as they should, but it is impossible to deny that they are getting some. In 80 years the Negro population of the South has multiplied three times and Negro property there has changed from $3 billion minus to about that much plus — that is to say, prior to 1865 the Southern Negro *was* property in the order of $3 billion, while today he *has* property in the same order of magnitude. For the past 25 years, especially, there has been a steady amelioration of the disabilities laid on the Negro in the South. Today, no profession and no form of business is closed against him.

An Ethical Problem Star

This has been accomplished on the theory that fair play for the Negro is an ethical problem, responsibility for which the Southern white man cannot pass along to the Government or to any other power. If the Government now asserts that it is in fact political, the men who have been advancing the ethical theory are not out on a limb — they are sawed off. In the minds of many they will stand convicted of having deluded the South with a lot of pious claptrap, and the reaction against them, partly derision and partly anger, will be severe. New York, N.Y.

I think especially of such men as President Graham, of the University of North Carolina, who has been risking his official head every day for 15 years by his steady pressure on the conscience of the Southern white man; and of Professor Odum, the sociologist, who had almost convinced Southern legislatures that they should pass no law touching race relations until they have before them the facts, based on accurate statistics. He knows that Congress had before it no scientific study of segregation on a Southwide basis, because none has ever been made.

What the Risks Are

The abolition by law of segregation in the schools unquestionably would finish the 24 Negro college presidents in the South and many Negro high school principals, for these jobs are good enough to excite the cupidity of white political pedagogues of the lower grade. They are protected now by the generally accepted theory that the Negro race is entitled to Negro leadership, a development largely of the past 30 years. Wed.

Perhaps these men must be sacrificed in the interest of more rapid progress, but their sacrifice should be a carefully calculated risk, not an inadvertence. Yet nobody pays much attention to them. The spotlight is monopolized by political whirling dervishes, some of whom are born Ku Kluxers, some the sort of men who would sell their grandmothers' tombstones for a handful of votes, but most of whom are the sort that, having successfully avoided conceiving a new idea since 1865, bitterly resent having a new idea thrust upon them. 7-14-48

These comics, it must be admitted, put on an entertaining if slightly bawdy performance; but liberal opinion should not allow them to divert it from consideration of the real expense of the program.

WATCHING THE BIG PARADE

afro-american Baltimore, Md.

by Ralph Matthews

With all of the howl that is being raised about President Truman's civil rights program by the South, one would imagine that it contains some magic formula and that after its enactment every sharecropper in the South would march up to the "Big House" and start drinking mint juleps on the porch with the colonel and his lady.

"Civil rights means social equality, sun." is the belief and fear of the Dixie die-hards. As a matter of fact, it does not mean any such thing.

No Social Communion

A hungry man, walking the streets far from the colored ghetto, who simply wants a decent meal in a public establishment created for the purpose, is not particularly interested in social communion with his table mate. He wants food and to be left entirely alone.

As I was leaving the press room after the Democratic Convention, one of the telegraph operators who had been watching me file stories, rushed up and said, apologetically: 7-24-48

"Do you mind, sir, if I get your opinion on this civil rights issue? I am a student at the University of Pennsylvania and we have working for us an old colored lady who tells me that the colored people are not interested in this civil rights business and that it is all a scheme of the Northern politicians to get votes and stir up trouble.

Some Do

"Is this the way most colored people feel about it? I am frankly confused."

"I have no doubt," I replied, "that a great many colored people do feel that way or at least they will tell their white employers that they feel that way. Just like a great many colored people were perfectly satisfied with their position under the institution of slavery. Sat. 7-24-48

"But because some of us are reluctant to disturb the status quo is no reason why their lethargy and complacency should retard the great majority who rebel against segregation, discrimination and proscription.

"History shows that the saboteurs of all the insurrections against slavery were not slave owners, but some of the slaves themselves who sought to ingratiate themselves with their masters by being traitors to their fellow men."

Has Misgivings

"While I did not tell him, I, too, have had a lot of misgivings about this whole civil rights program myself, and the very fact that we won the type of victory we did in Philadelphia, makes me more apprehensive of our own role in this great drama.

The fact that we got more than we had anticipated in the Democratic Party platform shows that a lot of people in America are moving forward faster than is perceivable in the exterior manifestations of intolerance.

This means that we, the newspapers, the politicians, the warriors in the front lines of the NAACP and other militant organizations must pause and rearrange our thinking and revaluate our responsibilities in this march toward freedom.

For a good many years we have devoted all our efforts to the frontal attack against bigotry and prejudice and have not paid enough attention to our job of preparing the great masses for the full participation and enjoyment of this freedom when and if it is attained. Afro-American

This means that now, unless our efforts are to be prostituted by irrational actions from within our own ranks, we must divide our efforts into two parts. Baltimore, Md. 7-24-48

Two Armies Needed

One army must continue in the forefront as storm troopers in breaking down the bars that are raised against us and the other army must devote its attention to educating the masses.

To demand bigger opportunties and more jobs is one thing, but to teach people how to qualify themselves and carry responsibility is equally important.

To demand civil liberties and the right to freedom of action is one thing, but teaching people the proper behavior and higher culture is another.

Civil liberties also means civil courtesy on both sides. Rudeness, loudness, boisterous behavior, repulsive conduct, all negate freedom and extend prejudice; it matters not how liberal the laws may be.

We have a rendezvous with destiny and it is up to our leaders to see that we are prepared to meet and keep the appointment and make it irrevocable.

'Equality,' Past, Present Future

New Orleans Houma, La.

Editor, The Times-Picayune:

In the Bible, Luke (18:9-14) says: "Two men went up to the temple to pray." You know the rest.

Men did not think they were equal over 2000 years ago. That was the past. Let's take the present which is right now.

"Do you think you are Joe Louis' equal physically?" Do you think you are Prince Edward's equal socially? Do you think you are Henry Ford III's equal financially? Do you think you are the equal of ministers morally? Do you think you are the equal of Albert Einstein intellectually? Sun. Statesman

Have the Californians accepted the Japanese question in their state equally during Hiram Johnson's time? Sat. 8-7-48

God made the world, but men have distributed it amongst themselves. And if any of you can tell me when men will divide this world up "equally" so that "equality" will be accepted by all, then, I will say Mr. Truman's "civil rights" has got a chance.

Now let's turn to the future. Do you as Christians believe that if two men living today—one a confirmed sinner doing everything against the Commandments of God, the other a pious, charitable man who always stayed in the straight and narrow path—should both die and happen to reach the golden gate at the same time, St. Peter would open the gate and say "Enter both, dear men, you are equal"?

Let's call a spade by its name.

POLITICS CASTS SHADOW ON ISSUE

Democrats' Battle over Race Equality Explained

BY JAMES MARLOW

PHILADELPHIA — (AP) — This Democratic convention must seem awfully strange to people outside the United States.

How are you going to explain to people of other countries what the real issue is here?

Yet, the issue can be stated simply:

It involves civil rights for the 13,000,000 Negroes in this country's 140,000,000 people.

Just to get the story in focus, start at the beginning.

Early in 1947 President Truman appointed a number of men and women to what he called the president's commission on civil rights.

THESE MEN AND women on Oct. 29 issued a report on their intensive study. It included such things as the pay of teachers in Negro schools and facts on the number of Negro lynchings.

Basing his thinking on that report. Mr. Truman made a number of suggestions on civil rights for Negroes.

Whether you like it or not, Negroes in this country are treated as second class citizens.

For example:

In the South Negroes must ride behind white people in trains and buses; they can't go to the same shows, or if they can get in, they have to sit in the gallery.

IN 1948 PRESIDENT Truman cut loose with a number of suggestions to Congress. He recommended things like these:

Congress to pass a law wiping out the poll tax. Seven Southern states and New Hampshire require payment of a poll tax before a person, white or Negro, can vote.

Congress to pass a law making the lynching of anyone a Federal crime.

President Truman asked for a better break for all Negroes.

Southern Democrats—white, that is—began to renounce Mr. Truman's program.

They argued: A state has rights so the Federal Government has no right stepping in. The Southern politicians jumped on the anti-Truman bandwagon and still haven't got off.

MR. TRUMAN'S only major crime, in the eyes of the South, is advocating civil rights.

Those rights — based on the Constitution — seem to express the noblest of intentions.

But in practical, every-day politics the shining issue often gets lost in the fog of conflicting realities.

* * *

ON THE FLOOR of the convention Wednesday the Northerners succeeded in pushing through a platform plank that went all-out for laws guaranteeing racial equality, even in the armed forces.

The resolution that was adopted replaced a middle-of-the-road plank prepared by the platform committee.

Convention leaders had hoped that the milder civil-rights proposal would preserve party unity.

It was no wonder that the South revolted at the program adopted Wednesday, because it backed President Truman to the hilt. It was the same fight erupting again.

THE SOUTHERN politicians do not forget the troubles that beset the South after the Civil War.

In many areas in the South there are more Negroes than there are whites. The whites remember the days when the victorious North, through the power of an occupation army, put political power in the hands of fresh-freed and uneducated slaves and Northern carpet-baggers.

Southerners feel they have the best interest of the Negroes at heart. They say they take care of the Negro and should continue to deal with him themselves. They point to Negro advances under this system.

Europeans, apt to take the American Constitution at face value, may be puzzled by all the fighting that has been going on here.

On the civil rights issue, the Republican platform supports laws to prevent lynching and discrimination by employers, but opposes racial segregation in the armed forces.

How States Voted on Civil Rights

(The Associated Press)

Convention Hall, Philadelphia, July 14.—Here is how the delegations voted today to include in the Democratic platform a more specific civil rights plank than that proposed by the convention resolutions committee:

Alabama, 26 votes, 26 no.
Arizona, 12 votes, 12 no.
Arkansas, 22 votes, 22 no.
California, 54 votes, 53 yes, 1 no.
Colorado, 12 votes, 10 yes, 2 no.
Connecticut, 20 votes, 20 yes.
Delaware, 10 votes, 10 no.
Florida, 20 votes, 20 no.
Georgia, 28 votes, 28 no.
Idaho, 12 votes, 12 no.
Illinois, 60 votes, 60 yes.
Indiana, 26 votes, 17 yes, 9 no.
Iowa, 20 votes, 18 yes, 2 no.
Kansas, 16 votes, 16 yes.
Kentucky, 26 votes, 26 no.
Louisiana, 24 votes, 24 no.
Maine, 10 votes, 7 no, 3 yes.
Maryland, 20 votes, 20 no.
Massachusetts, 36 votes, 36 yes.
Michigan, 42 votes, 42 yes.
Minnesota, 26 votes, 26 yes.
Mississippi, 22 votes, 22 no.
Missouri, 34 votes, 34 no.
Montana, 12 votes, 1½ yes, 10½ no.
Nebraska, 12 votes, 3 yes, 9 no.
Nevada, 10 votes, 10 no.
New Hampshire, 12 votes, 11 no, 1 yes.
New Jersey, 36 votes, 36 yes.
New Mexico, 12 votes, 12 no.
New York, 98 votes, 98 yes.
North Carolina, 32 votes, 32 no.
North Dakota, 8 votes, 8 no.
Ohio, 50 votes, 39 yes, 11 no.
Oklahoma, 24 votes, 24 no.
Oregon, 16 votes, 7 yes, 9 no.
Pennsylvania, 74 votes, 74 yes.
Rhode Island, 12 votes, 12 no.
South Carolina, 20 votes, 20 no.
South Dakota, 8 votes, 8 yes.
Tennessee, 28 votes, 28 no.
Texas, 50 votes, 50 no.
Utah, 12 votes, 12 no.
Vermont, 6 votes, 6 yes.
Virginia, 26 votes, 26 no.
Washington, 20 votes, 20 yes.
West Virginia, 20 votes, 7 yes, 13 no.
Wisconsin, 24 votes, 24 yes.
Wyoming, 6 votes, 4 yes, 2 no.
Alaska, 6 votes, 2 yes, 4 no.
District of Columbia, 6 votes, 6 yes.
Hawaii, 6 votes, 6 yes.
Puerto Rico, 6 votes, 6 yes.
Canal Zone, 2 votes, 2 no.
Virgin Islands, 2 votes, 2 yes.

ANTI CIVIL RIGHTS

To The Commercial Appeal:

When the controversial and much discussed Civil Rights Laws which have been proposed by President Truman and other politicians are examined in their relation—or lack of relation—to the Constitution of the United States, it is not possible for any unbiased and intelligent person who is familiar with the Constitution to come to any conclusion but that they are anticivil rights.

Take the three most important of these proposed laws: anti-lynch, FEPC and antipoll tax. Its sponsors claim that it is necessary to have Federal laws to protect the rights of minority groups under the Bill of Rights.

The 10th Amendment to the Constitution, the last article of the Bill of Rights, reads as follows:

"The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people."

There is not a line in the Constitution which could be construed as a delegation of power to the United States to pass a law which, like the AntiLynch Law, provides for reprisals against officials and population of a community for crimes committed by some of the members of the community.

There is not a line which could be construed as a delegation of power to pass such a law as FEPC, which would empower a Federal bureau to prescribe the color and religion of people an employer may hire.

Does an employer have no civil rights?

Does he not have a right to employ the people he thinks will best serve his business interests?

Most Americans hope some time to belong to the employer class; but if they know they will lose the right to run their own businesses perhaps they will not be so ambitious.

Possibly the authors of these laws had in mind the constitutions of some totalitarian countries, such as Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany, rather than the Constitution of the United States, when they wrote them.

If the power to pass these laws exists under the Constitution, it belongs to the States; but it is doubtful that it exists at all, for while it is not specifically prohibited to the States to pass such laws, they are in direct contravention of the spirit of the Constitution and all free American institutions.

The sponsors of the AntiPoll Tax Act admit that it is an abridgement of the rights of American citizens, as guaranteed by the 14th Amendment to the Constitution, to levy a tax as a prerequisite to voting. These people are evidently not familiar with the 14th Amendment. The first sentence in section two of this amendment reads as follows: "Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each, excluding Indians not taxed." Thus we see that under the 14th Amendment, an Indian, the original American citizen, cannot even be counted as a human being, much less as a voter, because he pays no taxes.

And yet the proponents of the AntiPoll Tax Bill tell us that it is a crime to levy a nominal tax as a prerequisite to voting.

The States may repeal their poll tax laws if they choose, but it is not within the constitutional power of the Federal Government—unless granted to do so.

Under the Constitution the States have full power to regulate the suffrage within their own borders with one exception: they must not pass any law denying the right to vote to any citizen "on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude," as provided by the 15th Amendment.

A. H. GEORGE.

Greenwood, Miss.

Civil Rights Gets Backing Of Pastor

MOBILE, ALA.— (AP) —The president of Spring Hill College said Tuesday, he favored civil rights for all citizens and called upon institutions of higher learning throughout the South to make a fight for them.

Without referring specifically to President Truman's civil rights program, the Rev. W. Patrick Donnelly said in a speech delivered at the school's commencement exercises the South neither wanted nor needed federal legislation or outside influence.

"With God's help and our positive zeal for Democracy, we Southerners can do this by ourselves and for ourselves. If we can not, then no one can do it for us."

Referring to the current civil rights fight, the head of the Jesuit institution said "a great clamor is being made against the extension of civil rights to Negro citizens of the South, mainly by the politicians and the press."

He referred to Alabama's Boswell Amendment, designed to restrict Negro voting in primaries, as "an instrument of tyranny."

"That in the name of Democracy should be removed from our statute books as soon as possible," he declared.

The Boswell amendment requires prospective registrants for voting to be able to understand and explain the federal Constitution.

RANKIN SEES HOPE OF 'RIGHTS' TRUCE

Visits Truman, Then Declares 1944 Plank of Democrats Would Satisfy South

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, June 22—Cautious optimism over the possibility of healing the split in the Democratic party over civil rights was expressed by Representative John E. Rankin, Democrat, of Mississippi, tdoay after a conference with President Truman.

Mr. Rankin, one of the most outspoken critics of the President's civil-rights program, talked with Mr. Truman for thirty minutes, then issued a statement that could be interpreted as meaning that the President was prepared to appease the party's Southern wing by taking a less militant stand on the question.

"I am not without hope that the Democratic convention will reach a satisfactory agreement on the civil-rights issue," he said.

"If that convention adopts the same plank on this question that was inserted in the platform of 1944, I am assured that it will be adhered to."

Some observers took this to mean that the President had assured Mr. Rankin that in future he would not go beyond the advocacy of "constitutional means" of assuring the rights of minorities.

The 1944 platform stated:

"We believe that racial and religious minorities have the right to live, develop and vote equally with all citizens and share the rights that are guaranteed by our Constitution. Congress should exert its full constitutional powers to protect those rights."

Mr. Rankin refused to amplify his prepared statement to make clear whether his assurance of adherence to such a plank had come from President Truman or from the party's anti-civil-rights camp.

"Just print the statement," he said. "Your readers will know what it means."

HUMPHREY HAILS NAACP
ROLE IN RIGHTS FIGHT

Press Service of NAACP. New York. N.Y.

August 5, 1948

NEW YORK, Aug. 5.-- Mayor Hubert Humphrey of Minneapolis, who led the fight for an inclusive and specific civil rights plank at the National Democratic Convention in Philadelphia, credits the NAACP with preparing "the moral climate which made my speech and its acceptance possible."

10 5-8-48 Ltr.

In a letter to Walter White, NAACP secretary, Mayor Humphrey said: "I think that we are on the threshold of a great victory on this the greatest moral issue of our times. No one can ever adequately say how much people like you who have labored valiantly in this field for years were responsible for our great victory in Philadelphia. You heated the volcano which finally erupted; you prepared the moral climate which made my speech and its acceptance possible."

WALLACE SCORES TRUMAN

Times
New York N.Y.

Describes Civil-Rights Program as 'an Empty Gesture'

In a statement issued from the New York headquarters of the Progressive party, 39 Park Avenue, yesterday, Henry A. Wallace, the party candidate for President, criticized President Truman's call to Congress for civil rights legislation.

"Mr. Truman's nightmares over the rapid growth of the Progressive party have forced him to face the issue of discrimination," Mr. Wallace said, "but once again he has made only an empty gesture. He has written into Executive Order the language of the South. He talks glibly of 'equal treatment' and 'equal opportunity,' dodges always to avoid action, but fails utterly to attack the heart of the matter—segregation. 7-28-48

"The President's order on equality of treatment in the armed services says nothing, promises nothing, does nothing—and leaves segregation intact."

The candidate repeated a challenge to Mr. Truman and Governor Dewey, Republican Presidential nominee, to debate the issue before now—segregated audiences in the South. Times N.Y. N.Y.

He also demanded from all radio and television stations that carried Mr. Truman's address to Congress yesterday equal time to answer the President, "as prescribed by Federal Communication Commission regulation."

Americanism Won Out, Negro Leader Declares

Inter Press Service
Detroit, Mich.

NEW YORK—(AP)—A Negro leader said that adoption of the civil-rights plank by the Democratic Convention "marks the greatest turning point for the South and for America which has occurred since the Civil War."

Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said Thursday: "Real Americanism won at Philadelphia yesterday."

Ltr. 7-16-48

White said "In sheer self-defense the South is going to find new political leadership to replace that which disgraced the South in fighting civil rights."

The South and Civil Rights

Courier-Journal
Louisville, Ky.

In the August 4 edition of The Courier-Journa was a news article captioned, "Oklahoma Drafts Bill to Let Negroes In State Colleges." As a Southerner, I have always hoped that Southern leadership would at some time take the initiative in extending fundamental rights to all Negroes as guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States. And though it may be some time before Oklahoma's attempt to be truly democratic becomes a reality, it is symbolic of a trend. I know of, as many others do, a fine Christian leadership in the South among the white population, capable of seeing that many discriminatory injustices perpetrated against Negroes will be eliminated. Having lived in Texas several years during the war, I learned to respect many of the fine people of that State and have felt that Texas would be the first to take the lead in democratic action. But it looks as if Oklahoma may beat all Southern States in this type of democracy.

The South has some of the best American blood and the keenest minds of any part of our nation. However, many in the South hate Negroes. Eventually these may turn to loving justice and a practical democracy. May we hope? A SOUTHERNER.

Louisville.

Equal Rights

Atlanta Const.
Atlanta, Ga.

Editor Constitution: I have been voting for 56 years. The cry has been from every stump "Equal rights to all; special privileges to none." If it had been carried out we would not be bothered with "civil rights" today.

Atlanta. W. M. FRANKLIN.

Race Wants Strong Civil Rights Plank

Black Dispatch
Oklahoma City

By Alice Dunnigan

WASHINGTON — (ANP) —The last spark of the "draft Eisenhower" movement had about died out before the Democratic National convention went into full swing Monday, and the "stop Truman" forces had practically all disappeared except a little knot of Southern die-hards and a little block of ADA new dealers.

Only one little gap remained to be bridged before the convention went into smooth sailing, and that was the split on the civil rights issue. A five-man-committee working in secrecy in a little hotel hideout Saturday, finally agreed upon the principle of the 1944 Democratic civil right plank. Realizing the possibility of a party split, they agreed that the best way to stem it was holding to the general lines of the 1944 Democratic stand.

Mayor Hubert Humphrey of the 18-man drafting group which got the platform next, declared that this group wanted a stronger plank. Ltr. 7-20-48

While the southern members threatened a floor fight if the plank goes beyond the party platform of 1944 or if it fails to include some conciliatory states gesture.

Democratic National Chairman J. Howard McGrath said the plank provided a base for Mr. Truman's 10-point civil rights recommendations to congress. He said he felt a restatement of it would reduce floor discussions to be minimum.

The 40-word civil rights plank reads:

"We believe that racial and religious minorities have the right to live, develop, and vote equally with all citizens and share the rights that are guaranteed by out constitution. Congress should exert its full constitutional powers to protect these rights.

Some of the southern die-hards want the last sentence struck out of this weak plank, while Negro leaders contend that this plank is unsatisfactorily.

Walter White told the platform committee on behalf of 21 national organizations with a combined membership of more than 6,000,000, they insisted "that the platform of the 1948 Democratic convention endorse without equivocation the entire program of the President's Committee on Civil rights and especially those provisions to suppress lynching and mob violence, to ban the poll tax as a voting requirement, to afford equality of job opportunity, and to abolish discrimination tnd segregation in the armed services, education and transportation."

This demand was backed up by Mayor Humphrey who said the plank must include at least four of the basis points included in the report of the President's committee. He listed fair employment practices legislation, abolition of the poll tax, anti-lynch legislation and ban on racial segregation in the armed forces. 7-24-48

Elmer Henderson, the newly elected director of the American Council on Human rights, told the resolutions committee of the National Democratic convention that his organization urges the incorporation in the 1948 platform of "an unequivocal statement pledging your party to use its full resources in both the administrative and the legislative branches of the government to see that every form of discrimination because of race, religion or national origin is removed from American life."

He urged that the Democratic platform contain a clear endorsement of the recommendations of the President's Committee on Civil rights and the report of the President in his special message to congress, referring specifically to these two reports.

On domestic policy, Mayor William O'Dwyer of New York said, "Mr. Truman's civil rights program must be backed to the hilt. We can no longer compromise with discrimination and inequality." Ltr. 7-24-48

Pointing out that the Negro vote was essential to voctory of the Democratic party in 1944, Negro leaders reminded the party that there is a potential three-million independent Negro voters in the northern and border states and a likelihood of another million in the southern states who are not tied to the apron string of these Negro voters formulated at a meeting in New York City in March was presented to the committee.

Atty George L. Vaughn, Fiery Fighter

Civil Rights Petitions Are Circulated

Want Housing As Promised Citizens.

At a citizens mass meeting held at the Pine Street Y. M. C. A., Friday and sponsored by the Civil Rights committee of the St. Louis branch of the N.A.A.C.P, a committee was named to get positive assurance from Mayor Kaufmann that housing will be provided for the more than 20,000 colored citizens in the area affected by the Slum Clearance Plan.

The committee will select a group of questions to ask the Mayor which must be answered before the $16,000,000.00 Bond Issue is voted on in November.

If answers to the questions submitted to the Mayor are not favorable, Negroes will be advised not to vote for the Bond Issue in November. If it is definitely ascertained housing will be provided with low rentals which can be paid by low salaried persons, the committee will urge every person as a citizen to back the plan, it was said. Mr. Henry W. Wheeler, Atty. R. E. Wilson, Mr. George Stafford, Rev. L. L. Haynes, Rev. John E. Nance, and Atty. S. R. Redmond were selected to serve on the committee.

No Answers Found

Joseph Clark, chairman of the Civil Rights Committee of the St. Louis Branch, NAACP, told the more than fifty civic leaders who attended the meeting that he and his committee were unable to find answers as to what was to happen to the 20,000 Negroes who now live in the area.

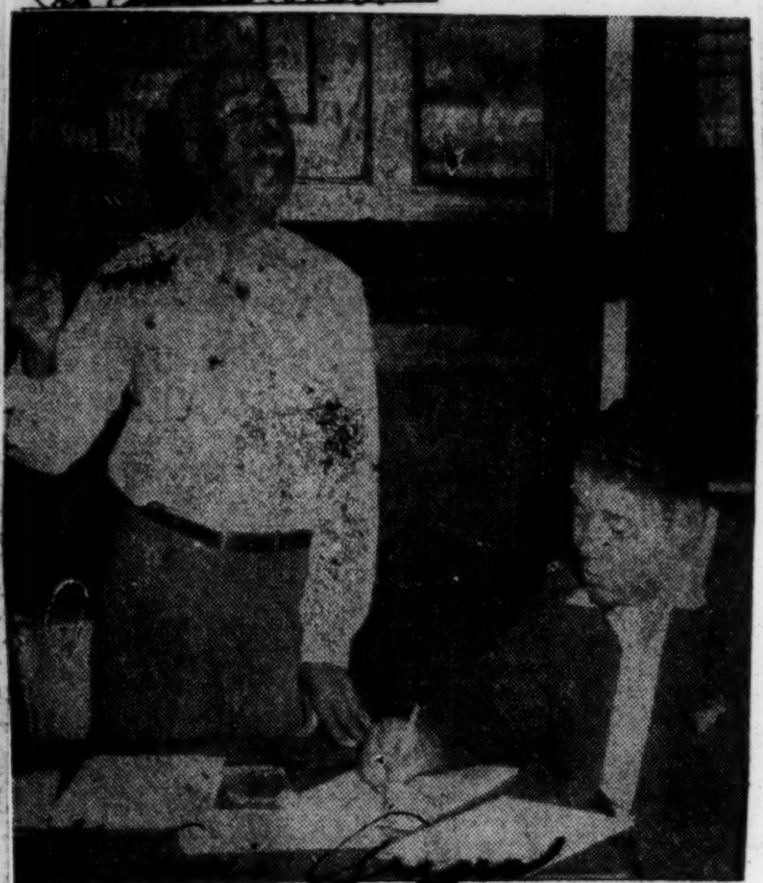
The area is from Fifteenth street to Grand boulevard and between Market and Olive streets.

The Anti-Slum Commission has estimated the population at between 10,000 and 15,000 persons, when actually there are 20,000 or more in the area.

Mr. Clark also stated that Negroes are as anxious as any one else to see St. Louis beautified. We will not stand by to see thousands of our people forced out of their homes at this time of critical housing shortage. We want a promise in writing from responsible public officials in detail as to how they propose to handle this problem," Clark said.

Area Not A Slum

Alderman S. R. Redmond who opposed the Bond issue since its first proposal attacked it bitterly at the meeting. "It is not a Slum Clearance Proposal at all," Redmond said. "I can show you many areas of St. Louis where to civil rights, and to commit the Democrat Party to the enactment



Atty. Sidney R. Redmond Addressing Citizens Meeting

'RIGHTS' MEASURE CALLED FORCE BILL

(Special to The Times-Picayune)

Gulfport, Miss., June 8.—Truman's civil rights measure was termed a "force bill" and declared "disastrous and explosive" at the 24th annual encampment of the Mississippi Department, United Spanish War Veterans Monday.

Captain Tom Gibson, Clarksdale, member of the national legislative committee declared, "At all times in our history we have repelled attack from outsiders; we will successfully oppose this legislation directed at the South's heritage."

Other speakers included E. I. Weill, past commander of Florida.

Oliver J. Davis, Saucier, department commander, served as master of ceremonies. The convention opened Sunday and will continue through Tuesday when officers will be elected.

A Negro Looks At Civil Rights

The following is from an editorial in The Newark Telegram, published by Davis Lee, a Negro, and the author of this editorial, which was printed in The Congressional Record:

I have just returned from an extensive tour of the South. In addition to meeting and talking with our agents and distributors, who get our newspaper out to the more than 500,000 readers of the South, I have met both Negroes and whites in the urban and rural centers.

Because of these personal observations, studies and contacts, I feel that I can speak with some degree of authority. I am certainly in a better position to voice an opinion than the Negro leader who occupies a suite in downtown New York and bases his opinions on the South from the distorted stories he reads in the Negro Press and Daily Worker.

The racial lines in the South are so clearly drawn and defined there can be no confusion. When I am in Virginia or South Carolina I don't wonder if I will be served if I walk into a white restaurant. I know the score. However, I have walked into several right here in New Jersey where we have a civil rights law, and have been refused service.

The whites in the South stay with their own and the Negroes do likewise. This one fact has been the economic salvation of the Negro in the South. Atlanta, Georgia, compares favorably with Newark in size and population. Negroes there own and control millions of dollars worth of business. All the Negro business in New Jersey will not amount to as much as our race has in one city in Georgia. This is also true in South Carolina and Virginia.

New Jersey today boasts of more civil rights legislation than any other state in the Union, and state government itself practices more discrimination than Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina or Georgia. New Jersey employs one Negro in the Motor Vehicle Department. All of the states above mentioned employ plenty.

No matter what a Negro wants to do, he can do it in the South. In Spartanburg, South Carolina, Ernest Collins, a young Negro, operates a large funeral home, a taxicab business, a filling station, grocery store, has several buses, runs a large farm and a night club.

Collins couldn't do all that in New Jersey or New York. The only bus lines operated by Negroes are in the South. The Safe Bus Company in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, owns and operates over a hundred. If a Negro in New Jersey or New York had the money and attempted to obtain a franchise to operate a line he would not only be turned down, but he would be lucky if he didn't get a bullet in the back.

Negroes and whites get along much better together in the South than northern agitators would have you believe. Of course I know that there are some sore spots down there, and we have them up here also. But it is not as bad as it is painted. The trouble in the South stems from dumb ignorant whites and Negroes, not from the intelligent, better class element of the two races.

The attitude of the southerners toward our race is a natural psychological reaction and aftermath of the War Between the States. Negroes were the properties of these people. They were not the peers, and were not even considered human in the true sense. The whole economy of the South was built around slavery. The South was forced by bloodshed and much harm to its pride, to give up slavery. Overnight these slaves became full fledged American citizens enjoying the same rights as their former owners.

Certainly you couldn't expect the South to forget this in 75 or even 150 years. That feeling has passed from one generation to another, but it is not one of hatred for the Negro. The South just doesn't believe that the Negro has grown up. No section of the country has made more progress in finding a workable solution to the Negro problem than the South. Naturally southerners are resentful when the North attempts to ram a civil rights program down their throats.

I have pointed out in dozens of editorials that the white people of this country are not only our friends, but they want to see us get ahead as a race. As a matter of fact, we are more prejudiced than those whom we accuse of being prejudiced.

The entire race problem in America is wrong. Our approach is wrong. We expend all our energies and spend millions of dollars trying to convince white people that we are as good as they are, that we are an equal. Joe Louis is not looked upon as a Negro but the greatest fighter of all time, loved and admired by whites in South Carolina as much as by those in Michigan. He convinced the world not by propaganda and agitation, but by demonstration.

Our fight for recognition, justice, civil rights and equality should be carried on within the race. Let us demonstrate to the world by our living standards, our conduct, our ability and intelligence that we are the equal of any man, and when we shall have done this the entire world, including the South, will accept us on our terms. Our present program of threats and agitation makes enemies out of our friends.

CRC HELPS NEGROWORKERS IN EIGHT WAGE-HOURJIMCROW

MINNEAPOLIS, Sept. 21.—The resistance of Negro workers to the wage and hours discrimination won a victory for 20 young Negro men and women employed at the Minit Car Wash at 5th and Hennepin here recently. Working a 57-hour week, 9½-hour day, with no overtime pay, the men received a flat $42.75 and the women $30 for the same work. When their application for organization by the CIO was turned down because the union claimed they did not come under their jurisdiction, and when application to the AFL brought no results, the Negro workers appealed to the Civil Rights Congress of the low active. Before the meeting was held, the owner of the plant called the Civil Rights Congress and requested a conference with them and the workers' committee. At this parley, the union official was called in and the employers agreed to negotiate with the union to re-hire the fired employes according to their seniority, and to fire the scabs.

Minneapolis to help them win their circulars, pointing out that the wages for Negroes undermine the rights. As soon as the CRC interceded, whole wage pattern of the community. The AFL began to sign up the workers, the employer began to fire the union leaders. The rest of the crew walked out in protest against the dismissals. When the crew got no action from Fair Employment Practices Commission here, which has been in- before Mayor Humphrey and the union, the CRC put out 15,000

SOUTH USING VIOLENCE TO COMBAT CIVIL RIGHTS

Terrorism Raises For Each Gain

COLUMBIA, S. C.—(ANP)—There are signs everywhere in the south that the Negroes' struggle for civil rights and equal opportunities is going to be opposed by brute force similar to that exhibited against the freedmen immediately after the civil war.

Every victory won before the United States Supreme court, every advance made in politics and every gain registered in education or the business field will be challenged by the old guard of whites who desire no change in the relationship between the races.

The Ku Klux Klan or similar groups are going to try to frighten Negroes into submission on civil rights and other issues. The liberality of Wallace's candidacy has raised the ire of many white southerners. Last week these sinister forces tried to intimidate Larkin Marshall, Negro candidate for the U. S. Senate from Georgia, on the Henry A. Wallace ticket.

A fiery cross was burned in front of Marshall's home. Other crosses will be burned in the south as Negroes dare run for public office or sue to enter so-called white colleges and universities. The southern white man can't stomach a Negro running for a public office.

Ku Klux Klan activities have increased in the south since President Truman advocated civil rights for Negroes and the U. S. Supreme court has handed down the Irene Morgan decision and the ruling on the old restrictive covenant cases.

There will be more lawlessness and resort to brute force in the future as the courts rule favorably on cases involving Negro rights in the south simply because the south has no interest in democracy and humanity as they apply to Negroes.

Police brutality has increased in several southern cities since agitation started over the civil rights issue. On the least provocation Negroes are beaten unmercifully and unnecessarily. Such cases get nowhere when protested in police court. Such instances have occured in cities of this state and in Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi, within the last year.

Civil liberties means different things to white people—one thing for white people and something else for Negroes. This is the attitude of the whitelegislators and lawmakers, the judges and juries and the county supervisors, sheriffs, mayors, governors and U. S. Presidents—they all recognize justice as one thing for whites and a different thing for Negroes.

There is no freedom train in America. The Freedom train which passed through the south a few months ago was not as real as the underground railroad was a hundred years ago.

The underground railroad actually carried Negroes to freedom. The Freedom train had relics of a struggle for freedom—for white men attained for Negroes a hollow mockery!

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He termed fair employment legislation recently enacted by the New York legislature "a diatribe of un-Americanism," and he said that national legislation of the pattern in effect in New York would "destroy small business."

Those promoting the civil rights movement "are doing more to harm the Negro in the South than could possibly be done in any other manner," Rankin said.

"There are only four ways of dealing with the Negroes," he declared: "Deportation — out of the question at the present time; amalgamation—even more out of the question; extermination — impossible, and segregation the only fair solution."

No Hope, This Time

Negroes will not be deceived into believing that Congress will pass any of the measures recommended by President Truman for the strengthening of Civil Rights. They can expect no favorable legislation on the proposed and much talked about anti-lynching bill. They cannot expect any legislation for the improvement of fair working opportunities through FEPC. And the poll tax prevalent in a few remaining southern states, will remain unmolested. In short therefore, we can predict with a fair degree of certainty that there will be no legislation in this session of Congress which can be interpreted as a move in the direction of Negro equality, although there will be loud and long talk by Republican leaders in an effort to deceive the Negro and to swing the vote for work to their candidate.

This is an old, age-long story, both by the Republicans and Democrats. And we hope the American Negro will not be fooled by these honey-combed words. For as one speaker said recently, when they get on the stump they promise everything except immorality. But the place to carry out these promises and good intentions is on the floor of Congress, where, as Mr. Truman so aptly observed, "less has been accomplished by this Congress than any since the time of Thad Stevens."

There is little excuse for it, however, since at no time since Thad Stevens have Negroes been so badly in need of legislation to safeguard and secure them against the evils of discrimination, police brutality, mob violence and the whole catalogue of associated evils. Now as never before, we need civil rights protection. But we won't get it from this Congress.

Churches Good Places To Solve Civil Rights

BY ALYCE BILLINGS WALKER

Members of the Business Women's Unit of St. Mary's-on-the-Highlands asked their rector to discuss the civil rights question with them.

Others would do well to follow their example. Could there be a better place for such a subject to be discussed than in a house dedicated to the Great Wisdom and the Great Heart? And certainly, ministers of God should be the ones who could more objectively evaluate this subject in the light of human justice than any other persons.

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Separate But Equal Facilities—He urged that while we are maintaining separate but equal facilities for Negroes, we should see that they are equal in fact.

LYNCHING—While not as common as it was in the Reconstruction era, Mr. Marmion's statement that there was an increase in postwar years and is in postwar years and is increasing further, unless dealt with vigorously. "There are some Southern states with good laws, but poor enforcement. Nothing would eradicate lynching more quickly than a relatively high certainty of punishment. That would be the advantage of a federal law."

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The Argus St. Louis, Mo. Fri. 7-23-48

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The News, Birmingham, Ala. Thurs. 7-8-48

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World, Memphis, Tenn. Fri. 6-25-48

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Birmingham News Sun. 5-23-48

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This report, he contended, was not sectional, political or hastily designed, because of the nature of the committee's membership. Its 15 members came from all walks of life, included both Democrats and Republicans, white and Negro persons and 10 months of study and investigation went into the report.

He argued further against charges that the proposals are sectional by citing instances of racial discrimination in other parts of the country and toward persons other than Negroes.

"Regardless of what we think of Mr. Truman's 10 points, or of the recommendations of his committee," the rector said, "there does exist a gulf between our civil rights principles and our practices."

* * *

HE REMINDED the group that the constitution guarantees the same federal rights to all citizens of this country. "City, county and state governments should make these rights secure. But if they do this, it is not outside interference for the federal government to do the job," he said.

And then the rector asked, "Is this not a poor time to raise the old states' rights bogey when the United States is encouraging international agreements for human rights, and thus world interference in creating common standards for all peoples? Already the United Nations Charter pledges us against racial discrimination. Can we ever win to our democratic side the two-thirds of the peoples of the world who are not white if we keep up unchanged our admitted racial bars?"

Lamenting that because some people cannot accept some of the president's proposals, they are refusing the whole program, the rector got down to the four issues that have whipped up Southern anger. He discussed the status of these issues in our section of the country and made suggestions on how to improve them.

* * *

LYNCHING—While not as common as it was in the past, the rector said lynching has increased in postwar years and is likely to increase further, unless dealt with vigorously. "There are some Southern states with good laws, but poor enforcement. Nothing would eradicate lynching more quickly than a relatively high certainty of punishment. That would be the advantage of a federal law."

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He listed as most common abuses by police: Insulting and abusive language; needless beating and shooting of persons being arrested or while in custody; wholesale arrests or roundups on slight suspicion, growing out of the existence in many counties of the fee system for police and sheriffs; use of force and intimidation to gain confessions and information from persons taken into custody; holding persons incommunicado; denial of medical attention to sick or injured persons; jailing of witnesses so they will be on hand when needed.

* * *

HE SUGGESTED as ways of correcting these abuses: Strengthen federal statutes; urge state and local governments to improve their administrative procedures and regulations as quickly as possible; place more emphasis on the selection, training and personality of policemen, seeing that no person with sadistic tendencies or with a race or class chip on his shoulder is employed as a law officer; hire and use Negro policemen in predominantly Negro areas; recognize and encourage individual policemen for fairness, courtesy and efficiency.

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Birmingham News 5-23-48

taining separate facilities for Negroes, that we should be vigilant in providing them with equal facilities.

It seems to me that in such sensible, calm meetings as this group held, and with such a leader as Mr. Marmion, we can find the answer to this question that is rending the South today.

Certainly such meetings could be the training ground for persons who could later compose a countywide inter-racial council that would be the big step toward solving our problems.

Both Parties Abandoned Civil Rights Programs—H. Wallace

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Declaring that both President Truman and the Republican Party had abandoned their civil rights programs, Henry Wallace declared, that "the post-Civil War work of the Thaddeus Stevens Congress remains an unfinished task which must be completed if democracy in this country is to remain and expand."

He made the statement in an address before 500 people attending a Wallace for President dinner here at the Statler Hotel. Dr. Joseph L. Johnson, dean of medical school of Howard University was chairman.

Wallace said that Congressman John Rankin's recent statement that there "would be unity in the Democratic Party on civil rights questions" is the latest proof that the views of President Truman's civil rights message "are not the views of Mr. Truman."

Criticizing the Republicans for their refusal to advocate full civil rights in their platform, Wallace charged that at the Philadelphia GOP convention Republican leaders handed out $3,000 for parties to try and keep Negro delegates away from white delegates, ignored Negro representatives and refused to hear Magistrate Reynolds, their officially appointed spokesman, on desired changes in the inadequate civil rights plank.

He pledged that the New Party would end the one-party dictatorship in the South and help the South to become free and productive.

Wallace also urged home rule for the District of Columbia, saying it would also strike a powerful blow to jim crow and all its ugly ways.

What Equality?

Editor Constitution: I note another letter on the EQUALITY question, and would like to ask, "Where is equality?"

We are all born "free and equal," with the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. The only equality I see is we all come here helpless, squalling, hungry infants, demanding all the attention we can get, and we are on our own with the help of our environment from there, with the acquired instincts and characteristics of heritage, grasping or failing to grasp opportunity.

When God saw fit to build the world with all the billions of people just a little bit different from the others, He was doing it by the spirit of life, and not a mechanical machine-age equality.

We may not have national castes but our lives, living and labors draws their invisible lines of caste. So we have the privilege of seeking out and gathering together those with whom we wish to associate. We have the privilege of fitting ourselves for the place we wish to achieve, and until we fit ourselves, and shape our lives, labors, thoughts, etc., to fall with harmony into a group we cannot expect to be one of that group. Even then, the unexpected factor may arise, and Mr. New Rich finds himself failing to crash the wealthy social clubs.

Too many people have not learned that a law writes itself, man only supplying the words. Made laws are a matter of feeding a furnace with stones instead of coal. It won't work.

Atlanta. MRS. INA WYCOTT.

Civil Rights And The South

By E. C. Krauss, In The Los Angeles Times

THERE is a disposition elsewhere to consider Southern opposition to the so-called "civil rights" program as blind and stubborn and born wholly of a fetish for "white supremacy." Particularly is this true of the racial and religious groups who conceive that they will be benefited by such legislation. They can see no reason for opposing it which is not based on bigotry and intolerance.

Of bigotry and intolerance there is too much in all parts of the United States; the South is not alone guilty of them. And the fact is there are strong and cogent arguments against all features of the "civil rights" program, on logical and reasonable bases, and they are advanced in the North as well as in the South.

Three items in the "civil rights" list are most frequently discussed; an anti-poll tax bill, an anti-lynching bill, and a bill to forbid discrimination in employment.

The first would provide Federal supervision of elections in the South, to see that no one was denied a vote who hadn't paid his poll tax. Such legislation ignores the fact that the American system, as laid out in the Constitution, gives the supervision of elections to the states. This appears very clearly in Article I, Section 2, where qualifications of voters for Representative in Congress are made the same as those for "the most numerous branch of the State Legislature," which obviously will be fixed by the states. Article II, which says presidential electors shall be "appointed" in each state "in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct" is to the same effect.

And the 14th Amendment, passed when public enthusiasm for states' rights was at its nadir, nowhere says or indicates that states may not resist the suffrage. On the contrary, its provision of penalties for states which do so plainly shows there was no intention of forcing state election laws into any particular mold.

This provision is worth a glance as showing the Constitutional method of proceeding against poll-tax states, which is not the method proposed in the current legislation. The amendment says:

"Representatives shall be apportioned among the several states according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each state, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for president and vice-president of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive and officers of a state, or the members of Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such state, being 21 years of age and citizens of the United States, or in anyway abridged . . . the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which such male citizens shall bear to the whole number."

This section could be read by the Supreme Court as peohibiting any other method of control of state election matters. Hence the proposed legislation is of doubtful validity.

THE anti-lynching bill is being ballyhooed out of all proportion to its true importance. The real reason Southerners oppose it is not that they favor lynching but that they consider it an insult to the communities which by state action, have already reduced that crime to negligible proportions. There was one lynching in all the South in 1947; the perpetrators were arrested and prosecuted—vigorously; a jury freed them. If the prosecution had been in a Federal court, there is no reason to suppose there would have been a different result.

One news dispatch said it is proposed to take lynchers for trial far from the scene of the crime. It can't be done; the Sixth Amendment calls for a jury "of the state and district wherein the crime shall have been committed."

Can it be seriously contended that lynching is worse than any other form of murder? Yet there is not even any thought of a federal anti-murder statute. A federal anti-lynch bill probably would do more harm than good.

The same comment can be made on the "Fair Employment Practices" proposal: It would almost certainly do more harm than good. It would do this by seeking to take away a freedom people in this country have always enjoyed, that of hiring whom they please, or of declining to hire anyone who does not appear to fit the job.

There is more to this than merely the employer's prejudices; the projudices of fellow workers have to be considered. A harmonious working force is desirable, if not essential, to any business or industry. The legislation, if successful, would have the effect of forcing on a working force persons who are considered objectionable either by the employers, or the employes or both; and the natural effect of compulsion would be to make them seem still more objectionable.

Also, it would open the door to blackmail. A member of any minority group if refused a job, could run to the Fair Employment Practices Commission with a complaint and make the refuser a lot of trouble, even if there were good and valid reasons, other than racial or religious discrimination, for the refusal. Or he could threaten to do so and induce the refuser to buy off the complainant with money. The business of seeking a job from unwilling employers could be turned into a lu-

The Case Of Mrs. Smith—II

BY JOSEPH AND STEWART ALSOP

TRADITIONAL AMERICAN LIBERTIES are precious to most of us. So is the security of the United States. Yet if our freedoms and our national security are to be intrusted to men like J. Parnell Thomas, or to such men as the bumbling politically illiterate accusers of Mrs. Ann Smith, then God help the United States.

Some of Mrs. Smith's recent experiences—by no means uncommon in government services today—has been recounted how Mrs. Smith, a Navy clerk-stenographer in the Panama Canal Zone, was prevented from marrying Petty Officer Robert Jones; how she answered a remarkable questionnaire, and how, in March of this year, she was charged with disloyalty to her country.

Against the advice of the Navy legal officer, Mrs. Smith, a woman of considerable spirit, immediately demanded a hearing before the loyalty board of the 15th Naval District. The transcript of this hearing is a distinctly disturbing document. It is not that the Navy officers and other officials concerned were brutal, Gestapo-minded men. They were nothing of the sort. The evidence suggests that they were merely stupid.

* * *

Meaningless Hearing

WHAT IS DISTURBING is that the hearing was quite obviously entirely meaningless. It was held ostensibly to give Mrs. Smith the opportunity to clear herself. But the record shows that she really had no chance at all to do so.

* * *

The Need For Intelligence

A FEW DAYS LATER, on leave in New Orleans, Mrs. Smith and Petty Officer Jones were married, fully believing that the whole silly mess had at last been cleared up. Then, on their honeymoon, she was notified by R. Adm. E. W. Hanson that she was suspended without pay, because "grounds exist for the belief that you are disloyal to the government." It thus became part of the official records of the United States that Mrs. Smith was a traitor to her country, or a potential traitor. The imaginative reader may be able to sense what this might mean to any decent American.

Many government employes, in like cases, have bitterly or resignedly accepted their fate. The spunky Mrs. Smith did not. She had already written to her congresswoman, Helen Gahagan Douglas, describing the circumstances. Mrs. Douglas had investigated, received countless angry assurances of Mrs. Smith's loyalty and referred the matter to Paul Porter, former OPA administrator and Washington lawyer. Mrs. Smith cut short her honeymoon to come to Washington, and Porter, accepting the case gratis, appealed direct to the top Navy Loyalty Board.

It is not known why Mrs. Smith was accused in the first place. Perhaps her tolerant racial views made her suspect. Perhaps it was a case of mistaken identity—it is alarming that no less than 41 out of the first 245 FBI full field investigations under the loyalty order turned out to be cases of mistaken identity. Perhaps it was a combination of both. At any rate, the Navy board, prodded by Porter, and "after complete and careful review of all the evidence," immediately reinstated Mrs. Smith with back pay and wholly exonerated her.

Most of the questioning, conducted by Comdr. Joe E. Munster, concerned certain radical outbursts which took place in the '30s on California campuses, while Mrs. Smith was going to college. This in itself raises the question whether having indulged years ago in left-wing college shenanigans is really evidence of disloyalty to the United States.

At any rate, it came out at the hearing that the radical activities which had aroused the suspicion of Mrs. Smith's accusers had taken place at the University of California at Los Angeles. It also came out that Mrs. Smith had attended the University of Southern California, apparently a far more decorous institution than U. C. L. A. This being established, Comdr. Munster then asked hopefully, "Did you ever have occasion—did you ever drift over there (to U. C. L. A.) when one of these affairs was going on?" "No, I never," Mrs. Smith replied, and then nervously volunteered that she had belonged to the women's debate team in her freshman year.

The rest of the hearing, which would have been funny were it not for its serious implications, was conducted on about the same level of intelligence. Mrs. Smith denied that she had belonged to various radical youth organizations, and, in another pathetic attempt to establish her respectability, volunteered that she had been "very active in the University Methodist Church." She denied ever having used a false name, and denied having had subversive contacts with a number of people she had never heard of. Then Comdr. Munster remarked, "I don't believe I have any more questions to ask," and that was that.

Thus the case of Mrs. Smith has ended happily. Many others have not. One thing seems clear. The stupidity and bumbling in the handling of many loyalty cases, and the eager headline-seeking of men like J. Parnell Thomas are no answer to the very real problem of security. Yet the answer must be found. It can best be found by a commission of men of undoubted intelligence and integrity, men like Dwight Eisenhower, Learned Hand, Justice Owen Roberts. Such a commission, meeting in secret, could consider coldly, carefully and intelligently the whole troubling and immensely difficult problem of the relationship between national security and the personal liberty and personal dignity of people like Mrs. Ann Smith.—©

Civil Rights Fight May Be Over Before Begun

There is a better than even chance that the so-called civil rights fight of the South was begun too late, that the last chance for the South is already gone.

The issue may be settled before November.

When President Harry Truman issued his call for the special political session of Congress, called for next Monday, he played into the hands of the politicians of both the Democratic and Republican parties who will set about now to trap the South between two millstones.

On nothing else can the two parties agree. They agree, of course, that inflation should be halted, but they disagree as to the means of halting it. Each blames the other for it. Both are responsible. And it is so with most of the other issues.

But on civil rights, so-called, as Senator Richard Russell predicted, they can team up together to broil the South alive.

President Truman in his Philadelphia speech included civil rights among the things the special session should consider and Mayor Hubert Humphrey of Minneapolis, Democratic candidate for the Senate, who was the leader of the neo-liberals at the Democratic convention has since the convention challenged the Republicans to act upon the Truman civil rights measures.

Now comes a broad hint from Senator Kenneth S. Wherry of Nebraska, acting Republican leader, that the Republicans would accept the challenge. He pointed out that of all President Truman's proposals for special session action only those bills dealing with racial discrimination are ready for Senate action.

The civil rights issue split last week's Democratic convention apart. The Republican strategy apparently is to widen the breach between Mr. Truman and the Southern Democrats.

But this is the short-sighted policy, based upon the theory that the South can only go Democratic or nowhere.

What the Republican party needs is men of vision who can perceive the chance today to capitalize upon the Democratic party's treatment of the South and to set up real Republican parties in the Southern states, the chance even to capture a fairly large bloc of Southern electoral college votes, not only for the 1948 election, when they may not be needed, but for the years to come when they may.

It cannot be done, however, by playing the Truman game, as Senator Wherry proposes. It cannot be done by joining Truman in harrassing the Southern Democrats. That makes votes for the Dixiecrats, which may hurt Truman, but will not help the Republicans nor the South.

The South even has been hurt already by the precipitancy with which the Dixiecrats held their Birmingham conference-convention and the undue haste in naming presidential and vice presidential candidates. A conference at Birmingham would have been all right. But with the special session coming up immediately the South should have had sense enough to play coy, to withhold a final decision until it saw where its bread was buttered, to hold out the hope to the Republicans that they might get the otherwise Democratic electoral votes of the South if they handled themselves in a way to win them.

Both the South and the Republicans need a lesson or so in how to win friends and influence people.

CONGRESS SHOULD DO IT NOW

President Truman's Civil Rights program, to which seventeen Southern governors object, calls for four essential rights for all Americans:

Right No. 1—To safety and security of person.

Right No. 2—To citizenship and its privileges.

Right No. 3—To freedom of conscience (religion) and expression (speech, press).

Right No. 4—To equality and opportunity.

It's significant that the Truman Committee's report, illustrating this fourth right, pictures three races—colored, yellow and white.

When you hear the leather-lunged Dixie governors' conference and the wide-mouthed Congressmen from the backward areas opposing Civil Rights, they are seeking to deny the fundamentals of citizenship to you simply because you are not white.

Don't be misled. Keep your eye on this important point. The best Americans, black and white, want everybody to have civil rights. It is only the prejudiced, the stupid and the ignorant who do not.

This editorial calls attention today to the No. 1 Civil Rights—namely, the right to safety and security of person.

February a year ago, Willie Earle was lynched in Greenville County, S.C. He was accused of killing a taxi driver.

In the mob which hanged Earle, thirty-one were identified and twenty-six signed confessions. Yet,

1. All twenty-six were found "not guilty" by a jury.
2. Greenville County, one year after the crime, declines Willie Earle's relatives the $2,000 which South Carolina State law requires shall be paid to the family of a lynched victim.

If Southern States could be relied upon to punish lynchers and indemnify their families, there would be no need of a Federal anti-lynching law.

But, South Carolina's arrogant defiance of the essential rights of its colored minority warrants the strongest Civil Rights Law which Congress can formulate.

The anti-lynching law before Congress must be passed now.

Says 1948 Can Be 'Great Year For Civil Rights'

NEW YORK —(ANP)— "In five short months, 1948 can be made a great year for civil rights legislation," writes Michael Straight in the current New Republic.

In an editorial entitled, "Revolt in the South," Straight discusses the key anti-discrimination measures, proposed by the President's Committee on Civil Rights, which strike at conditions in the south. These measures include protection against lynching, abolition of the poll tax, prevention of discrimination in employment and transportation, and the strengthening of the terms and the enforcement of existing civil rights statutes. The southern Democrats, Straight says, will fight these by threats and filibusters.

"We are committed internationally by the charter of the United Nations," writes New Republic's editor, to "universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion." To carry out this international obligation, he continues, and to rid America of the economic wastage and "moral dry rot" caused by prejudice and discrimination, the President's Committee on Civil Rights has proposed that America move forward on these fronts, "legislative, executive and judicial, to secure these rights."

FIRMLY COMMITTED

The Republican Policy committee, Straight reports, is "firmly committed" to a program of civil rights. In the past he reveals, Republicans have worked undercover with Southern Democrats to prevent such legislation, while paying "lip service" to civil rights proposals. This time, he declares, if the Republicans and the administration are in earnest, then in the five remaining months of this session, congress can pass the civil rights program.

"The achievement of full civil rights in law," Straight concludes, "as the President's committee says 'may do as much to end prejudice as the end of prejudice may do to achieve full civil rights."

Encouraging Gains Made In Civil Rights Fight

By FLORENCE MURRAY
(Special to The Courier)

NEW YORK—Despite the "inhospitable atmosphere created by the fears of communism, civil rights for racial minorities received a more favorable reception and encouragement," during the year ending July, 1948, than "in years," the American Civil Liberties Union states in its annual report recently released.

The report cites forty-eight important "favorable actions" regarding civil rights—by courts, government authorities and private agencies during the year, as against thirty-four unfavorable ones. Of the forty-eight actions, fifteen affected Negroes directly, while nearly all of them affected them indirectly as members of minority groups.

While the list of favorable and unfavorable actions cited represent "only the major reported cases and incidents involving official action," the report states, "they do not reflect the adverse atmosphere of so critical a period, nor the restraints and repression growing out of the fears of war and of communism."

The Civil Liberties Union, while agreeing that civil rights issues affecting minority groups made a favorable showing during the year from July 1947 to July 1948, issues a warning to those groups.

"The unprecedented conflicts over civil rights as a major issue in American politics," it asserts, "and their world significance in the struggle against Soviet communism have produced a confusion and uncertainty over basic principles of civil liberty unmatched in years."

IN FEDERAL COURTS

The court decision cited as favorable to Negroes during the period were: (1) the 6-0 decision of the U. S. Supreme Court holding unenforceable restrictive covenants; (2) the U. S. Supreme Court's refusal to review—thus upholding—a decision of the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Richmond sustaining in effect the right of Negroes to vote in the South Carolina Democratic white primary;

Also (3) the unanimous decision of the U. S. Supreme Court declaring that Negro students are entitled to the same educational facilities as white (the University of Oklahoma case involving Ada Sipuel Fisher); (4) the unanimous decision or the U. S. Supreme Court holding the Michigan anti-discrimination act applicable to Negroes traveling in boats to Canada (the Bob-Lo Excursion Boat case);

Also (5) the decision by the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Baltimore, later affirmed by the Supreme Court, fining the Brotherhoom of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen for failing adequately to protect the rights of Negro firemen not members of the union.

CONGRESS, FEDERAL AGENCIES

Also (6) enactment of a bill deleting racial discrimination provisions of the law authorizing suspension of deportation in hardship cases; (7) the report of the President's Civil Rights Committee; (8) the civil rights program proposed by President Truman to Congress, based on the committee's report;

Also (9) the President's directives aimed at removing racial discrimination (but not barring segregation) in the armed forces and Federal services; (10) the report by the President's Committee on Higher Education attacking segregation in education.

STATE BODIES

Also (11) the decision of the California Court of Appeals upholding rights of Negroes to picket store owners accused of discriminating in employment; (12) passage by the New York Legislature of a fair educational practices bill prohibiting racial or religious discrimination in admission to all but religious institutions; (13) the adoption by New Jersey voters of a new constitution barring racial segregation in schools and in the militia; (14) report by New Jersey Governor Driscoll's Committee on Civil Liberties resulting in creating a permanent State committee on civil rights; and (15) efforts of Governor E. Gregg Cherry of North Carolina to bring to justice the attempted lynchers of a Negro (Buddy Bush).

Among the unfavorable actions

All-Arts Stop Censorship Committee

To Organize Nation-Wide Offensive Against Censorship and Intimidation

'All-Arts' Rally Maps Fight on Unamericans

Daily Worker New York, N.Y. Fri. 3-26-48

By John Hudson Jones

THE Un-American Committee is going to be put on trial before thousands at Madison Square Garden. And artists subpenaed by J. Parnell Thomas and his witchhunters will get a chance to testify fully at public hearings without fear of being smeared or intimidated. These are part of the offensive plans for the "All-Arts Stop Censorship Committee," as announced to a meeting of over 1,000 artists Tuesday night at the Hotel Astor.

They were angry, serious people, determined to fight for their American rights of freedom of expression. In addresses, short talks and recordings, Thomas and his California counterpart Jack Tenney, were told to expect a last-ditch fight.

This recorded nugget from funnyman Henry Morgan, seemed to sum up the ideas: **"They're trying to take our right to ad lib, and give us their own scripts, but they've got bad writers, and we won't take it!"**

* * *

THEN LED by actor Burgess Meredith, several other personalities spoke against current witchhunts, and vowed to fight back. Leon Kroll, painter; Florence Eldridge, actress; Frederick G. Melcher, editor of **Publishers Weekly**; Jose Ferrer, actor; Richard Lauterbach, Christopher LaFarge, writers —all branded the Un-Americans as destroyers of American culture and the democracy that it springs from.

Prolonged applause followed the keynote address of Albert Maltz, one of the 10 Hollywood writers and directors facing trial for contempt of Congress. Daily Worker

"To my mind," declared Maltz, "the true majesty of the American tradition resides in the vast degree of its conscious and determined effort to overthrow tyranny, and to achieve social, political, economic, religious and intellectual freedom for the individual citizen." N.Y.

The co-author of **Naked City** day" the committee "tries to drive Dr. Frank Condon from science. I believe that Dr. Condon will never be secure in his rights of citizenship until Ring Lardner is once again secure in his Daily Worker

* * *

MARGARET WEBSTER, Broadway producer, while denouncing the widespread hysteria, that "banned the playing of Russian music" over a midwest radio mistakenly likened this America pro-fascist move as being "not far removed from telling Prokofieff what he must write." She was referring to recent criticism directed to the Soviet composer by his country's CP Central Committee.

Plans for permanent nationwide groups were voted by those present. In the various states and cities these groups will combat local censorship and intimidation of all kinds, while nationally the target will be the Un-American Committee. It was proposed that letters and wires be sent to Gov. Dewey protesting the proposed Young-Becker bill for a New York little Un-American Committee. And funds were collected for the defense of the Hollywood writers facing trial, and for other work against the un-Americans.

Recorded statements by prominent actors, who were then appearing in nearly Broadway shows, included Joan Tetzel, Phillip Boeb, Meg Mundy, Phil Silvers, Marsha Hunt, Alan Scott, Judy Holliday, Paul McGrath, Alfred Drake and Morris Carnovsky. Others taking part were Moss Hart, Canada Lee and Shirley Graham, author. 3-26-48 Daily Worker

HENRY MORGAN

JOAN TETZEL

JOSE FERRER

CANADA LEE

SHIRLEY GRAHAM

ALBERT MALTZ

3-26-48

BURGESS MEREDITH

...unquestionably try to prevent me tomorrow from writing novels." He declared that yesterday it was himself and Ring Lardner, but "to-

'Bill of Rights Week' Set to Start May 24

Daily Worker
New York, N.Y.

By Art Shields

An appeal by John Santo, CIO Transport Workers leader, to all brave men and women to **"stand up and be counted in the fight for American freedom"** closed a stirring Bill of Rights defense conference in the Hotel Diplomat last Saturday.

Just before Santo spoke the 250 delegates had adopted a fighting program of action at the call of Nat Ross, executive secretary of the New York Civil Rights Congress.

The three-front action program called for a vigorous drive against the House Un-American Committee's bill to "register" and crush progressive organizations; the Department of Justice's drive to deport progressive workers' leaders and the persecution of Negroes South and North.

A barrage of thousands of telegrams and letters to President Truman, and members of Congress against the "registration" bill will begin the people's fight this week.

A delegation to Washington will put the "registration," deportation and Negro rights issues squarely before Truman, Attorney General Tom Clark and Congress leaders on Thursday, April22.

BILL OF RIGHTS WEEK

And a "Defend the Bill of Rights Week" will rally workers to the struggle all over the United States in the week starting May 24 and ending Memorial Day, May 30.

Many clergymen are expected to raise their voices for civil rights on Memorial Day Sunday

Another delegation will visit Gov. Melvin E. Thompson of Georgia within 10 days and demand freedom for Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram and her two sons.

A telegram to Gov. Thompson was dispatched by the conference Saturday at the call of William Lawrence, national Civil Rights Congress leader.

Daily Worker

Immediate pardon of Leon Josephson, heroic Communist attorney and veteran of the underground struggles in Germany, was also demanded in a wire sent to Truman.

WARNING BY DR. WARD

The conference opened with a warning by Dr. Harry F. Ward, honorary chairman of the national Civil Rights Congress.

New York, N.Y.

Dr. Ward said that the test is before us today in the form of the present House Un-American committee bills, the Department of Justice's deportation drive, the Truman "loyalty" purges, the Taft-Hartley bills, the reactionary court decisions and the drive for war.

Gerhart Eisler and other speakers emphasized that the present terror drive was leading to war.

Rep. Vito Marcantonio (ALP-NY) hailed the conference in a wire for its fight to prevent the investment bankers and military clique from overturning civil liberties and plunging the country into war.

In another message, Michael J. Quill, president of the Transport Workers and chairman of the committee defending John Santo denounced the "anti-labor employers and their fascist-minded mouthpieces in high places," who are behind the attacks on civil liberties.

Abraham Isserman, Civil Rights Congress attorney, and George Marshall, Congress chairman; Carol King, counsel for the American committee for the Protection of Foreign Born, and Abner Green, committee executive secretary, and Charles Collins, representative of Local 6, AFL Hotel & Club Employes, were among the speakers.

John W. Darr, Jr., was chairman.

The conference was jointly called by the Civil Rights Congress and the American Committee.

CITIZENS COUNCIL FORMED TO AID CIVIL RIGHTS; SEEK FEDERAL RIGHTS COMMISSION, WILL ACT AS CLEARING HOUSE FOR PROGRAMS

NEW YORK (ANP)--Forty-eight religious, educational, civic and business leaders got together with temporary chairman Dean Ernest O. Melby of New York university in Freedom House here last week to organize the National Citizens Council on Civil rights. Purpose of the organization is four-fold:

"To urge establishment of a permanent government commission on civil rights charged with the continuous appraisal of the status of civil rights.

"To act as clearing house for civil rights programs of national organizations, who would cooperate by undertaking appropriate projects and stimulating interest of their members and the public generally.

"To encourage local communities to conduct an appraisal of civil rights in their own areas and take steps to improve local conditions.

"To undertake such educational projects and means for carrying out the program as deemed appropriate."

The council declared that the "American heritage of civil rights must be kept before the American people as a non-artisan, nonpolitical issue. Full civil rights can best be won in each man's backyard."

The group warned that if the nation failed to justify itself as a spiritual leader, "the free peoples of the world will despair and drift away from freedom." Its program is based upon the recommendations made by the President's Committee on Civil rights.

Among members of the council are Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam and Walter White, executive secretary of the NAACP. Henry L. McCarthy, former regional director of the social security board, is executive secretary of the council.

Wins Suit Over Theater Jim Crow

PUEBLO, Col. (ANP) - A suit against the Westland theatres filed in 1944 by Atty. Thomas Campbell, claiming a violation of the anti-discrimination code of the state and asking $500 damages on behalf of Mrs. Florence Johnson of Pueblo was decided in her favor. On Monday, March 8, Judge Harry Leddy of the Pueblo district court awarded the complainant $225 and costs.

Dixie Governors Vote To Establish 'Southern Foundation' To Inform U. S.

By M. L. ST. JOHN
Constitution Staff Writer

SAVANNAH—Southern Governors last night voted to establish a "Southern Foundation" to "correctly inform the nation about the South" and to compile and distribute an industrial encyclopedia of the South.

A resolution condemning President Truman's so-called Civil Rights Program, introduced by Georgia's Gov. Talmadge, was adopted.

The Governors also opposed the Federal Government taking over the State National Guards, voted to hire lawyers and statisticians to continue the fight for fair freight rates and opposed attempts of the Federal Government to take over the tidelands.

Gov. William Tuck, of Virginia, was elected chairman of the Southern Governors' Conference to succeed Gov. Preston Lane, of Maryland. His election was announced after there was earlier talk of a close race between Gov. Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina, and Gov. Beauford Jester, of Texas.

The proposed "Southern Foundation" would be financed eventually by public or private funds contributed by the 15 Southern States.

To map the plans for the "Southern Foundation" each Governor would appoint two citizens from his State within 90 days to serve on a "Board of Governors." This Board would decide upon the plan of action and cost and submit the plan to the Southern Governors' Conference for approval.

The Conference, in asking establishment of the "Southern Foundation," observed that "there does exist a need for an organized effort on the part of the South's people for the purpose of offsetting misinformation circulated continually about their "area." There is need of correcting the unfavorable attitude created and perpetuated by untruths and half-truths in such a manner that no fair-minded person can be further misled concerning the South, the Conference said.

Talmadge's resolution on Civil Rights—the only mention made of Civil Rights during the Conference of Southern Governors, who heretofore have blasted President Truman's proposals—follows:

"Whereas, there has been much agitation of proposed acts introduced in Congress embraced under the general head of 'civil rights': and, whereas the proposed acts would foster Federal intervention in the several States seeking to control matters that have been left to the States under the United States Constitution, and would further centralize power in Washington; and whereas at this particular time the relations between the white and colored races in the South are harmonious, and great progress has been, and is being, made, to harmonize all frictions between races, under policies based on accepted traditions of the South; and, whereas, we believe that outside meddling by those who are not familiar with these problems is retarding the progress being made—therefore, be it resolved by the Southern Governors convened at Savannah that we condemn outside interference and the usurping of purely State rights by the Federal Government, and that a copy of this resolution be sent to each member of the Congress of the United States."

The Governors labeled a move of the Federal Government to take over the State National Guards as "un-American, unconstitutional and contrary to the basic principles of our American form of government, and as totally unnecessary in order to maintain an adequate national defense." They said it would "merely satisfy the inordinate desire of a few individuals in the Department of Defense for complete Federal control of our entire armed forces."

Urging State ownership of the tidelands, Gov. Beauford Jester, of Texas, declared that if the Federal Government can take over the oil in submerged tidelands of the coastal States, it can take over oil in the interior States.

"This doctrine can be extended to apply to each and every natural resource that is vital to national defense and to the conduct of international affairs," Jester warned the Governors.

"This doctrine leads to nationalization of natural resources and the industries that have owned and operated them."

He predicted Congress will give back to the States the title to the tidelands.

Maryland Group Charges Colored Not Considered

ROCKVILLE, Md. — (NNPA) — Six ministers and businessmen last Tuesday charged Montgomery county government with "total disregard for the needs and desires" of the county's estimated 8,400 colored citizens.

Appearing before the Montgomery county board of commissioners at a meeting here appealed for "democracy in its unadulterated form and asked:

1. Immediate attention to colored conditions which they described as "deplorable."
2. Removal of "Jim Crow" signs on public toilets in the Rock Court House.
4. Extension of water and sewage lines to colored settlements "where practicable."
5. Appointment of some colored policemen.
6. An opportunity for wealthy colored persons to buy bonds to better facilities.

Spokesman for the group was Romeo W. Horad, a Washington real estate broker, who lives at 11308 Old Bladensburg road, Silver Springs, Md.

COUNCIL SPOKESMAN

Horad said he was speaking on behalf of a county organization with more than 1,000 members, the Citizens Council of Mutual Improvement for Montgomery County.

He told the commissioners "not one Negro school in the county compares favorably with any white school." He charged the county government "disregarded" conditions at colored schools which, he said, include no running water, outdoor privy toilets, schools located far from colored population centers, some beside railroad tracks. All colored schools are overcrowded, he said.

"We are not calling for an end to segregation," he declared. "We are merely demanding equal educational opportunities with whites."

President Brooke Johns of the board of commissioners told Horad "we want to work with you."

TWO SCHOOLS PLANNED

Plans for two colored schools in the "immediate future" were later announced by Richard Carpenter, assistant school superintendent in charge of school construction.

A $320,000 colored high school in Rockville, Carpenter said, and a $175,000 consolidated colored elementary school in Laytonsville, are both scheduled to be started in June.

"All of us on the Board of Education know that Negro school conditions are deplorable," he said, "and I don't blame them for complaining."

Henderson Named Director Of Human Rights Council

BALTIMORE, Md. — The appointment, effective August 1, of Elmer W. Henderson, as Director of the newly-formed American Council on Human Rights was announced Thursday by Mrs. Edna Over Gray, President of the Board.

The Council is a cooperative venture of six national Greek letter collegiate fraternities and sororities: Alpha Kappa Alpha, Alpha Phi Alpha, Delta Sigma Theta, Phi Beta Sigma, Sigma Gamma Rho and Zeta Phi Beta. It was founded primarily to seek the extension of civil rights to all Americans without regard to race, color, or religion. The Council also is aware of its responsibilities in regard to international problems. It will maintain an office in Washington to aid the passage of legislation supporting the aims of the Council and to oppose legislation considered detrimental to minorities. It will disseminate information and organize an action program.

OFFICERS LISTED

Officers of the Board of Directors of the Council in addition to Mrs. Gray, the president, are: Mrs. Mae Wright Downs, former national president, Delta Sigma Theta, vice-president; Dr. R. O. Johnson, national president, Phi Beta Sigma, recording secretary; Miss Esther Peyton, former Chairman Executive Board, Zeta Phi Beta, treasurer; Attorney Belford V. Lawson, Jr., national president Alpha Phi Alpha, general counsel.

Other members are: Miss Norma E. Boyd and Mrs. Beulah T. Whitby, Alpha Kappa Alpha; Miss Dorothy Height, national president, Delta Sigma Theta, and Mrs. Bertell Collins Wright, Delta Sigma Theta; Mrs. Ethel Ross Smith, national president, Sigma Gamma Rho, and Attorney Ruth Whitehead Whaley, Sigma Gamma Rho; Mrs. Lullelia W. Harrison, national president, Zeta Phi Beta and Dr. Nancy B. Woolridge Zeta Phi Beta; Dr. Howard H. Long and Attorney Thomas Clark, Alpha Phi Alpha; Attorney George A. Parker and Dr. A. J. Harris, Phi Beta Sigma.

In announcing Henderson's appointment, Mrs Gray stated that the Board had reviewed a number of highly qualified applicants and after careful consideration concluded that Mr. Henderson most nearly met the requirements of the position.

Mr. Henderson is presently executive secretary of the National Council for a Permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee and has been seeking to have Congress pass an FEPC bill. In releasing Mr. Henderson for the new post, A. Philip Randolph, Co-chairman of the FEPC Council, said: "May I say that we greatly regret the necessity to release Mr. Henderson as the directing head of our movement, but I am glad to know that he will become the Executive Director of the American Council on Human Rights, which is developing a program comparable to and broader than, the National Council for a Permanent FEPC. I want to congratulate the fraternities and sororities upon their initiating a legislative program of the character and reaches suggested by the name of your movement."

Hurt Vet Aids Civil Rights

Harold Russell, the ex-GI who won two Academy awards for his role as the handless veteran in "The Best Years of Our Lives," says in the April issue of Negro Digest that loss of his hands has led him into a crusade to sell American youth on democracy and civil rights.

"After the film won the hearts of America," Russell says in the Negro Digest article, "I began to visit veterans' hospitals and talked with hundreds of men, some maimed lightly, others unable ever to walk, talk, see or hear again because of their war injuries.

"I was impressed by the large numbers of Negro, Jewish, and Catholic patients in these hospitals," Russell continues. "Here were quiet sanctuaries of democracy where nobody raised ugly questions of skin color or national origin or religious beliefs."

An infantryman who lost a leg at Anzio told Russell, "Look chum! Why don't you reach the teen-agers who are still in high school with a message from us? Tell them that we guys flat on our backs don't like what we hear about lynching, race-baiting, segregation, all that kind of stuff."

The Anti-Defamation League later made Russell the same proposition. Since then he has been speaking regularly at high schools all over the nation and the cooperation he has received has convinced him that he is on the right track.

6 Florida Officials Indicted in Civil Rights Charges

Miami, Fla., Oct. 15 (AP).—A Federal grand jury today indicted four Palm Beach County police officers and a special agent of the Florida East Coast Railroad in connection with the beating of a Negro prisoner.

All five are accused of violating the Civil Rights laws.

They are John T. Britt, Riviera Beach police chief; Euell M. Culbreth and Walter I. Minton, Palm Beach County deputy sheriffs, and William M. Barnes, West Palm Beach patrolman, and Worden Arthur Badet, a special agent for the FEC.

The Negro is Alton Fowler, 24. According to the complaint, Fowler was taken into custody March 13. He was accused of stealing cigarettes from an interstate shipment on FEC boxcars.

A Human Rights Declaration

Black Dispatch
Oklahoma City Oklahoma

12/13/48

Some idea of what is wrong in this world can be gotten from the violent opposition that has developed across the past two and a half years to the adoption in the United Nations of a declaration on human rights. When the social committee reported last week to the general assembly a pitched battle that ended in deadlock was staged. It is interesting to note that when the social committee voted to present their brief for human rights to the geenral body, twenty-three (almost half) of the fifty-two nations were listed as absent.

Despite the assertion of Mrs. Roosevelt, chairman of the committee, that the document is "probably the most important thing done by man for many years from a moral and spiritual point of view," there are millions of people right here in the United States who join with South African and Russian delegates in opposition to the document. It should be kept in mind that this declaration on human rights has no binding effect upon the United Nations and has been developed and presented for approval only for its moral effect upon the world. If it were intended that enforcement obtain all over the universe to this ideological proposal, we are quite sure the United Nations would break up instanter.

It seems as though the nations assembled in Paris cannot come to agreement as to a definition for freedom. When Wendell Willkie returned from his airplane trip around the world to tell of his travels he gave us a clear picture of what dark people, in the hinterlands of the universe, define as freedom. Said Willkie:

Sat-12-18-48

"In Africa, in the Middle East, throughout the Arab world, as well as in China and the whole Far East, freedom means the orderly but scheduled abolition of the colonial system. I can assure you that the rule of people by other people is not freedom."

One can readily understand why the Union of South Africa would even oppose moral approval of basic human rights, and this type of warped morality extends to the English the Italians, the French and Portuguese; in fact, to all of the nations who for centuries have lived by the sweat and toil of dependent peoples. Opposition to what is proposed by Mrs. Roosevelt's committee can conceivably extend to that unit of American capitalists who today secretly plot to seize remnants of the British Empire, which is rapidly slipping from the hands of John Bull.

Millions of Negroes in the United States will look with suspicion upon a document, with such idealistic concepts, as drafted in Paris, when they know in their domestic environment there is not a chance at the present moment for them to became the beneficiaries of such preachments. For instance, the most significant pronouncements of the civil rights agenda deal with freedom of life, liberty and security of person, discrimination, right to free trial, equal pay for equal work, and the right to marry and divorce.

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We doubt seriously many white Americans in the Southland will go along with Article 9, reported favorably by Mrs. Roosevelt's committee, which grants the right to every human being to marry without limitation as to race, nationality or religion, as well as the right to own and occupy property, and the right to educational opportunity. This is the point where white Americans assault the dignity of black Americans and is the basic cause of the mob, restrictive covenants and struggles on the part of black people for equal educational opportunity.

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Despite the incredulity of many who look upon fantastic declarations seemingly so far apart from every-day reality, there is much good that comes to the world every time mankind sits down in an atmosphere such as provided by the United Nations and contemplates upon what is good and just and brotherly. The late President Roosevelt and Winston Churchill made a contribution to human decency when they sat down on the deck of a sea-going vessel and indicted the Atlantic Charter. Neither one of these world statesmen during that conference could bind their government to a lasting obligation, but they dealt with idealism that stirred humanity. Men ceased to think solely about an Atlantic Charter and drifted off into a catholic realm where dreams came of a World Charter. Perhaps these two elder statesmen gave Wendell Willkie his concept of "One World." Surely these men, without portfolio to draft a world document, were the vanguard of the United Nations when they said in Article Three:

"They respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them."

In that idealistic moment Winston Churchill forgot momentarily about the British Empire and later had to repudiate the instrument he signed along with the Man from Hyde Park. It is good sometimes for men to get completely away from sordid materialism, as has Mrs. Roosevelt and her committee in carving out their epic document relating to human rights.

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In such moments right triumphs and ignites a bonfire in the hearts and consciences of men. For a moment human beings live in the stars, returning to a wicked world to tell of moral values that should be achieved and for which mankind should fight. It should be remembered that the men who signed the Declaration of Independence, many of them that same day went home and whipped their slaves, but nothing could or has erased the lines those hypocrites penned that day, which said, "All men are created equal." It goes to establish the genuineness of that Biblical admonition, "The truth can belch from the bowels of iniquity."

GOVERNORS CONFER—Gov.-Elect Gordon Browning, left, seated, and Gov. Jim Nance McCord, of Tennessee, confer with Gov. Preston Lane, of Maryland, and Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina, in the second session of Southern Governors' Conference in Savannah.

Stop Federal Action On Civil Rights Bill

June 3 1948

Preceding every presidential election since they received the ballot, the colored citizens of the South have had raised $93,000 cash and $2,000 in pledges, and that the Negro race came out from under the intelligence of the South taxed themselves to build negro race by proposing to pass a schools and colleges for them. bill to stop lynching. This proposal is for the sole purpose of getting the negro vote in the doubtful states. Now the negro race of this country is fully aware that there are good negroes and bad negroes, good whites and bad whites, and no law can be passed that will stop the bad ones from hurting each other. The best people of the South--and they are in a very large majority--have practically stopped lynching. there being only one case last year.

Now if Congress should pass President Truman's Civil Rights Ball as proposed not only the negro race but the white race will lose part of the freedom that was granted them under the Bill of Rights. It will remove the policing powers from the state to the federal government resulting in an American Gestapo, where no one would feel safe. Each year the bureaucrats in Washington become more powerful and the people become more servile.

The negro race should once and for all time put a stop to this political demagoguery perpetrated upon them so many times in the past.

-HOUSTON—Roy Cullen, philanthropist of Houston, sent to the press last week the following story:

February 25, 1948

TO THE PRESS:

President Truman's Civil Rights message has caused a great strife and at a time when we should all be pulling together, so I would like to get a message to the negro race in this country.

As evidence of my good intentions toward the negro race, I promise to match funds raised by the negro race was the free-submit an editorial that was published January 12 1946 in the Negro Labor News in my home town

Mr. Cullen stated that he was keeping his promise to match funds raised by the negroes of Houston. Negroes not to exceed $100,000. He called attention to the fact that the white citizens had raised

"H. R. Cullen, oil magnate and philanthropist and chairman of the board of regents of the University of Houston, gave $100,000 to the building fund of the Houston College for Negroes, a branch of the University of Houston.

"Mr. Cullen's gift was made public in a letter to Dr. E. E. Oberholtzer, president of the University in which he enclosed his check for $10,000 Mr. Cullen

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Houston Informer
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Now if Congress should pass President Truman's Civil Rights bill as proposed not only the negro race but the white race will lose part of the freedom that was granted them under the Bill of Rights. It will remove the policing powers from the state to the federal government resulting in an American Gestapo, where no one would feel safe. Each year the bureaucrats in Washington become more powerful and the people become more servile.

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Preceding every presidential election since they received the rights of the United States, including the Bill of Rights, the negro vote in the doubtful states. Now the negro race of this country is fully aware that there are good negroes and bad whites, and no law can be passed to stop the bad ones from hurting each other. The best people of the South--and they are in a very large majority--have practically stopped lynching. There are now only one case last year.

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Mr. Cullen's gift was made public in a letter to Dr. F. E. Oberholtzer, president of the University in which he enclosed his check for $10,000. Mr. Cullen wrote: "The greatest gift ever received by the negro race was the freedom given them by the Republican Party on December 18, 1865. That time they became full-fledged American citizens and re-

Another Civil Rights Challenge

Black Dispatch

The Black Dispatch does not want to destract one iota from the contribution President Truman is currently making to the cause of civil rights. We want to pause right here and say that the president has utterly surprised us since the Dixiecrats plunged into action. We actually felt that sooner or later the president would fold his tent and run. But the president has not done this. Like Stonewall Jackson he has raised himself in the estimate of millions because of his dauntless courage.

Sat 9-18-48

But there are some things the president can do in the field of civil rights with the use of a little ink. For instance, the president can end jim crow in the army and in the federal bureaus with an executive order. The president's reluctance to take this advanced position is incredible when viewed by those who have digested his civil rights message to congress. Why ask congress to do what Truman himself will not do?

Last week a group of distinguished Negro Americans petitioned the president to act officially in another was to relieve a situation in the Panama Canal Zone which for many years has been an eye-sore to our democratic institutions, and a program in many respects that out-Herods the most vicious racist practices among Negroes in continental United States.

These distinguished Americans have asked President Truman to end by executive order the vicious jim crow Silver and Gold discrimination down in the canal zone, for which the United States government is wholly responsible. There follows the petition sent to President Truman on this subject:

"We, the undersigned, respectfully petition the President of the United States to end by executive order the shameful system of 'silver-gold' jim crow discrimination in the Panama Canal Zone which has been officially maintained and sponsored by the government of the United States for the past 42 years.

"We call to your attention the following startling facts: Although the 'silver-gold' system arose out of a method of payment of wages it has degenerated into a complete pattern of anti-Negro discrimination whcih operates as if it were fashioned by the most violent suthern racists. In the Canal Zone, nearly 20,000 colored 'silver' workers are paid only a fraction of the wages paid to white 'gold' workers although the cost of living is as high for both groups. 'Silver' workers are housed in primitive barracks, suffer inadequate educational, recreational facilities. On the other hand the government maintains excellent facilities for the 'gold' workers.

"Two years ago the 'silver' workers began to organize into a CIO union, the United Public Workers of America. In a brief space of time the union was able towin substantial wage increases, a greviance procedure which eliminated previously accepted arbitrary dismissals by white foremen, maternity and sick leave politiesfi etc. The union also secured the removal of the hateful 'For Silver Workers Only' - 'For Gold Workers Only' signs which proclaimed the system of discrimination for all facilities on the Zone.

"Because it has attempted to win a measure of equal opportunity for the 'silver' workers the union has been violently attacked by the unions of white supervisors and by the English language press. Recently official representatives of the Department of Justice joined that union-busting campaign.

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"Only last month, the effort to destroy the only instrument these 'silver' workers have for betterment of their working conditions—their union—was climaxed when one of the union organizers, 29-year-old veteran Joseph Sachs, was sentenced to nine months at hard labor after conviction by an all-white jury on a charge of criminal libel. The criminal action was initiated by District Attorney Danel McGrath. It was prosecuted by Tom De Wolfe, specally assigned to the task by Attorney General Tom Clark.

"This latest incident has served only to increase bitterness among the 'silver' workers whose loyalty to the government of the United States has never been questioned. All during the war not one single act against the interests of the government was ever committed by a 'silver' worker. This is a matter of official record.

"The vengeful persecution of a union organizer, whose only crime was to fight jim crow, and the behavior of representatives of the government against the union of 'silver' workers must not be permitted to stand unchecked.

"We therefore urge you to order an end to government sponsored 'silver-gold' discrimination in the Panama Canal Zone.

"Simple justice also requires that you grant an unconditional pardon to Joseph Sachs who fought this discrimination with vigor and in all sincerity.

"Prompt action by executive order will put meaning into a Civil Rights program. Neither States' rights nor a recalcitrant Congress are involved in this situation in Panama. It is up to you now, Mr. President."

McCorvey's Position

To the Editor of The News:

My attention has been called to a letter appearing in your issue of Oct. 15, written by David Wallace of Homewood, and captioned "Dewey and Civil Rights."

Inasmuch as the statement which I made at the Thurmond-Wright dinner in Birmingham on Sept. 11 has been so grossly distorted and misrepresented by some people, it is my desire to "keep the record straight."

At the dinner referred to I stated that by presenting a united front the Southern Democrats, who naturally felt outraged at the assaults made upon our Southern civilization by President Truman, could exert a tremendous influence in national politics if we would all stand together and fight side by side. I pointed out that while Dewey might obtain the necessary 266 electoral votes to give him a majority, yet Truman could certainly not obtain 266 electoral votes without the aid of the Solid South. I stated, in substance, that if, in the general election on Nov. 2, neither Dewey nor Truman had a majority of the electoral votes, we Southerners could come very near dictating our own terms.

I am sure that the leaders in the Republican Party do not appreciate the extent of the bitterness of the white people of the South against President Truman and his diabolical racial program, nor do they realize that we are going to vote against Truman any way. While I may be wrong, yet it is my personal opinion that if the Republican leaders saw that the Southern presidential electors, by throwing their votes to President Truman, could place Truman in the White House, these Republicans would be literally scared to death and would be willing to do some pretty good trading with us to keep us from voting for Truman. These Republicans would be afraid that there were a lot of straddling, pussy-footing, weak-kneed sisters among our Southern electors who really had no fight in them and who would switch to Truman, if by so doing they could make him president. Having this fear, I think that the Republican leaders would be glad to assure us that none of the outrageous so-called civil rights program of President Truman will be enacted by Congress for the next four years if we would only assure these Republican leaders that we would not vote for Truman. We would not have to promise to vote for Dewey, but just assure those Republicans that we would not vote for Truman.

Regardless of what else we of the South can accomplish this year, we are certainly going to let every citizen of America realize that we constitute a group to be reckoned with and that we are fighters and are not going to be kicked around any more.

I have no idea of voting for Dewey or any other Republican, and I am sure that none of the other Alabama Democratic presidential elector nominees have any idea of voting a Republican ticket. We are going to vote the Thurmond-Wright ticket. All the same, I am sure the Republicans would be very, very fearful of the danger of the Southern states casting their electoral votes for the nominee of the Democratic National Convention as our votes have been cast for the past three-quarters of a century.

Tri 10-22-48

I am in no sense of the word a Republican nor a Republican sympathizer. I am a staunch believer in the principles of democracy and the placing of "man above the dollar." I firmly believe in states' rights and shudder to think of what will happen to our government when state lines are wiped out and all power is centered in Washington. The very name "Republican" is objectionable to me, and the only so-called "deal" with the Republican Party that I would be interested in would be such a "deal" as above suggested, where I would merely give my assurance that I would not vote for Truman. I would make no deal providing for me to vote a Republican ticket. I was just brought up to believe that voting a Republican ticket was something that was not done by Southern white men, and I am still just chock-full of feeling against the Republican Party.

As a matter of fact, we of the South would be much better off with a Republican president, with the kind of assurances I have suggested, than to have Truman serving as president, with his determination to practically wreck our civilization. Furthermore, some Republicans, like their candidate for vice president,

Gov. Warren, of California, and Sen. Taft, of Ohio, are pretty good states' righters.

For the benefit of those who still think that we of the South should give Truman "one last chance" to "do right by the South," I will state that every opportunity has already been given Truman to "do right by the South," but he has spurned all of these overtures. It is only necessary to recall what happened at Philadelphia. We also remember that Mr. McGrath, President Truman's spokesman, stated that for Truman to recede one inch from the position he had taken on his so-called racial rights program would be political suicide, and we recall that only a few weeks later President Truman assured Mrs. Leonard Thomas, our Democratic national

Clellan (Dem., Ark.)—Administration leaders can meet this challenge with 11 possible remedies, it was revealed last Friday.

The Arkansas solon, a veteran filibusterer, said that, to protect their rights, the Southerners will have to filibuster against any Administration effort to make cloture rule apply to any motion, as well as a legislative bill—unless some compromise can be reached in advance.

Blueprint to End Debate

A blueprint for shutting off endless debate in the Senate and bringing a measure to a vote is contained in a Library of Congress bulletin made public last Friday.

The special study, prepared by George B. Galloway of the Library's Legislative Reference Service, suggests 11 possible "remedies for dilatory tactics in the

Bare 11 Methods to End Filibuster

Cloture Change Means

Right

WASHINGTON (NNPA)—

Southern Democrats resort to the filibuster to block civil rights legislation in the 81st Congress as they did in the 80th—as indicated by Sen. John L. Mc-

Leader

Headline, the list is the plan pro-

posed by a number of Senators during the 80th Congress—revision of the present cloture rule to provide for ending debate by a majority vote.

An Ineffective Change

Under Senate procedents, however, this change alone would prove ineffective.

These procedents hold that a motion to take up a bill is not subject to cloture, on the ground that a motion cannot be construed as a "pending measure" within the meaning of the cloture rule.

To meet this situation the rule would also have to be amended to make it applicable to any measure, motion, or other matter pending before the Senate or the unfinished business.

Issue in 80th Congress

This question came up during the special session of the 80th Congress after Southerners had launched a filibuster to prevent the Senate from voting on a motion to take up the anti-poll tax bill.

Sen. Arthur Vanderberg (Rep., Mich.), who was presiding officer of the Senate, ruled that cloture could not be applied to the motion to take up the bill.

In appealing from the chair's decision Sen. Robert A. Taft (Rep., Ohio), said that under this ruling ther was no way to break a filibuster except by physical exhaustion.

GOP Pledged Change

At the close of the special session Senate Republicans pledged a revision of the rules as the first Senate business of the 81st Congress.

Inasmuch as a filibuster can be used to block a change in the rule, it is not likely that Southerners will permit such a change.

Vice President-elect Alben W. Barkley (Dem., Ky.), is on record as favoring a change in the rule.

11 Remedies Listed

The 11 "remedies" set forth in the bulletin of the Congressional Library follow:

1. Amend Senate rules to provide for cloture by majority vote of the total Senate membership, or by a majority of those present, and make cloture apply to any motion, measure, or other matter pending.

2. Use of the previous question motion, as the House uses it, to shut off further debate by a majority vote of the chamber.

3. Require that debate and amendments must be germane to the subject under consideration.

Limit Debate Time

4. Limit duration of debate on bills by "special orders" as the House does now.

5. Enforce the existing Rules of the Senate.

These (a) require a speaker to stand and not sit, or walk about; (b) take a Senator off his feet for unparliamentary language; (c) permit points of order against frequent quorum calls; (d) empower the chair to make drastic rulings against dilatory motions.

Curb on Speeches

6. Enforce the rule that "no Senator shall speak more than twice upon any one question in debate on the same day without leave of the Senate, which shall be determined without debate.

7. Enforce the provision of Jefferson's Manual that "No one is to speak impertinently or beside the question, superfluously, or tediously."

8. Let the chair reverse the precedent, established in 1872, that a Senator cannot be called to order for irrelevancy in debate.

9. Let the chair make wise use of his power to recognize rival cliamants of the floor.

10. Let there be no objections to yielding the floor, even though the Senator who has the floor consents to an interruption.

11. Resort to prolonged or continuous sessions.

Negroes Thinking

To the Editor of The News:

We of the Negro race have read and heard of the intelligence of the white race here in America. We were willing and did believe that white people were ahead of us as far as education and intelligence were concerned. We knew that the best institutions of learning was provided for them at a time when we did not realize the significance of any training, whatsoever. Since we have been able, or have the opportunity, to receive just a little training, then we are in the position to think just a little.

We know that the civil rights program as has been considered by both the Democratic and Republican Parties should not cause such an uprow as that prevailing now. For the benefit of those of the white race whose intelligence should enable them to see and know what this program is and it's real meaning, there is nothing like socializing with them in any way in that program as any one can see. We do not seek that privilege and same would mean nothing along the lines of advancement for us.

Negroes are not a menace, they are human and want only their just due, and that is the right to vote and help elect the officials to govern them. They want the benefit and opportunity to educate their children in institutions equal to that provided by the state, county and municipal governments. We still want to believe that white people are just as intelligent as they boast. After all, we are still trying to show ours.

S. H. MOORE.

The South And Civil Rights

BIRMINGHAM—During the briefest journey of inquiry in the South, it is difficult not to be impressed by one fact. That is the almost completely unanimous opposition to federal civil rights legislation, by Southerners of every political stripe. However one may approve the objectives of the civil rights proposals, this almost total unanimity is an important political fact, which must be recognized.

It is possible, of course, to hear in the South a deal of wicked nonsense about the race question. One highly regarded Dixiecrat leader, for example, told this reporter that there were really only two ways of handling the problem. One was to ship all the Negroes in the United States to Africa.

If this proved imppacticable, he suggested, a mass redistribution of Negroes, so that each county in the United States would have no more than a 10 per cent Negro population, would be only fair. He was perfectly serious.

* * *

Facing Realities

YET IT IS TOO GENERALLY assumed in the North that this sort of nonsense is typical of Southern thinking on the race question. It is not. Yet it is impressive to find such men of unquestioned good will as Ralph McGill of The Atlanta Constitution; James E. Chappell of The Birmingham News; Sen. Lister Hill, Sen. John Sparkman, and many other undoubted liberals, all deeply and unanimously convinced that the passage of civil rights legislation like the Truman proposals could easily lead to disaster.

Among such liberals, there is not much real objection to the anti-poll tax measure. There are even those who favor it. The same is true of the anti-lynching bill, although most Southerners are quick to point out that lynching has almost disappeared in the South. The real, last-ditch opposition is aroused by the federal fair employment practices bill, and the anti-segregation bill.

Passage of either of these two measures by the Congress, Southern liberals argue, would play directly into the hands of the Klu Kluxers and their unacknowledged allies. No doubt, say the liberals, racial prejudice should not exist in the South. Yet it does exist, and it is a political factor of the first importance. To disregard it as a political factor is to court disaster.

Race prejudice, they argue, has always been the most convenient instrument of those determined to prevent any sort of social or economic progress in the South. Passage of the civil rights proposals would set loose such a fever of race hatred as to give reaction an unshakeable grip on the South for years to come.

* * *

No Complacency

THIS DOES NOT MEAN that intelligent, liberal Southerners (and there are plenty of them) are complacent about the South's treatment of the Negro minority. They are not. But there has already been progress—notably as regards Negro education. Pressure from the North, many Southerners admit, has accelerated this progress. But the real job of raising the Negroes to a condition of economic and political equality can only be done in the South and by the South. F. E. P. C. and federal anti-segregation laws would only prevent the job from being done.

Thus the Southern liberals argue, and it is important to realize that these are the views, not of Rankins or Talmadges, but of those who have fought Rankinism and Talmadgism all their lives. This reporter was able to find precisely one dissenting voice—Aubrey Williams, former friend and protege of Harry Hopkins. Williams is a native-born Alabaman, and he currently edits the farm paper "The Southern Farmer." No one can deny to Williams a certain moral courage. He has simultaneously come out flatly against Henry Wallace and for the full civil rights program. He has thus made himself the South's leading political leper, without even the moral support of the South's tiny band of Wallaceites.

Williams asserts staunchly that the South's treatment of the Negro is evil, and that the only way to deal with evil is to fight it. As for a bloody Southern reaction to passage of civil rights legislation, Williams believes that this is mostly talk promoted by those who stand to profit by it. As evidence, he points out that out of a million subscribers to his paper, less than a thousand have cancelled their subscriptions as a consequence of his civil rights stand. And he points further to such straws in the wind as a recent poll in the University of Alabama law school, in which the students voted overwhelmingly in favor of admitting qualified Negroes on an equal basis.

Yet Williams represents a tiny minority—as he himself admits, hardly more than a minority of one. And that is the major weakness of his argument. For unenforceable legislation is bad legislation. And to any one who has spent even a short time in the South, it is difficult to see how civil rights legislation could be enforced in the teeth of the opposition of the entire white population.—©.

Civil Rights Amendments To Draft Defeated

Southern Democrats were defeated in their effort to write into the draft bill an amendment to allow enlisted men to serve in separate white or Negro units at their own request.

The amendment, proposed by Senators Maybank of South Carolina and Russell of Georgia, was rejected by voice vote after a brief session of heated debate.

The attempt by Senator Langer of North Dakota to write into the bill the whole of the President's civil rights program, as applied to the army, also failed, except for one amendment, which would abolish the poll tax as a requirement for voting for men in the armed services, as during the war. This amendment carried.

And the defeat of the Maybank-Russell amendment, therefore, is of no significence. It signifies no change of policy on the part of any of the armed services. It leaves the matter of segregation in the army, navy and air force where it has always been—with the army, navy and air force.

Neither of the amendments should have been written into the bill, although Maybank and Russell did have the excuse that the President might change the existing policy in the armed services for political purposes. The draft is designed to produce men for the services, not to effect sociological changes.

Civil Rights Timetable

We cannot follow the line of reasoning in your November 30 editorial, "Timetable for Civil Rights."

Under normal conditions the strategy of attempting to have Congress pass the least "objectionable" piece of legislation first and moving on to the more difficult may seem wise indeed. But we are not dealing here with normal conditions. The opposition to the civil rights program has repeatedly declared itself against the foot-in-the-door procedure and will fight just as hard against the "least objectionable" as it will against the "most objectionable" part of the program.

We are most emphatically opposed to your idea that the fair employment practices bill should take last place on a civil rights timetable. First, this is the basic and fundamental part of the program and will do more than any other measure to correct the system of discrimination and injustice that so many of us have been forced to live under for so many years.

Second, a period of full employment such as now is the most propitious time to enact FEPC legislation, since the propaganda of the opposition that job displacement will result will do the least harm, and in any future time of economic stress the customary disproportionate effect on minorities will be held to a minimum.

We must urge that the poll tax be outlawed by statute and not by constitutional amendment as you suggest. A careful study of the debates in the Congress in recent years will show that the constitutional argument seems to be in favor of the power of Congress to pass such a statute. The opponents have raised the constitutional question with more heat than light. We are willing to take our chance with the Supreme Court of the United States.

ELMER W. HENDERSON,
Director, American Council on Human Rights.
Washington.

The Common Defense

The Equality Of Human Beings Is A Fact

By REV. WILLIAM C. KERNAN

WHAT is meant by the doctrine of human equality is likely to be misunderstood or misrepresented. Thus, Mr. Westbrook Pegler, in a recent issue of the NEW YORK JOURNAL-AMERICAN wrote: "Offhand I can think of no more hypocritical fraud on the people of the United States than the self-inflicted doctrine of equality among and between mankind. Not one person in a million believes in this. Even those few who do so believe, qualify their attitude with elaborate explanatory notes .... However, it does not follow that even these subscribers believe in universal equality of persons, the dirty and the clean, the lazy and the diligent, and so forth."

Essentially cynical, even impudent, as this remark is, we may disregard the motive which prompted it and proceed to set the record straight.

In the first place, the principle of human equality has nothing to do with whether a man is clean or dirty, brave or cowardly, educated or ignorant. It goes deeper than that. Human equality is a truth whose origin is in nature—decreed by nature's God. Our fore-fathers knew this.

"All men are created equal," they wrote in the Declaration of Independence — equal in their souls—equal in the kind of life which is theirs as men—equal in that which makes them all members of the human family—wherever they may be, whatever they may be, by race, religion, or color.

The same rational soul, the same life which is common to man, and only to man, is the equal possession of all—white and colored, Catholic and Protestant, Jew and Gentile, rich and poor, educated and ignorant, virtuous and wicked, clean and dirty.

In the second place human equality means that men are so made that they possess rights—and possess them equally. Our forefathers knew that. All men "are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights," they wrote in the Declaration of Independence.

The right to speak, print, worship, love, marry, beget, rear and educate children are rights which belong to men because of what they are by creation and nature—without any reference whatever to their race, religion, or color. They may use their rights for good or evil ends.

But that has nothing to do with the primary fact that they have them—and need them to fulfill their duties, develop their talents, and express the life of their souls. And this by definition is true of men as such regardless of anything else — regardless of cleanliness or dirtiness — goodness or wickedness —bravery or cowardice.

In the third place human equality means that all men are born equally free. Our forefathers knew that. "All men are by nature equally free and independent," they wrote in the Virginia Bill of Rights. No man is born a slave. Society, disregarding the free state in which men are born, may by force make slaves of some—and so deny that freedom in which all are equally born. But what society does in no way changes the facts of nature.

It may disregard them to its peril — but it cannot change them. When men are wise and virtuous they study to make the ways of society conform with the facts of man's nature. They do not try to force man to conform to a society which, by its laws and institutions, violates man's nature. They make society serve the needs of all men. They create a society for man.

That's what we are seeking to do in America.

Civil Rights Council Plans Inaugural Fete

WASHINGTON (NNPA) — The American Council on Human Rights, newly-formed co-operative organization of six national collegiate fraternities and sororities, will have its inaugural dinner at the Williard Hote here, Oct. 15, as the kick-off of the council's drive to secure passage of civil rights legislation in the 81th Congress.

Featured at the occasion will be the awarding of citations to Sen. Wayne C. Morse (Rep., Ore.), and Rep. Helen G. Douglass (Dem., Calif.) for their outstanding efforts in behalf of civil rights legislation in the 80th Congress.

Miss Boyd to Be Honored

Miss Norma E. Boyd of the Alpha Kappa Sorority will be honored for her efforts in initiating and directing the AKA Non-Partisan Council on Public Affairs and for other achievements. The American Council is an outgrowth of those earlier efforts of Miss Boyd.

The six-member societies are Alpha Kappa Alpha, Alpha Phi Alpha, Delta Sigma Theta, Phi Beta Sigma, Sigma Gamma Rho and Zeta Phi Beta.

Prepare For Trouble, Arkansas Governor Tells State Police

LITTLE ROCK, Ark. — (ANP) — If the civil rights program goes through, get ready for trouble, Gov. Laney of Arkansas warned his 100 man state police force last week. He addressed them at the police school at Camp Robinson.

Gov. Laney has continuously fought President Truman and any form of civil rights ever since February when the President made his famous civil rights address to congress.

Although the people of Arkansas are evidently indifferent to his tirades against civil rights, he has continued to speak. Sometimes he has spoken to crowds of under 50 in large halls.

He told the officers:

"Prepare and acquaint yourselves on this subject so that you can handle these situations as they come or without abuse We want

Arthur Mitchell Heads Va. Drive

RICHMOND — (ANP) — Arthur W. Mitchell, former Illinois Congressman now living in Dinwiddie County, heads a "grass roots" committee to carry the message of civil rights to every city, county and hamlet in the State, it was disclosed here last week. The newly fored committee, known as the Virginia Civil Rights Organization, decided upon this program at a victory dinner celebrating the reelection of President Truman in Slaughter's Hotel recently.

Va. Civil Rights Group Has Statewide Program

RICHMOND, Va.—A grass roots program to carry the message of civil rights to every city, county, and hamlet in the state was outlined last Saturday night by the Virginia Civil Rights Organization at a victory dinner celebrating the reelection of President Truman at Slaughter's Hotel.

Focal point of the drive will be the work of a newly formed committee, headed by Arthur W Mitchell, former Illinois congressman now living in Dinwiddie county.

Other members are Dr. Luther P. Jackson of Virginia State College, who has done active research on voting potentials for the Virginia Voters League; Amos C. Clark, director of suffrage activities for the Richmond Civic Council; the Rev. W. B. Ball, Richmond pastor and a former candidate for the Virginia General Assembly, and Mrs. Oliver W. Hill, Richmond teacher and wife of a city councilman.

DR. JACKSON SPEAKER

Dr. Jackson sounded the aim for the future action when he stated that it is now known who the active leaders in the state really are and they can be counted upon to get out voters and organize sentiment for full civic participation in Virginia.

He declared that "Virginia has great possibilities of occupying the number one political position in the South by utilizing progressive political forces which are ready to support a truly liberal program." He called upon Negroes to capitalize on these trends.

"Virginia should be the first place to break down these barriers of segregation," Mr. Mitchell said. He commended the religious leaders for their cooperative stand in the fight to secure first class citizenship for all.

Appointment of the Mitchell committee grew out of a program suggested in a talk by George Lawrence, Roanoke attorney. He urged that the VCRO organize on a congressional district basis with subdivisions for concerted local efforts; that an active drive be instituted for poll tax payments this month; that a permanent lobby be established; that key people be contacted to ascertained what people in the several communities really want; and that the organization use available information and statistical data now in possession of the Virginia Voters League.

MASTER OF CEREMONIES

Oliver W. Hill, Richmond city councilman, served as master of ceremonies. J. Rupert Picott delivered the keynote address in which he urged that the civil rights stand be broadened to include human rights. Dr. Harry T. Penn of Roanoke urged that the true Democrats look forward to '52 with the aim of carrying the state into a liberal Democracy.

Dr. J. M. Tinsley, president of the Virginia Conference of the NAACP, stressed the need to get more voters and the necessity of cooperating with liberal elements in the Democratic Party. Mr. Clark told of the techniques used to increase the voting strength in Richmond which has made the politicians increasingly aware of the effectiveness of the Negro vote.

Dr. Thomas H. Henderson, dean of the college at Virginia Union University, set as a goal the active voting of 250,000 Virginia Negroes. The maximum voting strength of Negroes in the state is around 460,000.

The Rev. Robert L. Taylor, Richmond minister who has directed the NAACP membership drives successfully for three years, called for the institution of a petition movement now to secure 100,000 names to a proposed bill to abolish segregation on public carriers and in public assemblage.

Ala. Sheriff, Deputy Post $5,000 Bonds

(Special Correspondent)

MOBILE, Ala.—In an unprecedented move for this section, [illegible] County have caused the arrest and indictment of Sheriff J. A. Hill and a deputy, W. R. Harrell, on charges of maltreating nine colored residents. The pair last Saturday were released in $5,000 bond each for allegedly violating the civil rights of the Negroes at various times since last December.

They were arraigned before U.S. Commissioner Alex T. Howard following their surrender to a United States Marshal.

According to U.S. District Atty. Percy Fountain, the indictments resulted from complaints by white residents in Grove Hill, county seat, that the colored persons had been beaten in jail, along the highway and in wooded areas in efforts to extort confessions for purported crimes.

NINE VICTIMS

Listed among the victims were George Dickenson, Robert Gordon, Leo Williams, John Allen Jr., Johnnie J. Mitchell, Mattie L. Poe

and Edward L. Buck. According to complaints, the alleged violations were committed between December 1947 and June 1948. Some of the victims were arrested for minor offenses and others were not arrested at all, it was said.

Upon conviction of such violations, the sheriff and his aide face a maximum penalty of one year in prison and a fine of $1,000 for each count. One joint and three individual indictments were returned against the pair. There were six counts in the joint indictment and four in the individual indictment against the deputy and one count in the individual indictment against the sheriff.

Patterson, CRC Head, Seized in Canada

Daily Worker
Tues 12-14-48

Canadian immigration authorities seized William L. Patterson, national executive secretary of the Civil Rights Congress of the United States, as he stepped from a plane in Toronto last night and held him incommunicado for 12 hours, Len Goldsmith, national director of the CRC revealed today.

Patterson flew to Toronto to address a mass meeting sponsored by the Canadian Civil Rights Union. During his entire period of incarceration he was refused the right to communicate with an attorney. The Canadian Civil Rights and attorneys were also refused permission to talk to him.

As a result of the efforts of the Canadian Civil Rights Union he was finally granted a hearing which was immediately recessed pending arrival of "certain papers from Ottowa." After a great deal of protest the Canadian Civil Rights Union won his release on a $500 bond. However he was banned from speaking or carying on any activities while out on bail.

RALLY APPLAUDS HIM

Paterson was welcomed with a storm of applause at the Toronto rally last night when he appeared on the platform, wearing a handkerchief gag. His speech was read to the crowd by Jefferson Hurley, Canadian director of the Civil Rights Union.

Goldsmith, upon receiving word of Patterson's arrest, wired the Canadian Government asking if "the House Un-American Committee and U. S. Attorney General Tom Clark have taken over our Canadian neighbor nation."

Goldsmith wired also: "Is it then a fact that our much vaunted 'unguarded border' is now carefully guarded against infiltration of democratic ideas and spokesmen of such thoughts? The arrest and threatened deportation of an American citizen arriving in Canada at the express invitation of a legal people's organization smells suspiciously of Rankinism of a Canadian variety. We are sure the Canadian people, long famous for their defense of the democratic way of life, will not permit such highhanded treatment to go unchallenged."

Goldsmith also wired the U. S. State Department demanding that the U. S. Government immediately protest to Canadian authorities over the arrest of Patterson.

Patterson, in a telephone conversation with Goldsmith, said he intends to remain in Canada for a few days to fight the issue through.

JOHNSON WRONG, HE SAYS

To the STAR:

Gerald W. Johnson is an erudite man. That much is obvious in the strained and tortuous reasoning by which he recently arrived at a conclusion much less subtly stated by the very Southern Democrats whom he derides: A civil rights program won't work; the South will solve the problem in its own way and its own good time.

Properly to set the stage for his pseudo-defense of civil rights through an "ethical" approach he erects a straw man—the liberal whose judgment of legislation is based, not on an examination of the question itself, but upon the reaction, real or assumed, of its opponents—and proceeds to demolish it.

After dismissing abolition of the poll tax and enactment of anti-lynch legislation as of negligible value, Mr. Johnson vigorously attacks any attempt to demolish that citadel of Southern mythology, segregation. Here he is guilty not only of misquoting Myrdal, but of taking even that misquoting out of context. Myrdal's statement, that the "Negro problem" is primarily (not strictly) a white man's problem, summarized his conclusions about the origin and imposition of those cultural patterns which gave rise to the problem. He (Myrdal) made abundantly clear throughout his book that the solution of the problem requires the concerted effort of all groups in all sections of the country. Mr. Johnson is merely telegraphing the punch-line which he delivers two paragraphs later: "The Southern white man is responsible for the solution of this problem and the Negro, either privately or with government aid, cannot by one iota swerve him from his course of graduality."

The quotations of financial and numerical growth are used to convey the impression that it was made with the aid and special dispensation of the South; these figures alone, if compared with those of the section and nation as a whole, would serve as sufficient evidence of the South's duplicity. His assertion that no profession and no form of business is closed against the Negro is laughable. It is common knowledge that the practice of medicine and law, the two professions, excepting teaching, which are most accessible to the Negro, are hedged about with restrictions which impair the usefulness of the practitioner. And surely it is not lack of ability which accounts for the virtual absence of Negroes in the engineering fields and in finance and manufacturing.

These are the specific shortcomings of Mr. Johnson's article. In a larger sense he has tried by an atomistic treatment to reduce each item to an absurdity. A rereading of the President's Report on Civil Rights should make clear to him that what is desired is not the abolition of the poll tax per se or of lynching merely as an atrocious crime. It is rather the liberation of the spirit of the Negro and other minority groups from the stifling repression of which these are but symptoms. In the words of the President's Report, "The adoption of specific legislation . . . cannot alone bring full civil rights . . . We must make constructive efforts to create a national outlook—a climate of public opinion which will outlaw individual abridgement of personal freedom."

In the development of such a program there will need to be cultural and economic approaches as well as political and ethical ones. As with any change there will be risks and personal inconvenience; these must be balanced against the wealth of human resources which such a course

The Strange Case Of the 2 Missing Civil Rights Laws

Daily Worker
New York, N.Y.
Wed 12-29-48

By Federated Press

WASHINGTON, Dec. 28 (FP).—The strange case of two civil rights laws which seem to have disappeared from the federal code has emerged as a byproduct of a stinging report on racial segregation practices in the U. S. capital city.

The missing laws are the Civil Rights Acts of 1872 and 1875. They guaranteed equal use of public facilities in Washington to all citizens. Although the District of Columbia is governed by the Federal Congress and theoretically reflects federal policy, segregation practices have become firmly embedded in the District.

The laws were brought to light in a report by the National Committee on Segregation in the nation's capital attacking Jimcrow in Washton. What happened to the laws seems to be an illustration of the way in which government policy can be thrown out by silent resistance.

In a series of interviews with Washington government and business leaders, Federated Press has learned that the laws were apparently never repealed but were simply dropped from the books after having been generally disregarded for years.

Managers of the biggest Washington hotels told FP they follow Jimcrow policies but said they did not know of the existence of the civil rights laws. "It's just a matter of general practice," Manager Herbert C. Blunck of the Statler Hotel said.

Blunck and other managers agreed that they sometimes relaxed the segregation policies for what they termed "celebrities." Negroes whom Blunck said command enough headline space to be given Statler rooms included Larry Doby of the Cleveland Indians and singer Marian Anderson.

The head of the Washington hotel association, Bourbon Dawes, also disclaimed knowledge of the civil rights law. He slid away from the whole problem, saying, "Each hotel has its own policy on matters like that. It's not within the province of this association."

Wed 12-29-48

Dawes admitted that D. C. hotels seem to follow Jimcrow policies but added quickly, "What I gather is more a matter of hearsay than anything else."

SUSPICIOUS OF SUBJECT

Atty. Joseph McGarraghey, long time official of the D. C. Board of Trade and counsel for many of the business groups which enforce Jimcrow in Washington, was suspicious of the whole subject of civil rights laws but said he did not know what had happened to the acts of 1872 and 1875. He left the question to Distirct government officials.

D. C. Corporation Counsel Vernon West told FP there was question as to the constitutionality of the act of 1875 but admitted that he knew of nothing which invalidated the act of 1872.

The act of 1872, West said, was passed by a legislation assembly when the District had a territorial form of government. "The act of 1872 just got left out when they recodified in 1901," West said.

Asked if a law which "just got left out" was still in effect or whether law could be repealed by omission, West said, "I haven't had time to figure that out yet."

A veteran leader of Negro affairs, Judge James A. Cobb, said that until 1913, the civil rights act of 1875 was in effect in Washington. He said that Jimcrow practices existed then as now but that it was possible for Negroes to get some satisfaction in the courts.

In 1913 in the Butts case, the U. S. Supreme Court delivered a sweeping opinion which appeared to throw out the act of 1875. Cobb in the current National Theatre case, is appealing from that ruling. The act of 1872, he said, has never been invalidated.

The South and Civil Rights

The Dixiecrats, having had their fling appear to be on the way back to being Democrats. After demonstrating their own comparative futility and casting an additional reflection on the South's potency as a political force, the Thurmond-Wright sideshow has practically no other course. The States' Rights conservatives huffed and puffed for all they were worth, but the sum of their damage to Mr. Truman was even less than Henry Wallace's wrathful achievement. (The Dixiecrats won four states with a total electoral vote of thirty-eight; the Wallace party swung New York's forty-seven.)

The Southern dissenters have never considered themselves anything but the purest sort of Democrats to begin with, and they promise now to keep the faithful guard for states' rights, more specifically against the quickening day when the Truman civil rights program again stirs to life in Congress. But on the basis of performance, and Tuesday's election was the sternest test of all, some slight doubts are permissible whether the intellectual and political leaders of South Carolina and Mississippi speaks with complete authority for the South. Even granting that many Southerners vote the Democratic ticket by habit, one wonders if perhaps a sizable and silent body of voters down South, white and black alike, considers the civil rights question with something less than complete hostility. At any rate, the bulk of the South voted for Mr. Truman, civil rights and all, in preference to Dixiecrats or Republicans.

Legislation against discrimination is standing business in Congress, and is less likely than ever to be pushed aside. Mr. Truman chose to make an issue of civil rights when he sent his message to Congress last February, and the Northern Left Wing of his party followed up by jamming a forthright indorsement into the Democratic platform. And now, strange to say, Mr. Truman is not turned out and the Democratic party is still in business. Most certainly such Democrats as the new Senator Humphrey will take encouragement rather than warning from the Southern election returns. The South did not pat Mr. Truman on the back last Tuesday, but it seems to us that the vast problem of equal rights for the Negro made considerable progress. The headway, true enough, was indirect, and the immediate effects uncertain. But at the next roar of a filibuster, we shall know that this is not the voice of a Solid South.

Truman and the Dixiecrats

Southern Democrats are mounting a peace offensive against President Truman in an effort to minimize the civil rights program while also checking any "purge" of Dixiecrat congressmen. Sen. John L. McClelland of Arkansas suggests that a Southern filibuster against parts of the civil rights plan might be avoided if the President would abandon fair employment practice legislation. The implication is that Southerners would accept anti-poll tax and anti-lynch bills.

There are three principles which, it seems, Mr. Truman might reasonably apply:

1. The objective is to push through the maximum obtainable civil rights program, for the sake of the South as well as the rest of the country, rather than to exhibit vindictiveness.

2. The President nevertheless has an obligation to strengthen the Democratic party as an instrument of liberalism — which requires action — and it would be healthier for all concerned if some Dixiecrats joined the Republican party, with which for years they have voted in Congress.

3. Mr. Truman — not the Dixiecrats, avowed or silent — has a mandate from the people. The Dixiecrats don't have a mandate even from the South.

A proper course — if the President decides tactically against a purge — would be for Mr. Truman to ask his leaders to schedule the civil rights program for prompt action in the new Congress. That would attack the sleazy techniques of delay by which anti-poll tax and anti-lynch bills have been blocked in the past near the tag-ends of sessions, when relatively brief Southern filibusters have prevented action.

It would pass the buck squarely to the Dixiecrats. If they try to filibuster the whole program, Mr. Truman's leaders can concentrate on changing the Senate cloture rules. If the Southerners allow anti-poll tax and anti-lynch bills to pass, and then filibuster the FEPC measure, the final battle can be fought squarely on that issue.

Many of the most conservative Southerners never faced a free electorate in their entire public careers. Dixiecrats were guilty of gross deception during their campaign; they never told their people, for example, that Mr. Truman carefully avoided some measures advocated by his Committee on Civil Rights and concentrated only on proposals which have long been discussed nationally and have national support as well as strong support in the South.

The Democratic party has a clear obligation to implement its platform and campaign pledges. Mr. Truman, as a Chief Executive of integrity and principle, may be expected to recognize the obligation.

PRESIDENT TO KEEP DOMESTIC PROGRAM BASED ON NEW DEAL

Says in Florida His 21-Point Plan of '45, Democratic Platform, Will Be Policy Guide

HE WILL PUSH CIVIL RIGHTS

Truman Also to Press Taft Act Repeal—Complete Substitute Under Draft

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

KEY WEST, Fla., Nov. 16—President Truman sketched out today the course of his next Administration, giving as his main bearings his twenty-one-point domestic program of Sept. 6, 1945, which extended the New Deal, his program since then and the 1948 Democratic platform.

The President said that he would press for repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act and that he would go down the line for his whole civil-rights program, which he submitted to Congress early this year. In conjunction with Mr. Truman's remarks on the Taft-Hartley Law it became known that a new labor relations statute was being drafted to serve as an outright repealer for the controversial law.

In the foreign affairs field the Chief Executive announced that he would hold a full review of international affairs in the White House next Monday with Secretary of State George C. Marshall and W. Averell Harriman, United States special representative in Europe for the Economic Cooperation Administration.

Split With Marshall Denied

Presumably this review will take into account the happenings at the United Nations General Assembly session in Paris and the mandate Mr. Truman received on election day.

At his first press conference in more than five weeks, Mr. Truman also gave a generous endorsement to the work of the commission headed by former President Hoover, which is studying reorganization of the Federal Government.

As for the Cabinet in the new Administration, Mr. Truman emphasized that he and Secretary Marshall were and had always been in complete agreement, and that it would be the Secretary's pleasure that would be served when they talked over continuance of his tenure.

The President refused to discuss other members of the Cabinet. He said that everyone had been shuffling it around except the Chief Executive.

The new things that Mr. Truman mentioned today were chiefly incidental. His remarks on the lawn of his cottage on the naval base here were essentially a reiteration of the program he argued for unceasingly in his more than 300 campaign speeches.

No Change in Program Seen

Mr. Truman stood while he spoke, and the reporters sat. In the President's party was Gov. Mon C. Wallgren of Washington, who was defeated for re-election, and W. Stuart Symington, Secretary of the Air Force. The latter has figured in the speculation over the Cabinet officers who might lose their jobs.

A reporter sought for the direction of the new administration by asking whether Mr. Truman had a new designation for it other than "New Deal." He replied that his program had not changed and the people had endorsed it in the election.

The Chief Executive dated the beginning of his program as of Sept. 6, 1945, when as successor to President Roosevelt he sent his first major message, containing the twenty-one-point economic program, to Congress. He added that he had helped write the platform adopted at the Democratic National Convention in July. He announced his intention to carry out its pledges to the best of his ability.

The President was reminded that repeatedly during his campaign he called for repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act. Did he now favor a blanket restoration of the Wagner Act?

Mr. Truman replied that this was a problem that was to be worked out legislatively. He said that he stood for repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law, but that in the legislative process some rewriting of the Wagner Act might be necessary since both statutes had got tangled.

Reporters learned later from other sources that a new labor law was being drafted. In this approach it was understood that the administration took the view that the Wagner Act was actually nonexistent, and that the Taft-Hartley law had been made a complete substitute.

The key to the proposed law, it was said, would be found in what Mr. Truman had to say on labor relations in the State of the Union Message of January, 1947. In essence, those recommendations requested an improvement in the methods for attaining agreements between management and labor. The methods were to be neither punitive nor vindictive.

The four main points of that message were proposals to prevent what the President called unjustifiable labor practices, such as jurisdictional strikes and secondary boycotts; extension of Labor Department facilities to expedite collective bargaining, mediation and fact-finding procedures; broader social laws to reduce the insecurity of workers, and establishment of a joint Congressional commission to make a long-range study of labor-management relations.

Tribute Paid to Marshall

Mr. Truman's tribute to Secretary Marshall was fervent and unstinting. This part of the discussion was started by a question as to whether Mr. Truman would ask the Secretary to remain in the Cabinet in view of rumors of disagreements over foreign policy, especially as it relates to Palestine. Mr. Marshall also opposed the President's plan to send Chief Justice Fred M. Vinson on a peace mission to Moscow.

The substance of Mr. Truman's reply, which under White House rules may not be quoted directly,

was as follows:

General Marshall and he were in perfect agreement on every question, and don't worry about that. There always had been such agreement.

Whether Mr. Marshall would remain in the Cabinet would be settled when they discussed that question, Mr. Truman asserted. The Secretary had never wanted to do anything else except retire when he left the Army, and he was now serving out of a sense of patriotic duty, the President added. He concluded by saying that Secretary Marshall was one of the greatest patriots in this country.

It can be said that there were no mental reservations in this statement. To the contrary, Mr. Truman is concerned, it is understood, because he, by appointing Mr. Marshall Secretary of State, had put him in some danger of political attacks which might tend to mitigate his great stature as the architect of victory in World War II.

In marked contrast was Mr. Truman's demeanor when he was asked about reports that James Forrestal, Secretary of Defense, would soon resign. He dismissed the subject with a no comment remark.

Truman, Barkley in Agreement

Of Senator Alben W. Barkley, the Vice President elect, Mr. Truman said that they were in complete agreement. He also expressed the opinion that never had there been a President and a Vice President who understood each other better.

In the past, because of lack of liaison between the White House and Capitol Hill, there has been occasional coolness between Mr. Truman and the Senator. However, down here they have been a back-slapping, jolly pair that enjoyed each other's Kentucky-and-Missouri-flavored stories.

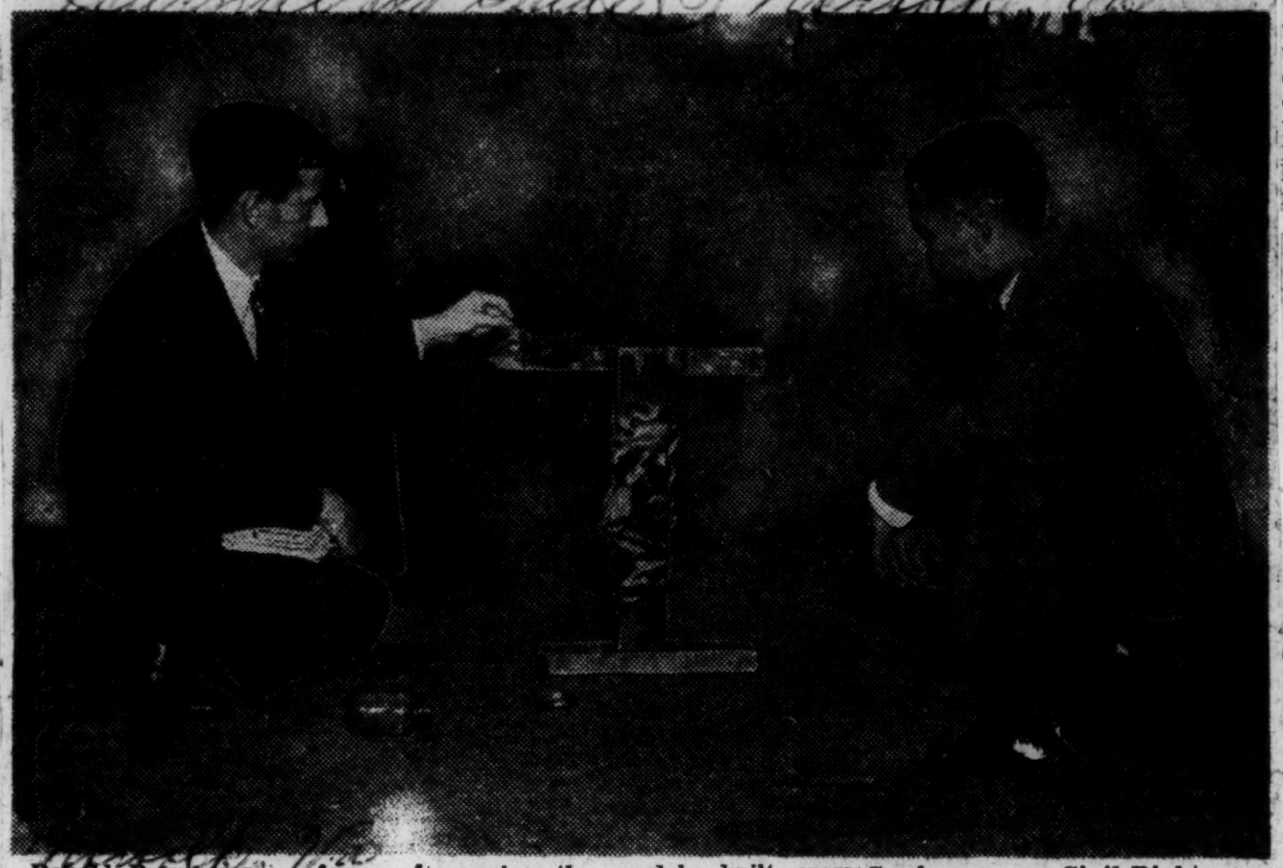
Mr. Truman indicated that no new major decisions of the new Administration were to be looked for until his three major messages to Congress in January. They are the Budget, the State-of-the-Union and the Economic Messages.

The President was reminded that he had been critical of the Republican tax reduction program, which he said favored the rich. Did he propose to revive his proposal for an excess profits tax? Mr. Truman replied that he would tell how he felt about that in the budget and economic messages.

In comment on the East Coast shipping strike, Mr. Truman said that his remedies and powers were pretty well exhausted.

Representative Sam Rayburn, minority leader of the House, who is expected to resume his former role as Speaker in the new Congress, left for his home in Bonham, Texas, on Thursday. He will visit with the President until Saturday.

Professors Examine Cross Left Burning On Campus



Donald Rasmussen, professor of sociology, and Dr. Warren H. Brothers Jr., professor of mathematics at Talladega College, examine the crude built cross which was left burning on the campus in front of the Callanan Gynasium while white and Negro Students attending the Alabama Conference on Civil Rights were enjoying an hour of social activities.

(Picture by R. E. Hogan)

Georgian Balks At Thurmond's Plan To Grab Senate Control

VIENNA, GA., Nov. 6—(U.P.)—Sen. Walter George (D) Georgia, revealed tonight that South Carolina Gov. J. Strom Thurmond had approached him with the idea of Southern senators taking control of Senate reorganization in the next Congress.

George said he told the defeated States' Rights candidate for president that he considered such a move impossible.

The Thurmond plan presumably would be to block civil rights legislation.

George also said he would not favor any effort to forestall Senate reorganization until civil rights proposals had been sidetracked.

The Georgia senator said Southern legislators expect only "fair treatment" in the organization of the new Congress.

"I think we will get it," he added.

Southern Governors Planning To Set Up Shop In Washington

BY CHARLES F. BARRETT

SAVANNAH, Ga., Dec. 15—(AP)—Southern governors planned today to set up permanent shop in Washington too help wage war against federal civil rights proposals and carry the South's banner on other issues.

Several Dixie executives said a Southern governor's bureau in the capital was likely to spring from a resolution approved last night by the Southern Governors' Conference.

* * *

THE RESOLUTION deplored hostility toward the South in the rest of the country and declared this unfavorable attitude was "created and perpetuated by untruths and half-truths."

A Southern Foundation was established to "correct" the picture and give the rest of the nation the South's story. Several governors told a reporter they hoped the Washington bureau would stem from this foundation program.

The governor's conference, which ended last night, formally noted that "many economic indicators show more progress in the South than in the nation as a whole. The South still retains material wealth, highly attractive to industry, which hardly has been touched yet, the governors declared.

But despite this progress, they added, there is "a serious lack of information about the South, which coupled with misinformation has resulted in the formation in the minds of millions of Americans an unfavorable attitude toward this great area."

THE FOUNDATION is to be financed by equal funds from 15 Southern states and perhaps by private contributions. A board of governors—consisting of state executives and two citizens from each state—will draft a specific budget.

Several governors said they hoped operations could begin during the congressional session starting in January. Civil rights may be an issue during the session.

Gov. William Tuck, of Virginia, was elected chairman of the Southern Governors' Conference to succeed Gov. Preston Lane, of Maryland.

The governors also kept fires boiling for states rights on other fronts. They agreed to fight a proposal for the federal government to take over the National Guard. They decided to move in Congress for state ownership and supervision of tideland oil reservees. They approved employment of attorneys and rate experts to seek faster action in their long effort to lower Southern freight rates.

NEGRO SPARKS DEFEAT OF CIVIL RIGHTS BILL

New Jersey Proposal Called 'Bad Legislation'

TRENTON, N. J., Aug. [illegible] (AP)—The Freeman Civil Rights Bill was defeated in the State Assembly Friday with the opposition led by Jersey's only negro assemblyman.

Assemblywoman Grace M. Freeman, who introduced the bill, then offered seven technical amendments designed to keep the issue alive. Because of the changes, which involved punctuation and minor phrases, another vote must be taken.

The measure calls for extension of present bans against racial and religious discrimination in employment. Under the legislation, no person could be barred because of race, religion or national origin from "places of public accomodations."

These places are defined to include inns, taverns, hotels, auditoriums, retail stores, schools, colleges, theaters and public conveyances.

Although the Assembly vote was 27 to 4 in favor of the bill, a majority, or 31 votes, is required for passage. Twenty-nine legislators cast no vote.

Among the four negative votes was one registered by the only negro in the chamber, Assemblyman James A. Curtis. Curtis spoke against the bill before the vote was taken, calling it "bad legislation" and a "grievous error."

Incident Part of Growing Violence Against Negroes

LOUISE, Miss.—(ANP)—The violence being directed towards Negroes in Mississippi as a result of the bitter agitation of the civil rights issue, which has already been responsible for several incidents in the past few days, was evident in the brutal beating of Cleve Cotton, 43-year-old farm tenant, here last week.

The incident caused widespread increase in the terror slowly spreading over Negroes in the Mississippi Delta and throughout the State.

According to reports, Cotton was beaten by Timmie Quinn and Sums Seward, two white men with whom he became involved while attempting to pay his water bill.

WENT TO MAYOR

Although badly beaten, with several gashes about the head and face, Cotton was able to escape and later made his way to the office of the Mayor who called the sheriff and the doctor who administered treatment.

After receiving treatment, Mayor J. D. Upshaw and Sheriff Jim Powell told Cotton that he and his family of five would have to leave town, that they could not live in the town any longer.

Cotton, who owns his own home, had another house under construction and is the owner of two other valuable city lots. The family left town overnight.

Neither of the white men involved in the case were arrested.

In Jackson, Tuesday, Cotton is said to have reported the case to the Jackson office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, who is reported to have forwarded a report of the case to the Washington office of the Department of Justice.

$60,000 Damage Suits Settled

Out-of-Court Agreement Made by 12 Citizens

FT. LAUDERDALE, Fla.— Two civil rights suits, in which 12 Fort Lauderdale citizens sought $60,000 damage from four Broward County law enforcement officers and a farmer, were dismissed by Federal Judge John W. Holland, Monday after an out-of-court settlement.

The citizens had asked $5,000 each on charges that they were arrested without warrants, unlawfully held in jail and fined without trial in 1944. Their attorney, Kenneth Oka of Miami, said the settlement was "to the satisfaction of the plaintiffs."

Paid $340 'Fines'

Named in one suit were Deputies A. M. Wittkemp and Robert L. Clark, Fort Lauderdale Patrolman, Joseph Smiley and County Jailer A. D. Marshall. Named in the other were Dewey Hawkins, a farmer, Clark and Marshall.

Oka said the cases stemmed from arrest of the men on vagrancy charges after they had refused to pick beans on Hawkins' farm for the pay he offered.

He added the men paid about $340 in "fines" without appearing in court.

Stands Pat As Rebels Stir Hate

WASHINGTON — President Truman has no intention of "retreating" one step on his 10 civil rights proposals, Presidential Secretary Charles G. Ross announced here last week, strongly denouncing published reports that Mr. Truman would junk his recommendation to ban "jim crowism" in interstate transportation to appease revolting Southerners.

Ross termed the report "a strange story" and said it "was made out of whole cloth."

His statement was the signal for louder and more heated denunciations from Southern Congressional die-hards against what they termed the President's "carpet-bagging" civil rights program.

Call On Klan

In a motley mass meeting of 4,000 white supremists Thursday in Jackson, Miss., a resolution was passed unanimously "rallying" the Ku Klux Klan and other anti-Negro groups into a force to strangle the human rights movement.

The resolution calls upon "all true white Jeffersonian Democrats" in the country to assemble in Jackson at a date yet to be announced and "formulate plans" opposing Truman's 10-point civil rights program to make democracy workable in the United States.

At the same time Judge Herbert Holmes, chairman of the Mississippi State Democratic executive committee and one of the leaders in Mississippi's cessionist movement, announced that Senator Harry Byrd of Virginia may be asked to spearhead the proposed nation-wide revolt against Democratic party leadership.

To Convene Committee

Judge Holmes will convene the state committee this week to call the "nation-wide" conference against Truman's human rights program.

The action Thursday heeded the call of Mississippi Governor Fielding Wright, who is said to be making his bid for political control of the state on the Negro issue. Observers believe he has his sights on the seat of Senator James O. Eastland, leading white supremist, who proposed that the 10 southern states withhold their 115 electoral votes from the electoral college in the coming presidential election.

Wright's proposal to bolt the Democratic party and form a Southern Democratic party was flatly turned down at the Southern governors meeting in Florida Feb. 7-8.

Rights Violation Charged Sheriff

MOBILE, Ala.—(SNS)— Federal officers Saturday had arrested Clarke County Sheriff Jenkins Angus Hill and one of his deputies on charges of violating civil rights of Negroes.

A Federal grand jury earlier in the week had indicted the officers on charges of depriving nine Clarke county Negroes of rights and privileges guaranteed them by the fourteenth amendment to the U. S. Constitution.

Sheriff Hill and Deputy Willie Ray Harrell, also arrested, were both 35 years of age.

Following arraignment, they were released under $5,000 bond each Trial probably will be in January.

The indictments charged the officers, acting under the "color of their office," had committeed "illegal assault, beatings, whippings and other cruel maltreatment and physical abuse for the purpose of imposing illegal punishment."

Maximum penalty would be one-year imprisonment and a $1,000 fine for each county of the indictment upon conviction.

What The People Say

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE NEGRO RACE

To whom it does concern:

Will Civil Rights cause civil strife? The answer to this question, believe it or not, depends upon every member of the Negro race.

Civil rights is inevitable. The abolition of Jim-Crowism, fortunately, does not rest with the fluctuating fortunes of bickering political parties who, try as some will, cannot still the pendulum of progress. Civil rights is just . . . inevitable.

But after Jim Crow's tail feathers are plucked, what then? What will be the aftermath of civil rights? The step the Negro takes after civil rights is a reality will be a decisive move. It must be the right one. We cannot afford another "Re-destruction Period" like that which followed in the wake of the Civil War . . . when the Negro fell victim to a defeated and bitter horde on one side, and spoil-seeking vultures on the other. Thus he drifted from bondage into bondage.

A great responsibility rests upon the shoulders of those who enjoy unconditional freedom. The Negro must, this time, by-pass the carpet-baggers, and make his own decisions.

He has long shouted: "If I only had a chance . . ." Well, he is going to get it. The question is—will he be ready to make use of this chance?

As of right now every Negro should make sure that he will be ready to take advantage of all opportunities which civil rights would offer him as an individual . . . as an American.

Racial organizations who claim to have the interest of the Negro at heart should now undertake the job of educating all Negroes to exactly what nation-wide civil rights will mean to them and advise accordingly.

Are these suggestions a little premature? A bit hasty? Nonsense! The Negro can't afford to be caught napping. It is easier to win the peace while the battle is still in progress. Preparation, at any rate, does no harm, only the lack of it does.

The Negro must prepare now to take advantage of civil rights, or it will take advantage of him. Today he has a choice and a chance. Tomorrow? Why tomorrow civil rights may be a reality!—David Lloyd Crowder, Chicago

All Out Fight For Civil Rights Urged

NEW YORK CITY—On a trip in the Midwest carrying Philip Randolph to Cleveland, Columbus and Indianapolis, and in a half dozen public addresses and luncheons, he demanded the enactment of the complete and full civil rights report of President Truman.

Mr. Randolph especially insisted upon action on Bill S. 984 for fair employment practice which is now on the calendar of the Senate, pointing out the strategic political position Negro voters have in states such as New York, New Jersey, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Missouri, and California, which any presidential aspirant must carry in order to win.

This position, he said, gives Negroes great political bargaining power with either party and that they are absolutely unconcerned about party labels but demand that all parties put up definite and favorable action for civil rights or shut up.

He observed that it must be made known that Negroes are not in the vest pocket of any politician or party and that they are absolutely unconcerned about party labels but demand that all parties put up definite and favorable action for civil rights or shut up.

Mr. Randolph indicated that Negroes must be hard-boiled political bargainers in this period of national and world crisis with both the Democratic and Republican Parties in order to secure full first class citizenship status.

Civil Rights

Editor Constitution: I fail to understand why some people refer to the Civil Rights Program as a "force bill" when they undoubtedly know that President Truman has neither the authority nor the intention of forcing his program on any State that is opposed to it. In my opinion a "force" law is a law such as the "Jim Crow" law which forces the colored people to conduct themselves in a manner that they would instinctively do even if we didn't have a Jim Crow law. The Negroes in the South are intelligent enough to know what is expected of them by the white people and, if given an opportunity, they will stay in their place without being forced to do so by statutory enactments. The rights of all citizens in their social relations with one another, regardless of race, color or creed, should be based on custom, designated as unwritten laws, rather than on those that are enforced by political authority.

Dewey And Civil Rights

To the Editor of The News:

A fantastic scare head appeared in a news column last Saturday—"McCorvey Favors GOP if They Will Reverse Civil Rights Stand." And in the news items following we find something still more bewildering, the suggestion that President Truman might first be given a chance to reverse himself on the obnoxious program and agree, if selected, to veto such legislation, if enacted.

If Mr. McCorvey actually made such statements he must be misinformed on the real responsibility for the controversial issue and have a poor opinion of the moral caliber of the two presidential candidates. This writer spent some months in the North recently and found almost unanimous belief among the people he met that President Truman was not the heavy villain of the civil rights drama, but the innocent dupe. They believe it was a desperate attempt of left-wing Northern Democrats to win support from all types of radicals, white and colored, while still banking on the "Solid South" staying stand pat. The president can be blamed, they think, only for acquiescing in the strategy and they are inclined to pity rather than blame him. But the suggestion that now he might be willing to make a deal pledging himself, if elected, to double-cross his Northern backers and veto any civil rights legislation that might be passed is simply preposterous. And the alternative suggestion that a similar deal might be made with Dewey is equally absurd.

Everybody knows where Dewey stands on the important FEPC phase of the civil rights issue and a large majority of liberal Southerners are with him on this and already practicing the formula without legal compulsion. Mr. Dewey has not yet declared himself on the more controversial phases of the program, but those who know him best, North and South, feel absolutely sure that such a sensible, practical, realistic politician would no more think of cramming an obnoxious civil rights act down the South's throat than he would advocate legislation to compel Methodists, Baptists, Jews and Roman Catholics to worship together.

Homewood, Ala. DAVID WALLACE.

Bold Act for Civil Rights

President Truman has taken a long and bold step forward in his two executive orders calling for equality of treatment in the armed forces of the United States, and in the civil service of our country. Both executive orders merit, and no doubt will have, widespread approval throughout the nation. They deal a body blow to the practice of second-class citizenship, and enormously fortify the moral position of the United States.

Although the President's proclamation did not call specifically for an end to racial segregation in the armed forces, it nevertheless, in the words of Walter White, extends "greater hope to minorities that democracy can be made to function than any other event of recent years."

Since the action was taken at the national level by the Chief Executive, there can be no question of "states rights." Those who are for "white supremacy" have contented themselves with arguing, as Senator Russell (D., Ga.) did, that it was a "mere political sop," or, in the language of Representative Rankin, "a terrible blunder."

The fact is that the President has shown that he is willing to do more than talk about civil rights and equal opportunity for all citizens. He has acted. It is to be hoped that the Republican leadership in the Congress will now follow the President's example by the prompt enactment of anti-poll tax and anti-lynching bills.

Truman Stand On Civil Rights Meets Rebuke

Bar Association Head Says Hysteria Behind Acts Of Top Parties

Wyatt To Speak

Union Fears Of Labor Law Called Unfounded

By Atlanta Attorney

8-7-48

By WILLIAM McDONALD

President Truman's advocation of the civil rights bill was branded here Friday as "the very negation of statesmanship," by W. Howell Morrow, president of the Alabama Bar Association, in an address before the 71st annual meeting of the association.

"The president of the United States has come out with his so-called civil rights program and both major parties, swept by hysteria, and without reasoned thought as to the actions, have joined in an approval of this attack, not only at our beloved South, but at every citizen of the Republic, North, East and West as well."

SOUTHERNERS ADVANCE TWO PLANS TO SOLVE CIVIL RIGHTS PROBLEM

Fulbright Talks Compromise While Sparkman Calls For Wide Racial Survey

ARKANSAN IS CAUTIOUS

Senator Contends States That Have Adequate Laws Should Not Be Affected By New Statute

By EDWIN B. HAAKINSON

Associated Press Staff Writer

WASHINGTON, Nov. 24.—Two ways of handling President Truman's civil rights program were suggested Wednesday: (1) compromise, and (2) a comprehensive study of racial and economic problems throughout the United States.

Both suggestions came from Southern senators. Senator Fulbright (D., Ark.) said that a compromise of the touchy issue is "under discussion." Senator Sparkman (D., Ala.) advocated the survey, which he said should be an unbiased study not limited to negro conditions in the South.

Resolution Considered

Sparkman said he is considering introducing a resolution in the new Congress for the inquiry, framing it so a spotlight could be thrown on every section of the Nation where there are racial problems. He mentioned, among others, the Puerto Ricans and negroes in New York City and the Mexicans in California.

Delay or not, Sparkman said, "I don't see any use in hurrying into the question."

Fulbright said he believes a fair legislative compromise can be worked out on such controversial parts of the civil rights program as antilynching legislation and prohibition of the poll tax.

"But I'm not predicting the Senate will accept them," Fulbright said, pointing out that feelings are hot on both sides of the argument that split the Democratic Party before the last election.

Fulbright said one proposal is that any Federal laws dealing with lynching or poll taxes exempt those states "which now have adequate state laws."

One of the main arguments of Southern Democrats in the past against the civil rights measures is that they fail to respect the right and ability of states to handle such problems.

"As an example, it's plain foolish to try to enact a Federal anti-lynching law that would apply to Virginia," Fulbright said. "They have not had a lynching there in 20 years or more. The same is true with most other states. They have adequate state laws."

Similarly, Fulbright said the poll tax is a problem in only a few states.

Barkley Talked Of "Adjustments"

The Arkansas senator said programs to end discrimination in employment present a more difficult problem.

Most sponsors of this kind of legislation have urged a Federal commission with broad powers to combat discrimination in hiring because of race, religion or color.

"But we might be able to reach agreements there too, if the penalties and controls did not infringe," he said.

It is known that Democratic congressional leaders, especially in the Senate, are anxiously seeking some compromise on the civil rights program.

Senator Barkley (D., Ky.), the Vice President-elect, recently told a news conference that "some adjustments" are possible on civil rights legislation. Barkley explained that he objected to the word "compromise" as indicating that something vital was being sacrificed.

President Truman pledged full support of civil rights legislation throughout his campaign, even after it caused a revolt within his party.

South's Critics Are Advised To Study Nation's Constitution

To The Commercial Appeal:

It is amazing how the rugged, self-proclaimed constitutionalists from the different sections of our Nation issue loud, redundant blasts at our poll tax and Jim Crow Laws. These groups of "characters" quote from the Constitution with oratorical bliss; however, they seem interested only in the parts that satisfy their feelings.

Very few of these so-called constitutionalists have bothered to study the Constitution, its founding, its shortcomings, and its later changes through form of amendments. Should these revisionists care to inquire, they would find that our Constitution, and Nation, would have fallen into decay if the first 10 amendments had not been adopted. These 10 amendments amounted to a lawful contract not to be broken by some group of assiduous demagogs trying to dictate the course other states should take in their internal affairs. These 10 amendments went in force Dec. 15, 1791, and were wholly responsible for perpetuating the Union.

Amendment No. 10 states very clearly the poll tax and Jim Crow states' valid stand: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people." By no contrivance whatsoever can this meaning be changed.

The Connstitution in its beginning was the instrument of grouping together several sovereign states. It made no time limit upon the continued sovereignty of said states. Yet, bit by bit, all recognized state rights are being usurped away. The majority of Southern citizens do not propose that we have complete state sovereignty. We do propose, however, that the 10th Amendment, which is just as much a part of the Constitution as the seven original articles, be adhered to without equivocation.

Should the proficient negro boxer (Joe Louis) increase his intellect to the extent of Constitutional study, he would be able to be his own sparring partner and wouldn't state "that he would like to get Jim Crow in the ring with him." Paul Robeson, negro Communist agitator and the source of much racial conflict, along with Henry A. Wallace, the man of doubtful American precepts, would also profit by this further study.

W. E. SHARP JR.

87 Stonewall.

Minimum Civil Rights Program

25 National Leaders Meet In Washington

WASHINGTON — ANP) — A five point program for civil rights legislation was adopted Thursday by representatives of 25 national labor, civil rights, fraternal, Negro and religious organizations attending a conference held at the Willard hotel.

The conference, called by the N. A. A. C. P., recommended enactment by the special session of congres of legislation for a permanent FEPC, abolition of the poll tax. punitive measures to suppress lynching and mob violence, banning of segregation in interstate transportation and revision of the displaced persons act to permit immigration of classes now discriminated against

The conference also urged President Truman to issue immediately an executive order banning discrimination and segregation in the federal services including the armed forces.

The statement pointed out that "The special session gives the 80th congress a third chance to fulfill the urgent needs of the American people. The congress can now complete the business left unfinished on its calendar and make genuine contribution to the freedom and equality of all Americans by enacting the pending civil rights legislation. At the same time the congress can demonstrate to the American people that the civil rights pledges in the 1948 platforms, as well as the 1944 platforms, are not empty phrases and mere campaign promises."

Charge Truman Betrayed Civil Rights Report

WASHINGTON. — (ANP) — "President Truman's reappointment of Commissioner Guy Mason is a betrayal of the civil rights report," said the Rev. Robert M. Williams, chairman of the Houston for Commissioner committee. In a statement released following an emergency meeting of the committee, Rev. Williams deplored "the President's failure to recognize or acknowledge the petition of 25,000 district citizens in a 10-day campaign urging the appointment of Charles H. Houston as commissioner".

Rev. Williams cited the President's stirring message before the NAACP convention last summer, in which he deplored discrimination against Negroes, declaring "the time to act is now".

He referred to the President's recent "State of the Union" message in which he greatly endorsed the report of his civil rights committee. "And yet," said Rev. Williams, "two days later the President appoints as our commissioner a man who represents the very conditions which were the target of the civil rights report".

Free Political Rallies

Proponents of Henry Wallace Accused of Interfering With Civil Liberties

To the Editor of The New York Times:

I thoroughly agree with your editorial in THE TIMES of Sept. 10, in which you comment on Mayor O'Dwyer's proclamation to extend free speech to all persons participating in political rallies on public squares and street corners.

I would like to inform the readers of THE TIMES that on several occasions within the past few months, and since the nomination of Henry Wallace, his proponents have made attempts to disrupt political rallies held on the street corners of the Bronx, under the auspices of the Liberal party, Bronx County.

On Tuesday evening, Aug. 31, on 170th Street and Grant Avenue, in the Bronx, an attempt was made by admitted proponents of Mr. Wallace to disrupt a meeting being conducted by Bernard G. Walpin, Third Assembly District candidate (Bronx) of the Liberal party, and his brother, Gerald Walpin, State Chairman of the Young Liberals. The meeting they were conducting dealt principally with the free aid being offered to tenants by the Liberal party, Bronx County.

Several days later an attempt was made by persons distributing leaflets announcing Mr. Wallace's Yankee Stadium rally to stop the distribution of leaflets bearing the imprint of the Liberal party, Bronx County, which were being distributed on an opposite corner.

It has become quite evident that certain elements in the Borough of the Bronx, while speaking out forthrightly about the lack of respect for civil liberties in the South, have nonetheless adopted the same hooligan tactics employed by the Southern Dixiecrats.

It was, indeed, ironical that the incident which took place on Tuesday, Aug. 31, occurred during the same period of time that Mr. Wallace was meeting with similar disruptive and un-American tactics in the South.

We of the Liberal party condemn both the tactics of the Dixiecrats in the South and "Dixiecrat" tactics employed by the Commucrat followers of Mr. Wallace in the Bronx.

We of the Liberal party will fight for civil liberties wherever threatened; whether in the South, whether in Berlin, or whether on the streets of the Bronx. It would be indeed wise for groups such as the American Civil Liberties Union to send observers to all announced public rallies whether held in or out of doors, so as to be properly informed, and to be able to ascertain the identity or identities of the person or persons who intend to make the streets of New York City a replica of the streets of Berlin.

'Justice In The South'

To the Editor of The News:

Many will take issue with your editorial in Sunday's News entitled "Justice in the South" in which you say: "In the intense controversy in the South over the civil rights issue, it has been generally agreed that greater justice for all our people, including of course, Negroes, is an important and urgent objective."

I stand uncompromisingly for justice for every human being on the face of the earth, but I am unwilling to agree that either whites or Negroes suffer from any appreciable injustice in the South, that is not of Washington origin. Nor can I understand why some of our papers lend themselves to an effort to falsely accuse the South and to dissatisfy our people and make them believe that they are victims of injustice.

What we need is to produce more goods for less money, with justice to the worker, than any section in the country. We are getting all the justice we need for an era of happiness if we did not have to put up with the contemptible meddlers from without who would sell us body and soul for a bloc of votes.

The only person I know of who is treated unjustly is the taxpayer. He is gouged, penalized, obstructed, thwarted, hamstrung and hog-tied by every bureaucrat and political wastrel in the country. He is now existing under a back-breaking, bone-crushing load of taxation, and none of us know, when we go to bed at night, whether we have enough to pay for our funeral when the tax collector gets through with our estate.

The little homeowner is the shining target of these vicious people who do nothing but gouge money out of others. If we are to campaign for more justice than we now have, let's start with the little taxpayer and work up the line.

Inasmuch as The News approves the Southern Regional Council's recommendations, The News might specify the injustices it says the Negro is now suffering from. If it is the lack of a FEPC, why doesn't The News voluntarily put the FEPC in force in its plant and set an example without waiting for a law if the FEPC is a good thing?

If The News will concede that the right of on account of race must go. Not only that, but the leading Negro magazines and Negro leaders in the country make it inescapably plain that all miscegenation statutes and bans on intermarriage between whites and blacks must go.

W. E. B. DuBois, Negro director of special research for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, says:

"No one can for a moment question the preference of a white man to marry a white woman. But by the same token if a white Desdemona prefers a black Othello, their right also is undeniable and its restriction by law or custom an inadmissible infringement of civil rights."

Let's be just to the Negro and to everyone else. But above all let's be just to humanity. If we bring about a fusion of races we will destroy this republic. If we destroy this republic we extinguish the hope of mankind. The United States could not run 12 months all forms of segregation must go—even in private schools. All forms of discrimination on Negro ideas, with Negro administrators

and it cannot survive with Negro elected officials. A white man willing to accept office from the Negro will never save this nation. It would be most unjust to all mankind to weaken this nation in an effort to provide "greater justice" for the Negro.

The plain truth is this: Alabama, in common with other states, asserts the right to legislate for the good of all on such subjects as segregation, intermarriage, voting, employment practices, and other domestic questions of like kind. We believe majority rule on such subjects should prevail. That is what we mean by states' rights—the right of the states—each state—to legislate on those subjects.

The Negro leadership in this country, and some low level, mongrel minded, white politicians dispute that right. The abolition of the color line is their ultimate aim. They contend that the federal government must supersede all state legislation on those subjects by a federal FEPC. The state must either be supreme in these matters or it must be subject to Negro control from Washington. I want nothing that detracts one iota from the right of this state to regulate our own social and political affairs. This is a pearl of incomprehensible value. All the gold at Ft. Knox is insignificant in value compared to this right to rule and govern ourselves. We cannot barter that right. Liberty and freedom simply cannot be purchased with TVAs, farm relief, social security, federal aid to education, federal aid to roads or federal aid to anything else. If necessary, we can do without everything but liberty and freedom. Given them, we can acquire every other political advantage. HORACE WILKINSON.

Mr. Dixon Replies

To the Editor of The News:

On Sept. 3, 1948, you published a letter signed by one Alexander Heard, of Tuscaloosa, charging me with misrepresentation of the facts with reference to Truman's stand on civil rights, and you added as a gratuitous offense the headline "Dixon and the Truth."

In the first place, both quotations from my speeches were inaccurate. The original manuscripts read as Mr. Heard stated, but in delivery, realizing that there would be misinterpretation, changes were made. If Mr. Heard had been at the meetings where these speeches were made he would have realized this. But forget that; I am willing to stand on the wording as quoted by him.

Anyone at all familiar with the facts knows at once that the civil rights program discussed in the speeches is the civil rights program of the president's committee on civil rights. And the analysis is partial only; there are many other things in the report of the committee, many other recommendations extremely dangerous to any free people.

* * *

Mr. Heard states that Truman did not mention segregation. The report uses the following language:

"V. To strengthen the right to equality of opportunity, the president's committee recommends:

"1. In general: The elimination of segregation based on race, color, creed or national origin, from American life. The conditioning by Congress of all federal grants-in-aid . . . to public or private agencies . . . on the absence of segregation."

The report goes on for 178 pages, in detail, to show how segregation can be eliminated from America, and recommends the creation of a federal Gestapo to punish the recalcitrant. I wish that every man and woman in the South could read it. It would open their eyes to what is about to happen to them unless it is stopped.

The analysis of the report as carried in my speeches is accurate as far as it goes. The only trouble with it is that it does not go far enough—there is much more that the people should know.

Mr. Heard bases his entire attack on a narrow interpretation of the word "recommend" in one sentence of the speeches. He contends that Truman did not "recommend" to Congress many of the iniquities of the report.

* * *

The president's committee on civil rights was appointed by him in December, 1946. It was a stacked committee, as I charged in both speeches, and as Mr. Heard did not deny. It was hand-picked in the certainty that it would render exactly the type of report that it did render. After fake deliberations of months, it dictated what it was understood it would dictate. The report was immediately broadcast throughout the country. I am informed that, by presidential order, it was sent everywhere, to members of state legislatures, to public officials, to influential citizens. Then, on Feb. 2, 1948, there went to Congress, which had already been flooded with the report, a message entitled civil rights program.

There were "recommendations" made specific. One was the anti-lynching law, intended to establish federal police power and a federal police. One was "protecting more adequately the right to vote," intended to establish federal control of elections. One was the FEPC, intended to secure a stranglehold on American ways of life and the conduct of American business. Under this are to be established the racial ratios mentioned in my speeches, regardless of the wishes of employer or employe. Under this segregation is to be done away with, under threat of fines and jail sentences, in all business and industry. One was to do away with segregation on buses, trains and in the air. One was to strength civil rights statutes, which means a return to the old force bills of shameful memory. One was to establish a permanent commission on civil rights, a congressional committee on civil rights, and a civil right division in the Department of Justice, which three mean eternal harassment of the citizen and of business from now on.

But not satisfied with these enormities, Truman brought in, with unstinted praise, the report of his stacked civil rights committee. Remember, he had laid the groundwork with his distribution of the report, and the report had a civil rights program which went beyond the specific "recommendations" of Truman in his message. It demanded the abolition of segregation in every form, in the schools, the churches, the places of assembly, everywhere. And when the report was so distributed, so praised, so supported, that portion of the message which dealt with the report amounted in fact, leaving out the subleties of language, to a recommendation on the part of the President of the United States that the program of the report be made the full program of the Congress. Any other interpretation, in view of the history of the report and the facts of its presentation, simply misses the meaning of the whole stage-managed affair.

* * *

Had Truman not believed in the program outlined by his committee, it would have been simple to repudiate it, in whole or in part. He did not. He adopted it in toto.

The claim that the recommendations of the report are not the recommendations of Truman to the Congress is sophistry, obviously advanced by one who is in sympathy with its objectives. But the people of the South are not. They do not think that any government in Washington has the right to come into our local communities and tear down our civilization, built long and painfully and with great sacrifice throughout the years. They do not think that the abolition of segregation is for the good of either race. They think that an employe should have the right to choose with whom he works, that an employer can run his business only if he is given the power to choose his employes. And they are, with minor and unimportant exceptions, 100 per cent in their opposition to Truman and his civil rights program.

They die hard, don't they—these who would remake these United States into the image of the police states of Eastern Europe?

A Southern Senator Speaks to His Neighbors

STATES' RIGHTERS now on the warpath with tomahawks and scalping knives, full of vengeance and pent-up grievances, get a sound reminder from one of their neighbors. Alabama's Senator JOHN SPARKMAN repeats to a college group in Montgomery a truth that is getting hackneyed from repetition, but that is as sound as ever. States have rights, to be sure; but for that very reason they have responsibilities.

If they are going to oppose Federal laws for securing civil rights, they have got to prove that they are acting on principle and not out of prejudice. After all, civil rights are pretty fundamental, and they have got to be secured one way or another. Senator SPARKMAN'S advice is that the people of his State and of others in the South leave off screaming at carpetbaggers, bureaucrats and designing politicians and do something about the problem themselves. Their energies and words must be directed toward solving the very real problem, not wasted on fighting unpopular solutions proposed by others.

There is evidence that more and more people in the South are coming to see things in the same light Senator SPARKMAN holds up. A bit of this evidence appeared last week in the calm and thoughtful statement by the executive board of the Southern Regional Council. Security, it said, is not a simple thing, to come of a single action. It includes schools, health and jobs, along with voting or the right to decent transportation or equal justice before the law. Whether statutes be good or bad, they alone are not enough. The job requires brains as well as heart.

DAVIS LEE

The Negro---North and South

(In the Newark, N. J., Telegram, weekly Negro newspaper.)

I have just returned from an extensive tour of the South. In addition to meeting and talking with our agents and distributors who get our newspaper out to the more than 500,000 readers in the South, I met both Negroes and whites in the urban and rural centers.

Because of these personal observations, studies and contacts, I feel that I can speak with some degree of authority. I am certainly in a better position to voice an opinion than the Negro leader who occupies a suite in downtown New York and bases his opinions on the South from the distorted stories he reads in the Negro Press and Daily Worker.

The racial lines in the South are so clearly drawn and defined there can be no confusion. When I am in Virginia or South Carolina I don't worry about it. I will be treated if I walk into a white restaurant. I know the score. However, I have walked into several right here in New Jersey, where we have a civil rights law, and have been refused service.

today boasts of more civil rights legislation than any other State in the Union, and State government itself practices more discrimination than Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina or Georgia. New Jersey employs one Negro in the Motor Vehicle Department. All of the States above mentioned employ plenty.

No matter what a Negro wants to do, he can do it in the South. In Spartanburg, S. C., Ernest Collins, a young Negro, operates a large funeral home, a taxicab business, a filling station, grocery store, has several buses, runs a large farm and a night club.

Collins couldn't do all that in New Jersey or New York. The only bus lines operated by Negroes are in the South. The Safe Bus Company in Winston Salem, N. C., owns and operates over a hundred. If a Negro in New Jersey or New York had the money and attempted to obtain a franchise to operate a line he would not only be turned down, but he would be lucky if he didn't get a bullet in the back.

Segregation The whites in the South stay with their own and the Negroes do likewise. This one fact has been the economic salvation of the Negro in the South. Atlanta, Ga., compares favorably with Newark in size and population. Negroes there own and control millions of dollars worth of business. All the Negro population in New Jersey will not amount to as much as our race has in one city in Georgia. This is also true in South Carolina

Civil Liberty Politics

"O Liberty, Liberty, how many crimes are committed in thy name!"

There was one lynching in the South last year. In that same year some 300 killings took place in New York City alone. Some 10,000 persons in the nation were convicted for rape. There were 10,000 unlawful homicides. The total of criminal offenses was about 1,400,000.

There was only one lynching. But for this one the Congress of the United States is today being turned into a steamroller against the South. The Constitution is being fouled. The Democratic Party is being split in two. And the United States of America, in cold war with Russia that grows hotter each minute, is divided, interrupted and confused.

O civil liberty, thy name is politics--ruthless, nation-killing politics!

For this column's readers throughout the South some of those who are active against President Truman's "civil liberties" program have consented to express their views. My guest today is chief executive of the state most involved.

By FIELDING L. WRIGHT
Governor of Mississippi

I deeply appreciate the opportunity which Mr. Graves has given me to send this message to our Southland and the nation through his column. This is the hour of decision—not simply for the South but for all the United States and all our citizens.

The issues reach down to the fundamental principles on which the government was founded and on which this nation has risen to the highest standard of living ever attained by any people.

Our republican form, with its its many individual freedoms, rests on the voice of the people, not as expressed through a strong centralized government in Washington but as expressed individually, through local subdivisions of government, through state governments and finally through the national government.

Thomas Jefferson and other leaders repeatedly made it plain that the strength of the nation comes from its strong units of local self-government, and emphasized that if the people ever lose this power to an all-powerful federal government it will be but a simple matter for a selfish party or "strong man" to seize arbitrary control.

The anti-lynching bill is but the first of many federal cudgels to be used in clubbing local and state governments into submission; the anti-poll tax bill will lead to federal control of all elections in flagrant disregard of the Constitution; the FEPC invades a fundamental right of every American businessman and every union, and will eventually destroy the right of an individual to conduct his business as he sees fit; and, finally, anti-segregation laws disregard practicalities and the nominating a candidate advocating the so-called civil rights program, or can be used to send the election of a President into the House of Representatives where each state has one vote, thereby defeating an advocate of this type legislation.

The South has long held the Democratic Party together in bad years as well as good. In return for this loyalty present day party leaders reward us with a kick in the face. By its action the South will not be bolting the party, but seeking to save the party from the radicals and establish it once again as the party following the ideals of Jeffersonian democracy.

We are seeking to preserve eternal truths and principles; they cannot be compromised; they must be maintained!

It is deplorable that politicians playing for power and a minority vote have brought these matters before Congress at a time when we should be devoting all of our energies to stemming the tide against communism; but, unless they are defeated here we will not only lose our fight abroad, we will lose our freedoms at home.

The people of the South have steadily built our house on a firm foundation from the days of strife and reconstruction, and we must do more; but we realize that sound progress comes from stable measures rather than ill-timed and unwise force bills.

The Record

In order to meet the needs of these days definite action must be taken. Implementing thoughts with deeds some 5,000 Mississippi Democrats met recently in Jackson, voted authorization to the State Democratic Executive committee to call a nation-wide meeting. Since then a group of Mississippians, with representatives from other states sitting in, have pledged funds to support the conference.

In 127 electoral votes of the 11 states referred to as "the Solid South" we have a ready weapon for fighting the battle to again make our voice heard in national affairs. These votes are desperately needed this year, and can be used effectively to dissuad our party from laws of human relationships, which preclude legislation of such relationships by edict and force.

John Temple Graves

Deserving Civil Rights

The News

We speak very glibly sometimes of civil rights, of freedom of speech, freedom of religion, justice in the courts, and of all these elemental privileges of free men just as if we were in unshakable possession of them. The truth is that those rights, like most of the rights of men, have to be rewon every day. They are won, or lost, by the manner of our living, every day.

It is highly and even dangerously misleading to say that the civil rights which Americans profess to enjoy were gained at Runnymede, or Lexington, or Valley Forge, or even, for some of us, at Appomattox. Such claims as that encourage the wrong idea that liberties, once gained, are secure forever.

Civil rights must be deserved in order to be held. And to deserve them one must share them, or grant them to others. To limit the enjoyment of civil rights is to lose them, for one's self as well as for others.

Here in the South one is hearing much these days of civil rights. The hue and cry are not raised over the issue of the rights themselves, but over the methods to be used in guaranteeing them. It is significant of the temper of our people and times that no one has raised a public voice against equal enjoyment of civil rights by all persons.

Nevertheless, there must be some feeling that equality in this matter is not allowed or else there would not be so much outcry about it. Some people must believe they are denied civil rights or else the nation's president would not have thought it proper to counsel Congress as he did. The News

Southern white people, therefore, have not completely won their own battle of civil rights. Their possession of them is threatened as long as they fall short of doing all they can to protect them for others.

Goethe has a bit of good advice in that connection: "That which thy fathers have bequeathed to thee, earn it anew if thou wouldst possess it." Birmingham, Ala.

When Two Disagree

WHEN 46-YEAR-OLD John C. Stennis, successor to the late Sen. Bilbo, of Mississippi, delivered his maiden speech against the Truman civil-rights program, one of the first to congratulate him was New York's young Republican, Irving Ives, who is vigorously for civil rights. The News

"I like the way you handled that hot potato," said Ives. "You showed great restraint. I congratulate you, even though I thoroughly disagree with you." Birmingham, Ala.

"I don't think I understand your position," responded Stennis, not quite sure how to take Ives' compliment. Feb. 5-12-48

Deserving Civil Rights

"No, I don't guess you do, any more than I understand yours," remarked the New Yorker, who is sponsoring the fair employment practices bill. "But I'm sure we're both sincere in our convictions. I know I'm not grinding any political axes. I'm plugging for my fair employment bill even though I lost Harlem and every other Negro district in New York by two to one in the last election.

"There's not a vote in a carload in this for me," continued Ives. "I'm doing it because I think I'm right."

"No one can deny you that privilege, senator," grinned Stennis. "I guess we're both in the same boat, rowing in opposite directions."—©

Flareups Continue On Civil Rights Front

Daily World

Atlanta, Ga.

There were spasmodic flareups all along the South's civil rights battle front as three Columbus, Georgia newsmen who were alleged man-handled by members of the Ku Klux Klan last week at Shiloh, prepared to face trial in Manchester Recorder's court on Monday of public drunknness. Fox

In Birmingham, Ala., the famous "Gainer Dismissal Case," in which Mrs. Ruby Jackson Gainer was fired from her teaching job in the County School system and which has made two trips to the Alabama Supreme Court, was argued in a packed Jefferson County Courthouse. 3-19-48

In the same city, a federal case brought by teachers of Jefferson County was docketed for hearing before Special Master Reid Barnes. Negro teachers have charged Supt. John E. Bryan with "wilfully and knowingly violating a federal court decree banning racial discrimination in the pay of teachers.

TRANSPORTATION SUIT

In Columbia, S. C. a suit seeking "adequate free bus transportation" for Negro school children in South Carolina was filed in District Court.

James Pearson, a Claredon County high school student has filed the action through his father, Levi Pearson.

Named in the suit were the Clarendon County Board of Education and County Superintendent of Education L. B. McCord Commissioner of Clarendon County School District No. 26 and E. G. Stukes, Chairman of the Board; the State Board of Education and State Superintendent of Education Jesse Anderson.

Aroused Mississippi Democrats, up-in-arms at President Truman's ten-point civil rights program were eyeing April 12 as the date for a "protest assembly," which has been spearheaded by Governor Fielding Wright. Illness in the family of Mississippi Democratic Chairman Herbert Holmes, had delayed adoption of a date positive.

ABRAHAM HELD

A bizarre slaying allegedly in an argument over the President's civil rights program which brought death to 52-year-old Rayfield Davis at the hands of Horace Miller, white, crept back into the news as Miller was bound over to the Mobile County Grand Jury on a charge of murder. Bond was fixed at $2,500.

In the forefront of discussion was the Columbus newsmen story that Klansmen had forced them to drink excessive amounts of whiskey gave them injections and mistreated them at a meeting they were assigned to cover.

Shortly afterwards, the men were arrested, in Manchester and jailed overnight.

Less Resistance To Anti-Lynch Bill Seen In Sudden Decision

Daily World

Atlanta, Ga.

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(NNPA)—The Rev. Allan Knight Chalmers, and A. Philip Randolph, co-chair anti-lynching bill According to Senator Robert A. Taft, of Ohio, committee chairman, the antilynching bill was decided Permanent FEPC, last Friday ex-pressed surprise upon because it will afford the the Senate Republican Policy Committee at the action of best opportunity to break a filibuster by Southern Senators deciding to call up the who have threatened to filibuster bill for floor action against any civil rights legislation Observers at the Capital, how-

ever, believe that action on the antilynching bill will end efforts at passage at this session of Congress of any other civil rights legislation.

The antilynching bill is not expected to be called up in the Senate before May. A filibuster on the bill will block action an any other legislation until the measure is passed or withdrawn. This will result in an accumulation of bills requiring action before Congress adjourns for the Republican and Democratic national conventions.

Less Resistance

Another factor in the Republican Senators' decision to bring up the antilynching bill may be that there is less resistance to it than to either the Ives bill against discrimination in employment or anti-poll tax legislation.

Daily World

The Rev. Mr. Chalmers and Mr. Randolph, in their joint statement, expressed their thanks to Senator Irving M. Ives, of New York, one of the sponsors of the anti-discrimination measure, and Senator William Langer, of North Dakota, for casting the two votes for calling up the FEPC bill.

Atlanta, Ga.

"It is shocking that without prior notice the subject of priorities for civil rights legislation was to be discussed, and with several Republican Senators, including two co-sponsors of the FEPC bill, Senators Wayne Morse (Oregon) and Leverett Saltonstall (Massachusetts), summoned to a simultaneous meeting of the Armed Services Committee to hear Secretary of Defense James Forrestal, twenty-four of the Republican majority of fifty-one Senators should vote to give first priority to the least needed of the three major civil rights bill," Mr. Chalmers and Mr. Randolph said.

Fri.

"The demand for FEPC legislation will continue," they added. "More than 21,000 members of minority groups, now denied justice in employment, can still persuade the Republican majority to make good on their party's 1944 FEPC pledge before its 1948 platform is written."

4-11-48

Thomas Backs Langer Civil Rights Amendments

The Register

New York, N.Y.

Senator William Langer's amendment to the proposed peacetime military conscription bill which would abolish all Jim Crowism in the armed forces was supported Saturday by Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President. In a letter to Senator Langer, Thomas made it clear that he wrote as an opponent of peacetime conscription in every form.

Sat. 6-5-48

Thomas charged that members of Congress could oppose the Langer amendement only if "((a) they put white supremacy over democracy in their affection; or (b) subsconsciously, at least, recognize that there is no necessity for conscription to provide an army of reasonable size and they are therefore willing to take a chance on defeating his half-baked military measure altogether."

End Civil Rights Problem by 49th State In Africa

Chicago, Ill.

INDIANAPOLIS, Ind. — A 49th state for Negroes in Africa would be just the thing to combat discrimination and settle civil rights problems(believes Frank Ellison Best of Indianapolis.

Sat. 7-10-48

The 65 year old president of Best Universal Lock Co., said that would be his plan if the Democrats nominated him for President.. He proposes resettling young Negro couples in American homesteads in Africa.

The Gallup Poll

Post

Civil Rights Ideas Differ Over Nation

By George Gallup

Director American Institue of Public Opinion

WIDE differences of public opinion exist on the four major proposals of the Truman civil rights program, which is almost certain to be an important issue confronting this special session of Congress.

The Institute has surveyed a national cross-section on the proposals for a Federal anti-lynch law, abolition of poll taxes, a Federal fair employment practices law (FEPC) and prohibition of segregation in interstate travel.

Of the four proposals, the one which Southern voters oppose most overwhelmingly is the prohibition of segregation on trains and buses

The South as a whole actually approves doing away with poll taxes, although a majority of voters in the seven States still collecting the taxes wants them retained.

Washington Dc

The rest of the country, on the other hand, approves the proposals for a Federal antilynch law, abolition of both poll taxes and travel segregation, and is about evenly divided on a national FEPC

Sun. 7-25-48

The above analysis of voter opinion is based on the following series of questions asked by the Institute:

"Do you think Negroes should or should not be required to occupy a separate part of a train or bus when traveling from one State to another?"

East,

	Should	Should Not	No Op.
National	42%	49%	9%
South	84	12	4
Outside of South	36	54	10

NATIONAL FEPC

"How far do you yourself think the Federal Government should go in requiring employers to hire people without regard to race, religion, color or nationality?"

Washington D.C.

	National	South	Outside South
All the way	32%	9%	36%
None of the way	45	68	42
Depends on type of work	7	3	7-25-48
Should be left to State government.	2	2	2
Don't know..	14	18	13

"At present, State governments deal with most crimes committed in their own States. In the case of a lynching, do you think the Federal Government should have the right to step in and deal with the crime — or do you think this should be left entirely to the State government?"

Post, Washington D.C.

	Federal	State	No opin.
National	48%	24%	11%
South	23	65	12
Outside South	51	38	11

POLL TAXES

"Some Southern States require every voter to pay a poll tax amounting to about a dollar a year before they can vote. Do you think these poll taxes should be abolished?"

	Abolish	Retain	No opin.
National	65%	24%	11%
South	48	43	9
Outside South	67	21	12
Poll Tax States	36	56	8

PRESIDENT JOHNSON SPEAKS

The Union

Cincinnati, Ohio

Nashville, Tenn.—Civil Rights issues called basic to settlement of present international "cold war" at Fisk Race Relations Institute. Speakers urge immediate action by Federal Government on Civil Rights to restore confidence of other nations in the United States.

"Race is the scale on which democracy is being weighed in a world which is being relentlessly forced to choose between ideologies," Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Director of the Race Relations Department of the American Missionary Association and President of Fisk University, said at the opening session of the Institute of the Race Relations Department of the American Missionary Association.

Thu. 7-8-48

Dr. Johnson has served among the United States delegates to UNESCO. He told the Institute audience that if democracy is to prove itself on the world scene there is need for more than words. "Some genuine act of democratic conviction—repeal of the poll tax, banning of segregation in the armed forces, and enactment of the federal fair employment practice legislation—would do more to strengthen our case than the threat of superior weapons and manpower," the speaker declared.

Civil Rights Vs. State Rights

New York Herald Tribune

The arguments used by the irate and outnumbered Southerners at the Democratic convention had a strangely familiar ring. Pressing an amendment to the platform reaffirming the limitations of Congressional power, they spoke of "sovereign" states. bound together in a "compact." They charged the North with violating the terms of the "contract" on which the Union rests. These are the same phrases and theoretical concepts which the South has resorted to more or less consistently through our history, and which have been used to justify nullification and secession, as this week they were used to justify the milder expedient of a walk from the convention hall. Jefferson Davis and Calhoun would have felt perfectly at home in that intellectual atmosphere, however puzzling and abhorrent the modern gadgetry might have been to them.

The answering arguments of the Northern liberals at Philadelphia derived also from an old tradition. The Democratic party, they asserted, has been a party of human rights as well as states rights, of generous idealism as well as strict constitutionalism. The unity of the states, they inferred, arises less from contractual ties than from an organic growth, shaping the nation into one inseparable whole. In supporting President Truman's civil rights program, the Northern wing was adopting a position which had been characteristic of the party, until the coming of the Civil War committed Democrats to a defensive preoccupation with sectional interests.

New York N.Y.

The present intra-party fight will have consequences which may be far-reaching for the Democrats, both in the campaign and afterwards. There are already many who charge the Northern wing with recklessness in inviting and emphasizing so severe a split. But the split, which always exists below the surface, would undoubtedly have shown itself in one form or another as the party moves through the period of disorganization following its long tenure of power. Meanwhile there stands in the platform, achieved against great odds, as forthright and heartening a declaration as any American could wish for. He would be a partisan indeed who took pleasure in the anguish and internal confusion which the civil rights plank must cost the Democrats, without being capable of genuine satisfaction in its reaffirmation of principles.

CIVIL RIGHTS AND THE SOUTH

Defender

Chicago, Ill. Sat.

As you read the newspapers and listen to the radio, especially on the attitude of the South toward the President's Civil Rights Bill, you sometimes wonder if the rest of the world gets the idea that the anti-social South represents the real democracy of America. It is not surprising, however, that the political leaders of South should manifest such an attitude. The fact is that it is an inherited philosophy born of an economic era in which men of their kind lived upon the labor of others. Unfortunately, though, these political leaders honored with exalted positions by their states have not as yet been able to lift themselves in mental and spiritual thought to the level of the position they occupy.

7-24-48

Thanks, however, to education, religion and refinement, this is a new South arising out of the ashes of the old from which are falling the mental feathers of the old slave oligarchy.

Who Caused The Division?

To the Editor of The News:

Your editorial, "The Democratic Division," in the Sept. 19 News, was supposed to have been, I presume, quite revealing. The implication would seem that the Southern elements of the once great and representative Democratic Party are responsible for the division, whereas fact will not bear this out. As I recall, before the National Democratic Convention met, President Truman made certain things very clear as regards to his intentions if elected for his first regular nominated term, and these intentions were such that a group of the major figures in the Democratic Party in Alabama and several other Southern states, ran for delegates to the national convention on a plank of walking out if Mr. Truman's civil rights were included in the party platform, and also if Mr. Truman was nominated. These delegates were overwhelmingly nominated by the people of this state and only after a bitter fight (the only action that developed in the national convention), the Southern delegates and the Southern people were condemned, humiliated, and completely disregarded by the Northern national Democratic officials who have heretofore been supported to the utmost extent by the by-gone Solid South. After this complete insult, the Southern delegates had no alternative (and indeed wanted none) but to follow the directions of their electorate and walk out of the convention.

Therefore, in the light of these facts, I would say that the direction of the national Democratic Party leaders has led to this division and disintegration of this once great party. There are a great number of people who don't quite follow your defense of the action of this national Democratic leadership. You have yet to suggest anything that we Southerners can do other than follow blindly the leadership of the national Democratic Party regardless of the capabilities and qualities of leadership that these national figures possess. This is the line of thought followed by the Communist Party—that is, nothing matters but the party, no matter who holds the reins at top. This cannot be expected to happen in a place where people are still willing to stand up and be counted for the things they believe in and believe to be best for their section of this United States.

Certainly, Mr. Truman, nor The Birmingham News, can expect to carry the South by trying to force upon them a program as prejudiced against the South as we Southerners are accused of being prejudiced. Mr. Truman's stand is nothing other than a last-ditch effort to capture the Northern Negro vote at the expense of the Southern people and including the Southern Negro.

But, let's divorce Mr. Truman from his civil rights views and judge him as the man who proposes to direct our destiny for the next four years. Certainly his record would not compel the rousing applause of the majority of the American people. The Democratic Party cannot place the blame on the South for its weakness—it can darn well blame itself.

Mon 9-20-48

Your paper concedes at last that the Dixiecrats are gaining momentum. This is a remarkable piece of understatement. The Dixiecrats have had momentum since the South was slapped around at the Democratic National Convention.

Lastly, you ask in the concluding paragraph of your editorial—"Even if the States' Right group achieves what may be considered a sweeping victory in the South, where will it go from there?" The answer should be obvious. For one thing, it will have established before the legislators in Washington the complete and overwhelming sentiment of this section of our nation, that the civil rights program does not meet with the approval of the Southern people and will not be accepted by them. Secondly, the question asked is like asking a person the question—"If you keep me from burning your house down or breaking your fence or wrecking your car, or giving you a deadly disease, what will you have gained?"

I certainly think, which as a private citizen I am entitled to do, that if the Dixiecrats attain a sweeping victory, that they must be considered as having been given a vote of confidence by the Southern people. As such, the Dixiecrats would be representing the people of the South in the true sense of the word.

TRUMAN AND BOYKIN

The Montgomery Ala

Congressman Frank Boykin, of Mobile picked a rather awkward day for the appearance of his newspaper statement that he doesn't believe Truman will make the McCoy college try to enact his brace of civil rights bills.

Congressman Boykin quoted Truman as telling him:

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"Frank, I don't believe in this civil rights program any more than you do, but we've got to have it to win."

But the same papers carried a statement from Senator J. Howard McGrath, right arm of Truman. McGrath said that civil rights would be pushed in accordance with the Truman mandate, and that he favored a filibuster restriction to insure enactment.

McGrath, of course, speaks with more authority than Boykin.

Despite our fear and abhorrence of F. E. P. C., we would be at a loss to understand how Truman could fail to seek enactment. He strongly indorsed it nearly a year ago. In the July convention he tried to placate the South by retaining the mild 1944 plank, but the rebellion was carried out. Quite naturally Truman picked up the challenge. He was elected on that plank. And, much as it may gall us, that is a mandate if there is any such thing as a mandate.

We still conjecture—as we said repeatedly before the election—that Truman was the most surprised man in the republic when his original civil rights recommendations to Congress detonated the Southern explosion.

He was entitled to some surprise. After all, he was only making recent Democratic platforms specific. Roosevelt had actually put into operation by executive order a wartime FEPC, and the South remained steadfast. In the beginning, or so we conjecture, Truman simply thought he was going through some traditional motions, virtually as routine and perfunctory as the presidential candidate being photographed with an Indian head dress.

It was, to some extent, the heat of the explosion that tempered Truman's pretzel convictions into a steel structure. By the time the campaign was over, he had fought, bled and died for civil rights and doubtless came by some sincere, if misguided, convictions.

We have no doubt that Truman is now resolute in his determination to give service on civil rights legislation.

For all of those reasons we are uncomprehending in the face of Congressman Boykin's joyous hey-nonny-nonny that:

"I think the election of President Truman is the best thing that ever happened to us."

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As an instrument of public enlightenment The Advertiser would like to convey to its readers how Congressman Boykin gets that way in his calculations. Has he changed his shibboleth from "Everything's Made For Love" to "Careless Love"?

If he viewed Truman's election as a happy, happy day, why did he permit his name to be used by Mr. McCorvey as a speaker in the Dixiecrat cause and h[illegible] an enemy of the enemy of "Southern civilization"?

Indeed, if Truman's election is the "best thing that ever happened to us," how could the Congressman remain mute as Mr. McCorvey and associates sought to prevent that election?

There may be some entirely adequate and winning explanation to all of this, but we are not aware of it. It is a matter of minor importance in all save one respect. That is, in the 1950 elections there is going to be a lively crossfire of questioning: "And where were you in the Dixiecrat blitz?"

Sees Hypocrisy In Politics

The Courier-Journal Louisville Ky

Your recent editorial pointing out the dishonesty of the Republicans in bringing up the anti-poll tax bill for consideration in the United States Senate is certainly in accord with the facts. However, the accusation of dishonesty should not be directed at the Republicans only. This is the outstanding characteristic of the whole civil-rights controversy.

In the first place the congressional majority, which seems to support the civil-rights proposals, is purely political. As the debate on the anti-poll tax bill proceeded, some clarification came out of the discussion after all. The hypocrisy behind the Federal anti-poll tax measure was evident when it became known that seven States outside the South require property qualifications for voting and these property qualifications are far in excess of the poll-tax requirements in any of the Southern States. But the greatest piece of political hypocrisy in any of the proposals can be found in the anti-lynching bill, which exempts from Federal prosecution all mob violence arising from labor disputes and so-called gang murder. This, in spite of the fact that most of the lynching done in America comes out of labor disputes when the lynchers are seldom ever prosecuted.

9-18-13-48

FORREST F. REED.

U. S. Should Meet Civil Rights Issue Now, Rivers Says

The Constitution Atlanta Ga 9-19-48

OMAHA—(AP)—Strictly sectional handling of the civil rights issue by extremists of both sides "might easily result in political secession and spiritual disunion," former Gov. E. D. Rivers, of Georgia, said in an address here.

The issue "should be immediately met and mastered on an equitable national basis . . ." he told a group of newly naturalized citizens.

Rivers said that by its 3 to 1 majority for President Truman over Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina, "overwhelmingly the South rejected the idea of dealing with the civil rights issue on a sectional basis."

"This issue should not be permitted to hang fire and to gravitate completely and irrevocably into the hands of hotheads, North and South," he added.

Heavy applause lasting for several minutes followed this remark.

Mr. Thurmond called the administration's fair employment practice program "the most iniquitous legislation ever devised by man."

"Under this bill employers would be forced to hire even Hindus, or they would have to pay fines or go to a Federal jail," he said. "Under this bill Communists could apply for jobs in war plants."

The poll-tax law, he said, would

THURMOND ATTACKS CIVIL RIGHTS POINTS

The Sun Baltimore Md 9-19-48

LA PLATA, Md., Oct. 2 (AP)—Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, the States' Rights Presidential candidate, attacked President Truman's civil rights program here today before a crowd estimated at more than 7,000.

Terming the anti-lynching bill "bait for minority votes and to arouse prejudice and to influence public opinion," he said:

"We are all opposed to lynching—it is nothing but murder—the forst form of murder, but it is a state crime and Congress has no

As to segregation, he said:

"We are not running on a platform of racial discrimination. This is a matter for each state to decide. We of the South think it is better not to admit persons of other races into churches, restaurants and other public places. If Massachusetts and other Northern states want to encourage such intermingling let them do it. But we will have none of it here."

IS TRUMAN THE EQUAL OF DEWEY ON THE CIVIL RIGHTS QUESTION?

(AN EDITORIAL)

When President Truman addressed the National Colored Democratic Association in Chicago in 1940, he warned colored people against any aspirations towards social equality. He said:

"I am not appealing for social equality of the Negro. The Negro, himself, knows better than that. The highest type of Negro leaders says quite frankly that they prefer the society of their own people. Negroes want justice, not social relations.

"I merely want to sound a note of warning."

That was eight years ago, when the President was a Senator from Missouri and not a candidate for any high office.

Since then, President Truman has come a long way on the question of civil and social rights.

In 1940 he warned colored people to stay in their places. In 1948, as President and as candidate for re-election, he advocates the adoption of the strongest civil rights program ever proposed by any occupant of the White House.

He has moved a long way. How far has he come?

Is his change of mind based on patriotic or selfish motives?

Does that change increase his stature as a Presidential candidate so that he can rank with Governor Dewey?

HOW FAR HAS HE COME?

There is evidence that Mr. Truman always believed the colored people should vote and get a square deal in the courts. He said as much in his Sedalia, Missouri, speech in 1940.

But it was the social equality of the races that galled him.

He made the distinction plain a second time in an interview with Morris Milgram, published in Common Sense Magazine in October, 1944.

Mr. Truman, then a candidate for Vice-President, was quoted as saying.

"I believe in equality of opportunity but not in social equality.

"There never will be social equality.

"If colored people sit down to eat at a counter in a downtown drug store in Independence, Missouri, they will be booted out because the management of these places has the right to refuse to serve anyone it pleases."

Last week, a California court repealed an 1872 State law forbidding marriage between the races.

In his 1944 frame of mind, President Truman would certainly not have agreed with the California court's decision. That would be social equality.

Social equality to him, at that time, included even such a small matter as eating a sandwich or drinking a cup of coffee in a drug store.

Yet, in 1948, we see that same President Truman standing before Congress to advocate an end to discrimination on account of race, a decent home, education in mixed schools, medical care, a job, a vote, a fair trial in the courts, for colored as well as for white people, and an end to segregation in the Army.

WHAT ARE THE MOTIVES BEHIND THE TRUMAN CHANGE?

Not too difficult to discern are the Truman motives in advocating one cause.

Mr. Truman is an organization Democrat. He joined while young and stayed with it. Pendergast was his boss. He stuck to him even when his boss went to jail for vote frauds. He attended Pendergast's funeral. He has been loyal to the Missouri machine which sent him to Washington.

Once in the capital, his leader became Franklin D. Roosevelt. He followed blindly.

Said Mr. Truman in a Madison Square Garden speech in October, 1944:

"More than five years ago Mr. Roosevelt went on record in favor of legislation to end the poll tax, and on numerous occasions I have cast my vote in favor of such legislation."

Mr. Truman was for FEPC because Mr. Roosevelt wanted it.

And while he voted for these measures in Congress, Mr. Truman conceded privately (Common Sense, October, 1944) that it would take years to pass the bills; the South would have to be educated first, and if colored people criticized the Democratic Party for its failures, the bills never would be passed.

Harry Truman, as we see him, is more expert in deals than in ideals.

In August, 1944, he told the AFRO's Michael Carter:

"You must accept the Democratic Party and its nominees on the basis of faith.

"Democracy means conciliation and agreement. Our party is a party of minorities.

"Why shouldn't we conciliate the South? Why shouldn't we conciliate the colored voters as well? Both are a part of the Party."

In California, he supported a Congressman who was, at one time, an admitted Klansman. Said Mr. Truman, "If he is one of us, I am for him."

The fact that colored people are people and citizens—individuals like everybody else—does not carry the most weight in Mr. Truman's thinking.

Principles come second, party success, party regularity are foremost.

IS MR. TRUMAN'S ADVANCE AS A PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE SUFFICIENT TO RAISE HIM TO THE STATURE OF GOVERNOR DEWEY?

We think not.

Listen to Dewey in 1937, when he was not a candidate for office. He said:

"... is no room for race prejudice in this city." (ANP, ...)

Two years later, in 1939, while running for Governor of New York, he told the AFRO:

"I would rather go down in defeat than be elected by votes based on race or religion."

People come ahead of party with Dewey.

"There is no difference between people," Dewey told the AFRO in St. Louis in 1944.

Said he:

"You don't cure people of their prejudices by knocking them on the head and saying—'you have got to like Catholics, Jews, or colored people'; you have got to live with them and convince them that there are no differences."

The idea of "living with" people as contrasted with Truman's booting them out of a drug store is startling, and is not to be explained away by the acknowledgement that Dewey comes from liberal New York and Truman from jim-crow Missouri.

We are electing a President of all the United States, and, if where he comes from influences what he thinks, it is important.

Dewey's convictions on the question of civil rights are to him as simple and as profound as his belief in truth or honor or in God.

Listen to Dewey:

"It cannot be said that colored men and women do not work harmoniously at the side of white men and women. I know differently. I have seen it proved in my own office, where we all work side by side in complete amity and with splendid spirit. We work together and have our defeats and triumphs together."

"We believe in the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. Undeterred by any obstacles, we will fight, if need be, until every human being, no matter of what race, color, or creed, can live as he was born: in the image of God."—Speech at New York Baptist Convention in 1942.

Dewey is no "Johnny-come-lately" on the civil rights question. He has been sound and forthright since he entered public life.

In his first public job he appointed as assistants a colored man and a colored woman. Women have always worked with Dewey.

He talks like a human being.

"You are Americans, you are not Africans. You belong here and you must stay here to continue your fine contributions to America."

"No one knows how many potential war leaders wear private uniforms because they are colored." AFRO interview, Michael Carter, 1944.

"If they (colored people) had their rights today another million colored workers would be employed." Speech, Lewisohn Stadium, 1942.

"I would like to see colored workers swarming into our war factories." Address, N.Y. State Bapt. Convention, 1942.

"Race hate is monstrous. It chokes us all, white and black alike." AFRO interview, 1942.

"We must make race prejudice unprofitable."

"The national government should go to work and itself assume responsibility for leadership in developing mutual respect and co-operation between people of diverse races and religions." Letter to AFRO, 1944.

"Individual appointments of carefully selected colored people of both sexes will help solve the color problem. Most whites want to see colored people advance anyhow and it is the duty of the Governor to make such appointments as will establish the value of the colored citizen in the community." Interview with AFRO's Michael Carter, February, 1944.

THE USE OF EPITHETS

Four years ago, General Brehon Somervell was piqued because colored and white troops, back from the front, had to use rest camps together.

He said, "I would like to throw the coons in the middle of the desert."

That same week, a woman reporter of the newspaper PM, interviewing Tom Clark, Mr. Truman's Attorney General, reported that he used the epithet "n----r" twice.

When these incidents were called to Governor Dewey's attention, his reaction was characteristic and devastating.

Said he:

"I don't have people like that in my administration in New York, and you can quote me."

Mr. Truman has come a long way in his support of full citizenship rights for all, but he still is far behind Mr. Dewey in his background, his training, and in his broad human sympathy.

Next November, we elect a President of the United States. We shall choose the best man.

Since Mr. Roosevelt's death, the second team has been running the Government. If we think twice next month, we will send in the first team with Dewey as the captain.

SOUTHERN WOMEN ASK FOR JUSTICE

The following resolutions on human rights were passed by the Woman's Society of Christian Service, Southeastern Jurisdiction of the Methodist Church, white, in annual session, last month at Orlando, Florida. No comment is necessary.

"As never before in our history, mankind is bound together in a shrunken world. The disorders of our segment affect the whole. The old and familiar are passing. The new is being born everywhere. The eyes of the whole world are focused with hope on the United States—a democracy with 60 million professed followers of Christ.

"We cannot fail to lead the way in securing human rights for the peoples of the world, including all people within our own borders. The basic Christian faith which we profess will let us do no less. The democracy which preaches equality for all men must be demonstrated in action.

"As Christian women of the Methodist Church in the Southeastern Jurisdiction Woman's Society of Christian Service we call ourselves, and the vast constituency from which we have come, to repentence for our sins and a renewal of our commitment to the task of making Christian principles live in this nation.

"Therefore, as specific and immediate steps in this direction, we recommend the following:

"1. That Methodist women acquaint themselves with the content and full implications of the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights by studies, discussions, and practical action to implement same in this community and nation.

"2. That every effort be made to make the South, the nation as a whole and the world know that Christian women of the South oppose any effort, political or otherwise, to block progressive moves toward the achievement of Civil Rights for all people in this nation, including millions of citizens in this Southland. We call upon the Conferences, districts and local groups to stand up and be counted for human freedom.

"3. That Methodist women work for Federal and state legislation to guarantee Civil Rights to the people of this nation.

"4. Applications to institutions of higher learning in many Southern States are being made by Negro students, desiring special training and instruction. Sensing the impracticability of establishing regional schools the exorbitant and unnecessary expense which would be incurred, the un-Christian principle of discrimination which would be perpetuated, we recoommend:

> That we work to implement the Supreme Court ruling relative to admission of all individuals, regardless of race or creed to educational institutions for graduate training in our schools, both church and state controlled.

"5. That we look also to our practices in the Woman's Society of Christian Service and the Methodist Church, seeking to remove every barrier that separates members of the family of God in the Methodist Church, and to build a Christian fellowship where ideas, experiences, facilities, and action programs may be shared with freedom on a basis of full participation."

WALTER White

The Old Guard Dies But Never Surrenders

CRAWLING out from the debris of the election upset, the Dixiecrats and some of the conservative Republicans are proving that "the old guard dies but never surrenders." This makes it imperative that liberals, and especially Negroes, waste no time jubilating over the election of a somewhat more enlightened Congress than the 80th or the defeat of those who attempted to lynch Harry Truman because of his civil rights program. Unpublicized but highly important conferences are being held night and day by conservatives to plan means of blocking or watering down as many as possible of the measures for which the voters cast their ballots.

Brooks Hays, a Congressman from Arkansas, has already announced that he will introduce in the 81st Congress a bill to legalize the regional college plan. Southern educational authorities have been busily engaged for many months on a scheme to gain Congressional approval of a segregated system of education. They have even tried to lure some Negro educators to participate in the plan, at least some of whom promptly and unequivocally repudiated the offer. Senator John L. McClellan of Arkansas has tried to set a trap for President Truman by suggesting that a filibuster can be avoided if the President will drop the FEPC bill, implying that Southerners would accept anti-poll tax and anti-lynching bills. Frank W. Boykin, an Alabama Congressman, announced at a meeting in that state on November 11th, that he was convinced, after talking with the President that "he won't try to cram a civil rights program down the throats of the South" but the reporter added that Boykin had been careful not to mention when and where he had talked with President Truman.

Senator J. Howard McGrath, Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, who demonstrated at the Senate hearings on the regional college plan last Spring that he has a very great deal to learn about Negroes, has been engaging in some bewildering double talk since November 2nd about the attitude the Democrats will take towards the Dixiecrats who deserted the party and viciously attempted to defeat Truman because of his stand on civil rights. On November 13th the United Press reported from Washington that unamed Democrats "indicated tonight that they will put off a showdown fight on civil rights in the new Congress until most of the rest of President Truman's legislative program is out of the way . . . to avert a bitter, party-splitting fight." If that should be done it could mean that by the time such issues as repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act, appropriations and other time-consuming measures have been disposed of, it will be so late in the session a filibuster would inevitably be successful against F. E. P. C., anti-lynching and anti-poll tax bills.

Some of these newspaper reports can safely be discounted as mere wishful thinking or as trial balloons to see what public reaction to them will be. I do not suggest that those who favor civil rights legislation take the time to answer all of the post election outbursts of those who already are working to keep Congress from legislating the program for which the people voted. But the nature and amount of trickery already visible are enough to be ominous. Only alertness and continual vigilance will prevent the defeated conservatives from winning back at least part of the territory they lost on Election Day.

It is this vigilance by you and me which can translate campaign promises into reality. To this can be added the quiet determination of the President himself. He is reported to have told the Democratic State Committeeman in a middle western state a day or two before election, "Win or lose, I feel I've done the Democratic Party a real service in ridding it of control by Southern reactionaries." If this story is true and his attitude remains unchanged, as this commentator has reason to believe it is, neither the supine wriggling of the spanked Dixiecrats who are trying to creep back into the Democratic Party nor the reported "peace" overtures of men like Senator McGrath towards the Southerners will deter the President from carrying out his Harlem promise to fight for his civil rights program to the limit.

GOP-Dixie 'Tie-Up' Worries N. Y. Solon

By JAMES EDMUND BOYACK

(Special to The Pittsburgh Courier)

WASHINGTON — Representative Vito Marcantonio (ALP, N. Y.) declared here today that unless the Democratic leadership enlarges the powerful House Rules Committee and amends the rules of the 80th Congress, passage of the President's civil rights program will be virtually impossible, and the House Committee on Un-American Activities "will get a new lease on life."

He pointed out that the Rules Committee consists of eight Democrats and four Republicans. Since the second class citizenship under which Southern colored Americans now suffer real privations. I intend to have a more powerful voice.

"I will again introduce my bill HR-7, which would abolish payment of a poll tax as a requirement for voting," Mr. Marcantonio declared. "Civil rights legislation is long overdue. We must do away with

Victory For The States

Other states besides the South are opposed to federal action on some of the civil rights issues, judging by a stand taken at a conference in Washington of state labor commissioners and union leaders. The 1948 Labor Department Conference on State Labor Legislation rejected by a 23-to-21 vote a proposal that the group declare itself in favor of enacting President Truman's program. The vote was on a state basis.

The division presumably was on the question of an FEPC more than on any of the other points in the Truman civil rights proposals. The labor leaders and state labor commissioners are more concerned, as a whole, with that issue than with any of the others. They may be assumed to have definite views on whether federal employment practices control would be feasible in their states. And their answer in 23 of the states is that a national FEPC would not be constructive.

Many of these 23 states lie outside of the South. They do not face the same conditions and problems that prevail here. But even in them men and women close to labor matters know that regulation of certain conditions is best left to the states.

Adopt Declaration on Civil Rights

69 Per Cent in Dixie Against Color Ban

3-POINT PROGRAM

200 Sign Statement Calling for End of Bias

RICHMOND, Va.—Sixty-nine per cent of faculty members in a majority of Southern universities favor removal of racial bars in graduate and professional schools, a survey conducted by the Southern Conference Educational Fund has revealed.

The report was presented by Dr. Jame A. Dombrowski of New Orleans, director of the Fund, at a meeting of the board of directors here Sunday.

11 Universities Covered

Aubrey Williams of Montgomery, Ala., president of the group, former National Youth Administration director, and now editor of the Southern Farmer, said ballots were mailed to every faculty member in 11 Southern State universities.

He asserted that 69% favored opening the doors of all graduate schools to colored students without segregation, when the desired courses are not offered by a State-

This plan already has been adopted by the University of Maryland Law School and the University of Arkansas Medical School, Mr. Williams pointed out.

28% for Regional Plan

He said only 28% voted for the plan of segregated regional schools for colored students as proposed by the Southern Governors' Conference.

The remaining 3% favored other plans for solving the South's problem of providing higher educational facilities for students who are not white.

Only three States—Georgia, Mississippi and South Carolina—showed faculty aproval of the plan for segregated regional schools, while Alabama was evenly divided on the question.

Attitudes Changing

Discussing the survey, Mr. Williams declared:

"The commonly held attitudes toward colored people are breaking down. There is a strong and unmistakable evidence of a growing support in the South for making the colored man a part of the citizenship of the nation.

"It is gratifying to see this fine reaction of our educational leaders."

At Charlottesville, Va., the organization issued a bold and forceful challenge to fellow citizens to bring American ideals and deeds into closer harmony by ending segregation and discrimination in the interests of peace at home and abroad. The Declaration on Civil Rights was released over the signatures of 200 prominent Southerners representing every Southern State.

If our bid for moral leadership of the world is to be effective, the statement said, "we must practice at home what we advocate abroad. Truth and justice are not bounded or divided by parallels of latitude —this is one country and one people, governed under one constitution."

All Created Equal

"We still believe," the declaration said, "that all men are created equal" and as men must be guaranteed certain primary rights, by force of law where necessary. These rights were listed as:

Equality before the law, protection against discrimination and vote barriers, freedom of expression, access to all tax-supported institutions, including schools and hospitals, equal pay for equal work, equal opportunity for training and employment, freedom of movement and location, and freedom to assemble in unsegregated groups.

3-Point Program

To meet the problem of segregation and discrimination, a three-point action program was proposed:

1. Voluntary action of individuals to speak out against discrimination when it is confronted in particular cases; to guard against prejudice in thought, word and deed.

2. Voluntary action of groups to inform and educate their members as to present inequities and injustices, and to secure their approval of changes in by-laws and practices needed to establish these rights.

3. Repeal of existing laws in violation of these principles and passage of new legislation on federal, state, and local levels, to serve as a shield to civil rights of the citizens.

Dixie Liberals Anti-FEPC, Too

By Stewart Alsop

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Oct. 23.—During the briefest journey of inquiry in the South, it is difficult not to be impressed by one fact. That is the almost completely unanimous opposition to Federal civil rights legislation, by Southerners of every political stripe. However one may approve the objectives of the civil rights proposals, this almost total unanimity is an important political fact, which must be recognized.

It is possible, of course, to hear in the South a deal of wicked nonsense about the race question. One highly regarded Dixiecrat leader, for example, told this reporter that there were really only two way of handling the problem.

One was to ship all the Negroes in the United States to Africa. If this proved impracticable, he suggested a mass redistribution of Negroes, so that each county in the United States would have no more than a 10 per cent Negro population, would be only fair. He was perfectly serious.

Yet it is too generally assumed in the North that this sort of nonsense is typical of Southern thinking on the race question. It is not. Yet it is impressive to find such men of unquestioned good will as Ralph McGill of the Atlanta Constitution, James E. Chappell of the Birmingham News, Senator Lister Hill, Senator John Sparkman, and many other undoubted liberals, all deeply and unanimously convinced that the passage of civil rights legislation like the Truman proposals could easily lead to disaster.

Poll Tax No Issue

AMONG such liberals, there is not much real objection to the antipoll tax measure. There are even those who favor it. The same is true of the antilynching bill, although most Southerners are quick to point out that lynching has almost disappeared in the South. The real, last-ditch opposition is aroused by the Federal fair employment practices bill, and the antisegregation bill.

Passage of either of these two measures by Congress, Southern liberals argue, would play directly into the hands of the Klu Kluxers and their unacknowledged allies. No doubt, say the liberals, racial prejudice should not exist in the South. Yet it does exist, and it is a political factor of the first importance. To disregard it as a political factor is to court disaster.

Race prejudice, they argue, has always been the most convenient instrument of those determined to prevent any sort of social or economic progress in the South. Passage of the civil rights proposals would set loose such a fever of race hatred as to give reaction an unshakeable grip on the South for years to come.

This does not mean that intelligent, liberal Southerners (and there are plenty of them) are complacent about the South's treatment of the Negro minority. They are not. But there has already been progress—notably as regards Negro education. Pressure from the North, many Southerners admit, has accelerated this progress. But the real job of raising the Negroes to a condition of economic and political equality can only be done in the South and by the South. FEPC and Federal antisegregation laws would only prevent the job from being done.

Hopkins Protege Disagrees

THUS the Southern liberals argue, and it is important to realize that these are the views, not of Rankins or Talmadges, but of those who have fought Rankinism and Talmadgeism all their lives. This reporter was able to find precisely one dissenting voice—Aubrey Williams, former friend and protege of Harry Hopkins.

Williams is a native Alabaman, and he currently edits the farm paper, the Southern Farmer. No one can deny to Williams a certain moral courage. He has simultaneously come out flatly against Henry Wallace and for the full civil rights program. He has thus made himself the South's leading political leper, without even the moral support of the South's tiny band of Wallaceites.

Williams asserts staunchly that the South's treatment of the Negro is evil, and that the only way to deal with evil is to fight it. As for a bloody Southern reaction to passage of civil rights legislation, Williams believes that this is mostly talk promoted by those who stand to profit by it. As evidence, he points out that out of a million subscribers to his paper, less than a thousand have canceled their subscriptions as a consequence of his civil rights stand.

And he points further to such straws in the wind as a recent poll at the University of Alabama Law School, in which the students voted overwhelmingly in favor of admitting qualified Negroes on an equal basis.

Yet Williams represents a tiny minority—as he himself admits, hardly more than a minority of one. And that is the major weakness of his argument. For unenforceable legislation is bad legislation. And to anyone who has spent even a short time in the South, it is difficult to see how civil rights legislation could be enforced in the teeth of the opposition of the entire white population.

Civil Rights Plan Retains High Priority

By the United Press

Southern Democrats got a new warning yesterday that civil rights legislation is still high up on the Administration's list of business for the Eighty-first Congress.

Representative Emanuel Celler (D., N. Y.), who is slated to be chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, said that antilynching and antipoll tax laws should be considered by that body as soon as possible after Congress convenes in January.

Walter White, secretary of the Association for the Advancement of Colored People, told reporters after a White House conference that President Truman feels pretty much the same way.

Determination Expressed

"He expressed his determination to go right through with civil rights," White said as he left Mr. Truman's office.

Cellar said the Southern Democrats are hopeful of putting the poll tax question before the Nation as a constitutional amendment, in an effort to "stall the issue."

"Any Democrat who advocates it (the amendment) is forgetful of the avalanche of votes which elected President Truman," he said. "The mandate of the people demands action."

Celler said the Southerners had their chance to compromise the civil rights question at the Democratic National Convention last summer.

"All Efforts" Rejected

"But they rejected all efforts to work out a peaceful, progressive solution," he said.

White said he went over a list of election figures with the President and cited a postelection survey taken by his association which he said, showed that the Negro vote for Mr. Truman represented the balance of power in such key States as California, Illinois and Ohio.

Asked where he saw any sign that Mr. Truman might agree to water down his civil rights program to mollify Southern Democrats, White shook his head.

What! Again?

SENATOR JOHN J. SPARKMAN of Alabama has come up with a new delaying tactic on the civil rights program which he and his colleagues from Dixie believe will be more effective than staging another of their disgraceful filibusters.

Senator Sparkman wants to seize the initiative in the forthcoming civil rights battle by proposing another national survey of civil rights, which will probably be the umpteenth one on record.

While there is no likelihood that the Republicans and Northern Democrats in the Congress will "fall" for this dodge, one wonders what there is to investigate about civil rights that has not already been investigated from stem to stern.

The facts have been set forth in dozens of hearings, hundreds of books and thousands of newspaper stories until everybody in the United States is quite familiar with them.

The facts are that nearly 5,000 Negroes have been lynched with scarcely a single conviction in history although there have been a large number of arrests and indictments, and several trials.

The facts are that out of eleven million Negroes in the South less than a quarter million have voted in any election in the past fifty years.

The facts are that job discrimination is rife throughout the South as well as a large part of the North, East and West.

The facts are that Negroes everywhere in the areas where jim-crow schooling exists are being robbed of their rightful educational opportunities.

The facts are that Negroes in most parts of the country, but especially in the Southern and border States, are barred from places of public accommodation.

These are the facts, and in view of these facts it is difficult to understand the need for any more investigations.

The record speaks for itself, and the record calls for the speedy enactment of the entire civil rights program into the law of the land.

Senator Sparkman and his colleagues had better think up some sounder strategy than another investigation to delay the inevitable.

They must be slipping!

Proposes State 'Civil Rights'

Mississippi Legislator Would Enact Truman Ideas Into Law Before Congress If Time Will Permit

By KENNETH TOLER

JACKSON, Miss., Nov. 27.—Two of President Truman's civil rights proposals are scheduled for consideration on the state level in 1950 unless the Congress enacts them before the biennial session of the Legislature convenes. They are anti-poll tax and anti-lynching.

The author will be one of the Truman leaders in the state, Representative Phil Mullen of Lafayette County, vice chairman of the National Democratic Executive Committee setup after the regular state organization announced its support for the State Rights' Democratic ticket in the recent general election. Mr. Mullen said he will offer the measures at the 1950 session "unless Congress beats me to them."

Mr. Toler

In connection with his anti-lynching proposal, the northeast Mississippi legislator said Virginia recently enacted a state statute of that type. He has not worked out the details, but does not plan a monetary penalty which would affect the entire citizenry regardless of their opposition to mob violence. He said he may provide that guilty officials be subject to removal from office.

Although Mississippi does not have an anti-lynching statute as such, it has a law concerning murder as well as "white-capping." The latter is somewhat along the lines of anti-lynching. Mr. Mullen said he feels there is a "gap" between the two statutes which his proposal would plug.

Poll Tax No Bar To Negroes

As to the poll tax measure, Mr. Mullen said he believes the present requirement for its payment as a prerequisite to voting affects more "average" white citidens than negroes. He said its removal would not affect white supremacy at the ballot box since many more whites will become eligible to participate in the selection of their governing officials.

Since the state constitution provides the poll tax and makes it a prerequisite to voting, it is likely a constitutional amendment may be proposed. Such a course would require its ratification by the voters. Whether the constitution can be sidestepped with a legislative act is questionable.

Elimination of the poll tax would call for a companion statute setting up some rigid form of registration.

During one of his campaigns, the late Senator Bilbo advocated elimination of the poll tax requirement in general elections but its retention in state primaries. After the issue became somewhat controversial even on that basis, the "stormy petrel" dropped it.

Another proposal, of an entirely different nature, is also in the making. It, however, would not have to wait until 1950 in event Governor Wright convenes an extraordinary session next year to tackle a rural roads program.

Suggests Road Debt Compromise

Representative Gordon Bowen of Itawamba County, will suggest a compromise for the controversy as to the state's liability to counties which built roads at their own expense before the 1936 statewide program and which are now a part of the state system. The supreme court has held the state liable for reimbursements on an appraisal value.

Instead of making reimbursements to the counties, Representative Bowen will propose that the state build mileage corresponding with that taken into the state system within the counties involved.

"If my county is entitled to reimbursement on 10 miles, then let the state build ten miles in the county within three years instead of assuming its liability in other ways," he said. "That would be much better than taking funds from the highway program and losing federal aid on them, or else crippling constructon in other ways."

The roads the Itawamba County lawmaker would have built in place of those taken into the state system would be into the rural areas designated by the county boards of supervisors.

Other Proposals Made

Representative Dave Womack Jr. of Humphreys County, has suggested two compromise plans: the state assume outstanding local road bonds or else make a reimbursement based on 25 per cent of the county's outlay.

Whether this issue comes before

Winthrop Rockefeller Stands For Civil Rights

Winthrop Rockefeller, one of America's wealthiest men and youthful member of the internationally faced five-brother Rockefeller family, this week revealed his uncompromising stand on civil rights.

A veteran who rose from the rank of private to lieutenant colonel in the recent war, young Rockefeller said:

"I recommended that segregation be eliminated from the armed forces and other governmental agencies. Segregation is very unfortunate and unnecessary."

He referred to his report for Secretary of War Patterson on veterans' readjustment problems and went on to disclose his activities in the South Pacific where he eliminated segregation among troops under his command. Thoughtfully considering the entire matter of race policies, he said:

"Laws are helpful, but in reality a solution depends upon education and understanding. However, I think the way FEPC is set up in New York is very sound and I am in favor of a national FEPC."

FAMILY HISTORY

The family's long history of interest in good race relations was cited by the young millionaire. His grandmother, he said, was a founder of Spelman College and his parents had been very much interested in the activities of Hampton Institute.

Identifying himself merely as an employee of Sacony-Vacuum, Rockefeller said he was using his influence to see that the firm's many Negro employees get an opportunity commensurate with their talent, training and ability. He emphasized his opinion that Negroes have a responsibility on the job front, too, and cited a case in which he once queried a business associate about the number of Negroes employed by his firm and learned that there was only one—because only one had applied.

Very active in the New York Urban League, Winthrop reported that his beautiful young wife, the former Barbara Sears, asked him once recently if he were married to her or to the Urban League.

But all five of the Rockefeller brothers are keen on whatever specialty each has chosen, Winthrop pointed out. His is race relations and all his brothers refer to him on this subject. The other four are specialists on a variety of subjects including conservation, student activities, Latin America and propects of the noted Rockefeller foundation. All of them are interested in good race relations and employ Negroes in every capacity possible, Winthrop revealed.

DIXIE VIEWPOINT ON RIGHTS URGED

Previous Group Stacked, Southerners Believe

BY PAUL WOOTON

(The Times-Picayune Staff Correspondent)

Washington, Dec. 7.—A lot of maneuvering in the civil rights matter is going on behind the scenes. A determined effort is being made to secure a report on civil rights from a commission on which the Southern viewpoint will have competent representation before attempting to take up legislation.

Southern lawmakers believe that those delegated by the president to select the personnel for the previous commission stacked the membership so as to get the kind of recommendations that would be most useful in the campaign. It also is desired that at least one member of the new commission be thoroughly familiar with the position of craft unions which exclude Negroes from certain jobs.

Some believe that if a group of advocates of the different points of view sit down together it is more likely to bring out practical recommendations.

The suggestion has been made that FEPC legislation include a plan for a better distribution of the Negro population. Many race problems become minor when the Negro population does not exceed 10 per cent of the total.

With the return of more normal times the South, because of technological advance, will not be able to employ more than one-third of its Negro population, it is estimated. If the federal government is to accept responsibility for the race problem then it should make provision, it is argued, for the preferential employment of Negroes in Northern and Western states where the Negro population is small. If a plan of preferential employment could be worked out for numbers not to exceed 10 per cent of each states' employables, Southern Negroes would have attractive job opportunities in most of the Northern

and Western states. The objective would be to spread the Negro population more equally throughout the country and to make it possible for all states to participate in providing Negroes with better economic opportunities. So long as the Negro population does not exceed 10 per cent of the total, segregation and other race problems diminish in importance.

Delegation Seeks Civil Rights Program Implementation

BY ALICE A. DUNNIGAN.

WASHINGTON — (ANP) — On Monday, Dec. 20, which marked the 83rd. anniversary of the 13th Amendment in the Constitution of the U. S., a delegation of some 15 leaders conferred with White House and Justice department officials on implementation of the administration's Civil Rights program.

The delegation was composed of William L. Patterson, national executive secretary of the Civil Rights congress, New York; Mrs. Mary Church Terrell, author and lecturer of Washington; Bishop B. N. Fendanders, Philadelphia; Mrs. M. C. Edwards, Washington; Mr. and Mrs. Razier Taylor of Alexander, Va.; Mrs. Senora B. Lawson, Richmond, Va.; Thomas Buchanon, Washington; Clifford Johnson, international representative of the Fur and Leather Workers, CIO, Chicago; and the Rev. D. Edward Hackett, Chester, Pa.

BONDS CITED.

In stating the purpose of their visit to the Capitol City, Mr. Patterson said, "We have come to Washington on the 83rd anniversary of the adoption of the 13th Amendment in the Constitution, abolishing slavery and involuntary servitude.

"Yet from the harsh experience of our own lives we know there are invisible bonds of servitude yet to be cast from our people. The shackles that bound our fathers before the Civil War weigh no less heavily upon us today though they are disguised behind the subterfuge of 'separate but equal facilities.'

We came to Washington to tell the Attorney General and the President that we demand, it is our right, immediate passage of Federal anti-lynch legislation; immediate abolition of racial discrimination in private employment, in the armed forces and the civil service; immediate anti-poll tax legislation, and reduction of Congressional representation in any state where part of the electorate is denied the right to vote, as provided in the Constitution."

After talking with Alexander M. Campbell, the assistant attorney general, and David Niles, administrative assistant to the president, the spokesman for the group, Mr. Patterson related he could not report that the group was altogether satisfied with the response they have received from the Federal officials. "We feel there is here in Washington a shocking synicism about the civil rights program which was one of the chief campaign issues and whose adoption our people so eagerly await. We leave with the warning that whether or not the politicians of any party took their civil rights pledges seriously, the Negro people did and will continue to do so.

EYES ON CONGRESS.

"Because of the promises that have been made to us, the eyes of our people will be upon the Congress and the administration in the months ahead. The mandate of the people for civil rights can only be ignored with the gravest consequences."

The Civil Rights congress executive said he felt it fitting and proper that the delegation meet the press in the office of Representative Vito Marcantonio, American Labor Party of New York, because in his belief, Mr. Marcantonio was more nearly carrying out the ideals of Thaddeus Stevens than any other U. S. Representative.

In Reconstruction days Stevens was the one representative who favored punishment of the southern states which succeeded from the Union, and favored a policy of immediate and full citizenship for the Negro.

At the luncheon held at the Phyllis Wheatley Y. W. C. A., Mrs. Terrell recalled the fact that she knew personally and had lunched in the home of one Mr. Henderson who introduced the 13th Amendment of the Constitution.

Civil Rights Common Ground

It is obvious that the finding of common ground for dealing with civil rights issues is one of the pressing challenges now facing the country.

President Truman has reiterated his determination to press for the proposals he has advanced. Opposition to these specific proposals continues intense in the South.

If no agreement can be reached respecting broad lines of action, persistence of divisive and very disturbing controversy is inevitable. Democrats will continue deeply divided. Extended battle will impede the work of the next Congress.

"It is known," reports The Associated Press from Washington, "that Democratic congressional leaders, especially in the Senate, are anxiously seeking some compromise on the civil rights program."

* * *

Sen. Barkley, vice president-elect, has said that "some adjustments" are possible on civil rights legislation, though he objects to use of the term "compromise" in this connection in the sense of sacrificing principle.

The basic principle involved, of course, is that of justice. Southerners, as well as other Americans, generally desire to serve justice in dealing with this problem. Differences largely center on how progress can best be made in this direction.

The administration must realize that a compulsory program opposed by a great majority of the people of this region would produce new complications and fail to serve its basic purposes. Southerners generally should realize that a merely negative position would only increase the demands for action. That is why such men as Sen. Sparkman of Alabama and Sen. Fulbright of Arkansas are seeking some basis for a solution of the problem.

* * *

Sen. Sparkman has suggested a comprehensive study of racial and minority problems throughout the United States. Sen. Fulbright said that a compromise is under discussion.

A broad-minded approach to the whole problem, giving thorough consideration to all its angles and motivated by a firm determination to achieve agreement in the common interest, should be the aim of all. May constructive efforts to that end proceed.

Aiding The Negro

Black Belt Leaders Solving 'Civil Rights' Problem By Helping Their Colored Neighbors

BY FRED TAYLOR

The race-conscious Black Belt, where Negroes outnumber whites as much as 10 to 1 in some sections, is doing more and more to help the colored man help himself.

The Black Belters are doing it in many ways.

In Uniontown, in the heart of the Black Belt, they're doing it with a Negro Dairy Show.

A civic organization—Uniontown Exchange Club—last year sponsored what Milton G. Walker writes was the South's first all-Negro dairy exposition. They put it over with the help of the communities' citizens in general and through the cooperation of Alabama Polytechnic (Auburn) and Tuskegee Institutes.

TAYLOR

* * *

BIG SUCCESS—Walker, who is president of the Planters & Merchants Bank at Uniontown and member of the Exchange Club committee, tells this column that the 1947 show proved such a big success "that we have decided to make it an annual event."

The show this year will be held Oct. 14.

"You, of course, realize that in this section of Alabama we are most conscious of the so-called civil rights' question and the race question in general," writes Walker.

"Our club realizes, as does every thinking person in the South, that the South alone can work out this problem through education and other assistance to the Negro, as exemplified by projects of this nature.

"We are putting this non-profit show on in this spirit. . . . Regardless of Northern political propaganda, we feel that we are the best friend of the Negro and are trying to help him as fast as he can intelligently absorb such help.

* * *

OUTSIDE MEDDLERS—It has been repeatedly emphasized that outside meddlers and trouble makers aggravate instead of improve race relations in the South.

Florida's Gov. Millard Caldwell put it very aptly when he said:

"Those of us who have concerned ourselves with the problem of bettering conditions in the South note an immediate resistance to our efforts every time the Northern reformers introduce some meddlesome legislation."

And Albert Stapp, who grew up in the Black Belt and learned at first hand how to deal with the bi-racial problem, hit the nail on the head when he said:

"Our racial problems must be solved by evolution, education and patience, and they are being solved in that manner. They cannot be solved by outside meddlers and tribue makers who are not familiar with problems inherent in our bi-racial civilization."

* * *

THREE-WAY REMEDY—A recent report by the ultra liberal Southern Regional Council executive committee recommended a three-way remedy—legal, educational and economic — for the "civil rights" controversy.

This group emphasized that laws cannot do the job alone. Instead, it called for a combination of educational and economic means to go hand in hand with legal machinery to do the job. Its members added that laws are necessary "to protect the rights of disadvantaged minorities."

The committee pointed out that poverty and discrimination go together and called for a "conscious and costly national effort" to raise the whole South, white and Negro, up to the level of the rest of the country.

"Until the South enjoys a standard of living comparable to the rest of the nation," that report emphasized, "it appears likely that political democracy will also lag behind.

"Though the South has made much progress toward a higher level of welfare for its people, it must have assistance to speed up the pace of that progress."

Civil Rights Compromises Under Study

Sparkman Seeks Survey Of Racial Situation Across United States

Bill Slated On It

Arkansas Senator Says Proposals For Mediation Are Being Discussed

WASHINGTON, Nov. 24 —(AP) — Two ways of handling President Truman's civil rights program were suggested today: (1) Compromise, and (2) a comprehensive study of racial and economic problems throughout the United States.

Both suggestions came from Southern senators. Senators Fulbright, (D), Arkansas said that a compromise of the touchy issue is, "under discussions." Senator Sparkman, (D), Alabama advocated the survey, which he said should be an unbiased study not limited to Negro conditions in the South.

Sparkman said he is considering introducing a resolution in the new Congress for the inquiry, framing it so a spotlight could be thrown on every section of the nation where there are racial problems. He mentioned, among others, the Puerto Ricans and Negroes in New York City, and the Mexicans in California.

Delay or not, Sparkman said, "I don't see any use in hurrying into the question."

Hopes For Fair Solution

Fulbright told a reporter he believes a fair legislative compromise can be worked out on such controversial parts of the civil rights program as anti-lynching legislation and prohibition of the poll tax.

"But I'm not predicting that the Senate will accept them," Fulbright said, pointing out that feelings are hot on both sides of the argument that split the Democratic Party prior to the last election.

Fulbright said one proposal is that any federal laws dealing with lynching or poll taxes exempt those states "which now have adequate state laws."

One of the main arguments of Southern Democrats in the past against the civil rights measures is that they fail to respect the right and ability of states to handle such problems.

Only Few Need It

"As an example, it's plain foolish to try to enact a federal anti-lynching law that would apply to Virginia," Fulbright said. "They have not had a lynching there in 20 years or more. The same is true with most other states. They have adequate state laws."

Similarly, Fulbright said the poll tax is a problem in only a few states.

The Arkansas senator said programs to end discrimination in employment present a more difficult problem.

Most sponsors of this kind of legislation have urged a federal commission with broad powers to combat discrimination in hiring because of race, religion or color.

"But we might be able to reach agreements there too, if the penalties and controls did not infringe," he said.

It is known that Democratic congressional leaders, especially in the Senate, are anxiously seeking some compromise on the civil rights program.

Adjustments Possible

Senator Barkley, (D), Kentucky the vice president-elect, recently told a news conference that "some adjustments" are possible on civil rights legislation. Barkley explained that he objected to the word "compromise" as indicating that something vital was being sacrificed.

Sparkman, in discussing his proposed resolution, said the racial study should be coupled with an investigation of economic conditions "because I am convinced the racial problems and economics are so closely bound together that you ought not to study one without studying the other." He said the study ought to take in education, housing and living conditions in general.

The racial problem is "intensified" in the South where there are two races living side by side, Sparkman said, "but," he added, "there also are racial problems in New York City, Detroit and other centers."

Sparkman described the Negro conditions in his home county of Madison, Alabama where he said in a consolidated Negro High school every teacher held a masters degree and the principal a Ph. D.

"I don't believe that can be duplicated in white or Negro schools anywhere else in the country."

He said tremendous strides had been made in recent years in racial relations in the South. He declared the proposed federal education program would "greatly help" the situation by giving Negro as well as white children better education opportunities.

Sparkman said he does not believe the poll tax question is one for legislation and if any changes are made it should be by constitutional amendment.

On anti-lynching, Sparkman said he favored a law which would give the government power to move in "when there is breakdown in law and order, regardless of the kind. Let it cover all and not be a political football toward the South."

Civil Rights

Editor Constitution: In re Ralph McGill. Please accept national compliments for the forthright, noteworthy, simple explanation and presentation entitled "Let's Shell Down a Little Corn" of the civil rights issue. Absorption of the article should serve to dispel the coil of misunderstanding from the minds of the less informed among us on the principles involved and enable them, too, to see through the dark cloud of States' rights into the cloudless splendor of the sunlight of human freedom.

Definitely, the South is the creator of its own plight. Had our Southern politics kept abreast with human progress by softening the cruelty and stringency of its canons and putting them into execution, the National Constitution, that great charter of liberty, justice and freedom for all, would not now be perched upon the pedestal of shame and ridicule, crowned with world-wide notoriety.

Atlanta. J. ROBERT WILLIAMS.

NEGRO RIGHTS

Editor, The Advertiser:

I have listened to the different ones talking over the radio about the rights of the Negro and I believe in every one having their rights.

I wish you would make it plain what you want people to do. As far as I am concerned I want the Negro to be educated and have work to make a living and not be cheated of their rights. But I want them to go to their own schools, their own churches, and associate with their own color just as they have been doing here in Alabama since I can remember.

I am 71 and I have given many Negroes bread and medicine, have prayed for them, and they have praised me and my husband and children for being kind to them. And when I meet one I am not so high-minded as not to speak and even ask, if it is one I know: How is your health? And I wish you knew how I have helped them in sickness and need.

MRS. L. B. CAMPBELL.
WETUMPKA, ALA.

The Civil Rights Laws Cannot Be Enforced In The South

By STEWART ALSOP

BIRMINGHAM—During the briefest journey of inquiry in the South, it is difficult not to be impressed by one fact. That is the almost completely unanimous opposition to Federal civil rights legislation, by Southerners of every political stripe. However one may approve the objectives of the civil rights proposals, this almost total unanimity is an important political fact, which must be recognized.

It is possible, of course, to hear in the South a deal of wicked nonsense about the race question. One highly regarded Dixiecrat leader, for example, told this reporter that there were really only two ways of handling the problem. One was to ship all the Negroes in the United States to Africa.

If this proved impracticable, he suggested, a mass redistribution of Negroes, so that each county in the United States would have no more than a ten per cent Negro population, would be only fair. He was perfectly serious.

Yet it is too generally assumed in the North that this sort of nonsense is typical of Southern thinking on the race question. It is not. Yet it is impressive to find such men of unquestioned good will as Ralph McGill of "The Atlanta Constitution," James E. Chappell of "The Birmingham News," Senator Lister Hill, Senator John Sparkman, and many other undoubted liberals, all deeply and unanimously convinced that the passage of civil rights legislation like the Truman proposals could easily lead to disaster.

The Prejudice Cannot Be Ignored

Among such liberals, there is not much real objection to the anti-poll tax measure. There are even those who favor it. The same is true of the anti-lynching bill, although most Southerners are quick to point out that lynching has almost disappeared in the South. The real, last-ditch opposition is aroused by the Federal fair employment practices bill, and the anti-segregation bill.

Passage of either of these two measures by the Congress, Southern liberals argue, would play directly into the hands of the Klu Kluxers and their unacknowledged allies. No doubt, say the liberals, racial prejudice should not exist in the South. Yet it does exist, and it is a political factor of the first importance. To disregard it as a political factor is to court disaster.

Race prejudice, they argue, has always been the most convenient instrument of those determined to prevent any sort of social or economic progress in the South. Passage of the civil rights proposals would set loose such a fever of race hatred as to give reaction an unshakeable grip on the South for years to come.

This does not mean that intelligent, liberal Southerners (and there are plenty of them) are complacent about the South's treatment of the Negro minority. They are not. But there has already been progress —notably as regards Negro education. Pressure from the North, many Southerners admit, has accelerated this progress. But the real job of raising the Negroes to a condition of economic and political equality can only be done in the South and by the South. F.E.P.C. and Federal anti-segregation laws would only prevent the job from being done.

The South's Leading Leper

Thus the Southern liberals argue, and it is important to realize that these are the views, not of Rankins or Talmadges, but of those who have fought Rankinism and Talmadgism all their lives. This reporter was able to find precisely one dissenting voice Aubrey Williams, former friend and protege of Harry Hopkins. Williams is a native-born Alabaman, and he currently edits the farm paper, "The Southern Farmer." No one can deny to Williams a certain moral courage. He has simultaneously come out flatly against Henry Wallace and for the full civil rights program. He has thus made himself the South's leading political leper, without even the moral support of the South's tiny band of Wallaceites.

Williams asserts staunchly that the South's treatment of the Negro is evil, and that the only way to deal with evil is to fight it. As for a bloody Southern reaction to passage of civil rights legislation, Williams believes that this is mostly talk promoted by those who stand to profit by it. As evidence, he points out that out of a million subscribers to his paper, less than a thousand have cancelled their subscriptions as a consequence of his civil rights stand. And he points further to such straws in the wind as a recent poll in the University of Alabama law school, in which the students voted overwhelmingly in favor of admitting qualified Negroes on an equal basis.

Yet Williams represents a tiny minority—as he

himself admits, hardly more than a minority of one. And that is the major weakness of his argument. For unenforceable legislation is bad legislation. And to any one who has spent even a short time in the South, it is difficult to see how civil rights legislation could be enforced in the teeth of the opposition of the entire white population.

Claim Supreme Court Erred In Interpretation

Daily Worker
Thur 10-14-48

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(NNPA)—The District of Columbia Municipal Court of Appeals was asked last Wednesday to declare that the United States Supreme Court erroneously held that the Civil Rights Act of March 1, 1875, was unconstitutional in its application to the District of Columbia.

Arguing the appeal to Dr. Edwin B. Henderson, head of the department of physical education and health in the colored divisions of the local public schools, former Judge James A. Cobb of the Municipal Court said that the 1875 Civil Rights was constitutional so far as the District of Columbia was concerned and that its provisions still can be applied to civil rights cases arising here.

Dr. Henderson sued the E. Street Theater Corporation, which operates the National Theater here, for damages of $500 for violation of his civil rights under the 1875 statute. The theater on December 13, 1946, refused to sell him two tickets of admission because he is colored.

SUIT DISMISSED

The Municipal Court dismissed the suit on the motion of counsel for the Theater. Mr. Cobb asserted that Judge Frank Meyer first decided that the court was without jurisdiction and the 1875 statute was unconstitutional, and then assumed jurisdiction and decided the constitutional question involved in the case.

On the question of jurisdiction, Mr. Cobb argued that the Municipal Court is a court of the United States and is vested with original jurisdiction of suits to redress deprivation of civil rights in the District of Columbia.

Thur 10-14-48

He contended that the Supreme Court incorrectly held in 1913 that the 1875 statute, which previously had been declared unconstitutional in its application to the states, was inseparable and as a whole had to fall. He said the court should have held that the statute should be applied in those instancse where it could constitutionality be applied, such as to actions in the District of Columbia and United States

Many factors indicate that if the question of the constitutionality of the 1875 statute to the District of Columbia were to come before the Supreme Court now, the decision would be different, Mr. Cobb said.

Incitement to Good Will

N.Y. Herald Tribune

The effect of public discussion is hard to measure, and hence likely to be underestimated. The problem of racial minorities is nothing new in this country; its insistence has merely risen to the surface in very recent times. The civil rights question, under that name, is thoroughly contemporary. It was, in fact, a chief election issue in the South and elsewhere. The political potency in civil rights has only begun to show itself. As the important legislative decisions still wait, and earnest thinkers ponder solutions to an old dilemma, we wonder if the American people are not perhaps a little ahead of the leaders. The evidence appears on many fronts, no single part of overwhelming importance, some of it contradictory or disturbing, but generally the news is good.

Mon 10-18-48

For every piece of snobbery by an all-white college fraternity there is a Levi Jackson honored and a mass of lesser manifestations of the sort which are hardly mentioned because they are accepted commonplace. For a Negro's murder in Georgia, with prosecution apparently laggard, we see simultaneously an Alabama white man convicted by a white jury to forty-five years in prison for raping a Negro woman. And Alabama is where voters may be required to read and interpret the United States Constitution, a test that is currently under legal attack.

Now these news scraps are little enough, and it may be that they mean even less, but we prefer to take them as a refreshing suggestion that the national civil rights temper is on the cheerful side. These items are the incitement to good will, the stirrers of public discussion.

The Civil Rights Plank

Daily Worker
Tues 10-19-48

The compromise civil rights plank in the Democratic platform presented to the party convention in Philadelphia was a broad affirmation in behalf of equal justice to all citizens. It pledges "continuing efforts to eradicate all racial, religious and economic discrimination." It calls upon Congress "to exert its full authority to the limit of its constitutional powers" to protect the "right to live, the right to work, the right to vote, the full and equal protection of the laws, on a basis of equality with all citizens as guaranteed by the constitution."

On these general principles there is, of course, agreement within the party. Southerners opposed to the plank as presented in the majority report do not, of course, challenge the principle of equal justice and no discrimination. They contend, however, that unless it is clearly set forth that there shall be no invasion of what they consider the sovereign rights of the individual states in seeking this broad objective, the specific proposals of President Truman on this subject will not stand rejected. The controversy, then, centers on questions of method.

* * * *

Advocates of the Truman recommendations did succeed, however, in putting over an amendment giving endorsement to specific action along these lines. On the other hand, the opponents of these proposals on the poll tax, segregation in interstate transportation, employment practices and lynching, failed to obtain a states' rights pronouncement emphasizing, in effect, that it is the responsibility of the states to deal with such matters.

After the amended plank was adopted a recess was voted without an immediate walkout of the Mississippi delegates and 13 from Alabama.

* * * 9-13-48

This defection, however, came just before the nomination of Mr. Truman. What will come of it all is a question that is still unanswerable.

Alabama's electoral votes are pledged against Mr. Truman. Some other Southern electors will not support the president.

A convention of dissident Southerners has been projected for Saturday in Birmingham. It is inconceivable, of course, that these anti-Truman Democrats will vote for Dewey. But they hope that a situation will develop that will offer an opportunity to defeat both Mr. Truman and Gov. Dewey and make possible the election of a more acceptable man.

But the prospect of any such development seems very slim.

7-12-48

If, as seems likely, Gov. Dewey is elected by a wide margin, the Democratic Party, in its defeat, will face a serious problem of reconciliation and renewal.

Truman Forces Convinced Filibuster on Rights Will Fail

New York Times
New York

By WILLIAM S. WHITE
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 26—Leaders for the Truman civil-rights program have now arrived at a conclusion that the foreshadowed Southern filibuster against it actually can be broken this time in the Senate. This was learned today in responsible quarters which disclosed also the techniques by which they feel that the Southerners ultimately can be silenced in a Democratic Congress where the last Republican Congress had failed to do so.

So confident are the Administration leaders—who will have Republican help on this issue—that they intend to try to persuade the embattled Southerners to agree in advance to an amendment of the Senate rules against limitless debate so that intra-party fighting, with its attendant scars, may be avoided.

If an accommodation along this line cannot be reached with the Southerners, and if a frontal thrust by the bipartisan majority fails to change the rules by force, the third and most important weapon of the civil rights group will be put into play.

This weapon is implicit in the parliamentary situation as it will stand when Senator Alben W. Barkley of Kentucky steps up in late January to preside over the Senate as the newly sworn Vice President.

Sat-11-27-48

The one indispensable point won by the Southerners in the last Congress made their delaying action invulnerable. It turned upon an interpretation of Senate procedure, made by the then presiding officer, Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, Republican, of Michigan, which left the Senate powerless to smash a filibuster not against a civil rights measure as such, but against a "motion" to bring up that measure, which was the poll tax repealer.

When an effort was made to begin the laborious process of closure against long Southern discussion of this "motion," Senator Vandenberg, with declared reluc-

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tance, upheld a Southern point of order that this so-called "gag" rule could be applied only to a "measure" and not to a "motion."

In other words, the Senate always had the power, by a two-thirds majority, to vote closure, but closure could not even be attempted in this case because it would not be valid even if ordered.

Mr. Vandenberg observed that he "emphatically" agreed that the Senate ought to be "in ultimate control of its own destiny." He asserted, however, that until the rules themselves were changed he could not alter them as the presiding officer, no matter how much he might like to, except by arbitrary action.

Senator Barkley, speaking then as the Democratic floor leader, strongly took the opposite view. When the Senate adopted the rule in question, he argued, its intention was "to make it possible for the Senate to bring to a termination a debate upon any matter before it," whether "motion" or "measure," or whatever.

Barkley's Views on the Rule

"The object of the rule," he went on, "is to bring to a conclusion a discussion upon a pending matter, and if we cannot bring it to a conclusion on the preliminary motions which may be regarded as measures toward that end, then the effectiveness of the rule is completely destroyed."

The Vandenberg interpretation left the civil-rights advocates of that time, last August, with nothing left to shut off the Southerners save to try an amendment of the rules.

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This the Republican leaders did not attempt, but assuming then that they would control the new Congress they pledged themselves to make amendment the first order of business in January.

The election returns, of course, left the Democrats, and not the Republicans, in the responsible place and Vice President-elect Brakley's position as to the interpretation of the "gag" rule would make its amendment not an essential.

RIGHTS LEADER KIDNAPED AND BEATEN BY PASCO POLICE

By Terry Pettus

The Northwest Enterprise, Seattle, Wash. Wed 11-10-48

Full details of how Pasco, Washington, police officers kidnaped and beat Len Goldsmith, national director of the Civil Rights Congress, for his refusal to abide by the town's Jim Crow practices, have now come into the possession of The New World.

First word of the shocking breach of civl rights was received by The New World at press time last week but as the victim was then en route to New York City, the story could not be verified. Daily newspapers have made no mention of the affair.

Goldsmith, who went to Pasco from Seattle where he formed a local chapter of the Congress, wired The New World that he has filed a complaint with the Department of Justice in Washington, D. C., charging the police with violating the federal civil rights statute.

And in Seattle, the local chapter issued a statement scoring the outbreak of open terrorism and calling upon Gov. Mon C. Wallgren and Attorney General Smith Troy to take vigorous steps to "remove this stain from our state."

IN NEGRO HOME

After declinig to stay at any of the town's hotels because of their Jim Crow policy Goldsmith, who went to Pasco to form a chapter of the Civil Rights Congress, accepted an invitation to stay in the home of a Negro family.

Because of his outspoken opposition to the practice in Pasco of barring all hotels and restaurants to Negroes, the Civil Rights leader was a "marked man." Four police in a squad car "tailed" him to the home of his hosts.

The police forced entry into the house and demanded that Goldsmith leave. When he refused they threw him and his luggage into the police car, drove five miles out of town where he was beaten dumped into the road and warned to stay out of Pasco.

But Goldsmith returned to the Eastern Washington railroad and farm center and attempted to file charges against the officers. Instead he was charged with "disorderly conduct," fined $50 and placed on a bus for Pendleton.

In addressing the organizational meeting of the Seattle chapter. Goldsmith stressed the need for an all-out fight against discrimination and Jim-Crow in all their vicious forms.

In its statemnt, issued by John Daschbach, temporary chairman the Seattle chapter declared that the **"criminal assault, kidnaping and false arrest of Len Goldsmith by the Pasco police force is a crime against the people of our state."**

It declared that the Civil Rights Congress **"serves notice that the perpetrators of this crime will be searched out and punished to the full extend of the law. This attempt to bolster the rotten Jim-Crow practices in the Pasco area, by resorting to violence and kidnapping, must be exposed and smashed."** Wed. 11-10-48

In calling on the people to participate in a smashing offensive on behalf of civil rights the statement declared that "the use of force and violence by the defenders of Jim-Crow, serves to again warn all Americans what a vile and dangerous thing it is."

Washington state chapters have also announced that they will conduct a fight against the Canwell Committee and in support of the current national campaign to obtain dismissal of the frame-up indictments of the 12 Communist Party leaders who went on trial in New York Monday.

The New World.

THOMAS L. STOKES

Will Mr. Truman 'Compromise'?

WASHINGTON—Now that the various interests and political groups that tried so hard to defeat President Truman finally are recovering from election shell shock, the air is getting thick with talk from them to promote "compromise" on this and that part of the comprehensive legislative program that he pledged in his campaign. Surprisingly enough, the first to rush in with compromise overtures, and perhaps with less grace, were Southerners in Congress. They came bearing proposals for compromise or delay in the President's civil-rights program, breaking in dulcet tones the silence they had preserved so rigidly in the campaign, most of them not even daring to mention the name of their Party leader and President of the United States. Their attitude is somewhat like a defeated army insisting upon writing the peace treaty.

In the fine spirit of a good winner the President has refrained politely from saying the obvious things that he might have said. He is preserving a decorous silence while they talk. He has not been cajoled into giving the least encouragement to the "compromise" movement.

For purely practical political reasons, if nothing else were involved, the President would not compromise before the fight began. He is, after all, experienced in politics. He will present his program to Congress again, just as before.

Atlanta Constitution

But there is something else involved of which the Southerners perhaps have not taken due account. That is the President's conviction that the time has come for this nation to institute simple justice for all of its citizens, in keeping with the Constitution, and in keeping also with the leadership our nation has assumed in the world. He will not be deterred from that.

His is the opportunity, and there is evidence he recognizes it, to write a charter of human rights in this century to implement those great acts of the past that have marked the successive stages of our progress as a great democracy, including the Constitution and Abraham Lincoln's emancipation proclamation. It is time for the next step. The President, a close student of American history, is conscious of the stream of history.

His determination should be plain now to everybody. It has been tested, as by fire. He heard himself vilified when he submitted his program to Congress originally, and he saw the Southern rebellion mount to such fury that experienced observers could see nothing but the wreck, temporarily at least, of his Party and the doom of his own chances for re-election.

Despite that, despite the pressure brought on him to drop the issue in the campaign as a desperate move to appease the South, he spoke out again in Madison Square Garden. His courage on this issue undoubtedly was an influence with many voters who had no direct personal interest in it, other than the simple interest in civic decency, and was one of the elements in his surprising victory to which no account was given during the campaign.

President Truman is further along with the people of the South, perhaps, than with the politicians of the South. This is indicated by the much larger vote for him in the South than had been anticipated. Of interest, too, is a fact discovered by this reporter on a pre-election tour of the South that there is considerable acceptance of parts of the Truman program, such as anti-lynching legislation and abolition of the poll tax. Fri. 12-3-48

It is significant that Dixiecrat orators confined themselves to FEPC in whipping up their campaign in the apparent effort to create the belief that this was all of the civil-rights program, and they distorted the FEPC unbelievably. The fanciful impressions people got from this sort of campaign were amazing.

This may give a clue to the strategy that President Truman and his leaders in Congress use in developing the program. Because of his sincere desire to get his charter of human rights on the statute books as a landmark of his second administration, it is expected that the President will plan his course carefully. A likely course is to start first with more accepted portions of it and work gradually to the rest. It would seem essential also to get some curbs on filibusters in the Senate, which hitherto have prevented action there. In this Republicans can be helpful.

Democrats And Dissenters Seeking To Reach Agreement On Civil Rights Legislation

The Commercial Appeal, Memphis, Tenn. Sun 11-28-48

Party Leaders Have Eye On Next Congressional Election In North — States' Righters' Stand Against Working FEPC Is Adamant

By WILLIAM D. SISSON

WASHINGTON, Nov. 27.—There hasn't been and will not be any formal announcement but there is a definite move on here to reach a compromise on the controversial so-called civil rights program.

Some of the Southern leaders admittedly are open to suggestions for a compromise. They still are dead set against a Fair Employment Practices Commission in any shape or form, but they may listen to proposals regarding the elimination of the poll tax and some kind of anti-lynching legislation.

The leaders in the Democratic Party are not so flushed with victory that they don't realize that a determined effort to pass

FEPC legislation at this session will bring on a Southern filibuster in the Senate. That in turn will mean a legislative stalemate that will keep President Truman from making good on other and less controversial issues and promises. Sun 11-28-48

Too, such a stalemate or failure of the Democratic Congress to carry out the President's program could easily result in the Republicans gaining control of the House again in 1950.

The voters in certain key northern States have shown they can switch back and forth across party lines with great rapidity when it comes to electing Representatives.

Neither President Truman, nor any of the men close around him, can afford to admit they are open to a compromise. That only would serve to bring the racial and radical groups from New York swarming to Washington.

Leslie Biffle, the Piggott, Ark. native who probably is as close to President Truman as anyone, is acting as unofficial go-between in the compromise negotiations. Mr. Biffle, who in January again becomes Secretary of the Senate, will deny this, but then he has never been known to confess to any of his dealings for the President.

Working with Mr. Biffle is Representative Brooks Hays of Little Rock. Some folks charged Mr. Hays with being too far to the left when he was with the old and unlamented Farm Security Administration. But since entering the House he has turned out to be a liberal middle-of-the-roader.

So far the compromise proposals boil down about like this, in a general way.

Poll tax: Southerners will agree to submission to the States of a constitutional amendment eliminating payment of a poll tax as prerequisite to voting.

Anti-lynching: Southerners will

to passage of some kin of bill calling on the States to do certain things. The Federal government would not be given power to meddle in the State's affairs.

FEPC: Matter will be allowed to drag along indefinitely in committee or a bill completely without teeth and authorizing states to set up Fair Employment Commissions if they desire but not forcing them to do so if they don't so desire will be passed. The first proposal is the only one that appears to have any chance of winning southern approval. Even those Southern leaders who are talking and thinking about a compromise are afraid of any law, even a toothless one being on the books. They are afraid it would serve as an entering wedge that next session the radicals would come back and attempt to put teeth into the law.

These compromise talks are all unofficial. They can't be otherwise, but they are going on and they serve to show that neither side wants to deliberately bring on a bitter knock-down fight that can do no one, especially the Democrats, any good.

Truman Says:

'Civil Rights Will Get Top Priority'

(From Pittsburgh Courier Press Service)

WASHINGTON—President Truman stated emphatically Monday morning to Walter White, NAACP secretary, that the civil rights program which he outlined in his campaign will get top priority.

Mr. White, accompanied by Roy Wilkins, acting secretary of the NAACP, called on President Truman at the White House Monday to congratulate him on his election victory and to discuss the civil rights program. After the conference, Mr. White said the President told him: "We were elected on specific pledges and these pledges will be carried out."

Mr. White declared that the President gave him no indication that such compromises with the South as have been suggested recently will be tolerated by the Chief Executive.

Mr. White said that the President indicated in the conference that he was fully aware of the extent to which Negro voters had supported him and credited the Negro vote with being the balance which assured victory for him in California, Illinois and Ohio. Mr. White added that the President seemed very well informed on how strong the Negro vote went for him.

One of the purposes of Mr. White's visit to the White House was to introduce Mr. Wilkins to Mr. Truman, since Mr. Wilkins will be directing NAACP activities during an extended leave on which Mr. White will soon embark.

What Is Liberty?

To the Editor of The News:

What is liberty?

That flaming question, so heatedly debated today the world over, was just as much a subject of argument in Abraham Lincoln's day. The world has never had a good definition of the word liberty, and the American people just now are much in want of one.

We all declare for liberty, but we do not all mean the same thing. With some the word liberty may mean for each man to do as he pleases with himself and the product of his labor, while with others the word may mean for some men to do as they please with other men and the product of other men's labor. Here are two not only different but incompatible things called by the same name—liberty.

The shepherd drives the wolf from the sheep's throat, for which the sheep thanks the shepherd as his liberator, while the wolf denounces him for the same act as the destroyer of liberty, especially if the sheep was a black one. Plainly the sheep and the wolf are not agreed upon a definition of liberty. Precisely the same difference prevails today among us human creatures.

Liberty and justice to all would mean giving the Negro his civil rights, the right to justice in the courts, the right to security in his person and property, the right to a fair share in the distribution of tax money for purposes of education, health and public improvements. It would give the Negro the right to earn a living, to be paid according to his professions and skills.

We must look to the day when free men everywhere, regardless of race, color or creed, can live in freedom, can work at occupations of their own choosing in the land of liberty.

LONNIE STERLING.

Marvel, Ala.

Timetable For Civil Rights

The success of the President's civil rights program in the new Congress will depend upon timing as well as the merits of the various measures proposed. In the past opponents of the program have had little difficulty in defeating it, and one reason has undoubtedly been the lack of any systematic plan of translating ideas into statutes. If similar results are to be avoided in 1949, a well devised scheme of action will be necessary.

Last February the President wrapped his 10 civil rights proposals into a single package and tossed it into Congress with bombshell repercussions. Nothing came of it but talk and recriminations. To be sure, Congress was not disposed at that time to accept *any* controversial measure that the President sent up. But, as a practical matter, it could not have enacted good legislation on all the points in this program because of its heavy schedule of work on the European recovery bill, appropriation bills and other essential legislation. The 10-point program thus gave the advocates of States' rights a handy football to kick around.

In our opinion that strategy should not be repeated. The time has arrived for serious legislative efforts in this field in place of mere talk and political maneuvering. Even if it were possible to enact the entire program in a single year, it would probably be unwise to do so. What is needed in dealing with this difficult problem is a progressive amelioration of existing conditions rather than any violent transfer of power that might intensify bitterness and postpone the evolution of tolerance. Consequently, it seems to us that a conscientious and thoughtful effort should be made to put first things first.

What measures should be given preference in the legislative timetable is likely to be a matter of controversy. But there are a number of sound rules that may be applied. It would be an obvious mistake, for example, to begin pressing the most controversial measures first. The same may be said for measures of doubtful constitutionality. In our opinion, Congress might well begin by setting up a permament commission on civil rights, with fair representation for the South as well as the North, to aid in the shaping of policies that the States as well as Congress may adopt. At the same time it could well rename its Judiciary Committees specifically to cover civil rights, and set up a full-fledged civil rights division in the Department of Justice.

Step No. 2 might well consist of strengthening the present civil rights statute. With this groundwork laid, Congress could consistently proceed with buttressing the right to vote. In our opinion, this is fundamental. The right to vote without discrimination as to race or color is unequivocally guaranteed by the Fifteenth Amendment, and the right of Congress to enforce it is likewise beyond question. If this basic right were properly underwritten by the Federal Government, the enlarged and revitalized electorates in the Southern States could solve many of their own local problems without impairing our Federal system, which contributes so much to liberty in general.

As a companion piece to legislation for the prevention of interference with voting, we should like to see Congress submit to the States a constitutional amendment forbidding poll taxes in either State or national elections. With the sentiment now built up against the poll tax, such an amendment could doubtless be promptly ratified in three fourths of the States. Use of this method would eliminate the strongest argument against the poll-tax bills that have been so often advanced in the past.

If Congress should pass these measures in a single session, it would be doing remarkably well. In the following session it could take up the antilynching bill. Lynching has virtually disappeared through the efforts of the States themselves, but in the last Congress the Senate Judiciary Committee succeeded in working out an antilynching bill that does no violence to the Constitution, and if there is any widespread demand for its enactment it ought to be given a place in the timetable. Attention must also be given to ending discrimination in interstate transportation facilities. To be sure, the Supreme Court has struck a blow at such discrimination, but its decision rests on a flimsy basis and may affect only the border States.

A fair employment practices law would naturally take last place in such a timetable because the need for it is less acute in prosperous times and because it is the most controversial of the President's civil rights proposals. A thoughtful editorial in the *Raleigh News and Observer*, which supports most of the civil rights measures, classifies FEPC as "by all odds the most objectionable bill proposed in the civil rights package." *The Washington Post* favored

reasonable FEPC legislation, when the proposal was applied to establishments employing above 50, but we do not think a bill should be allowed to stand in the way of more pressing steps that can be taken with relatively little furor. The important thing is to make a firm start toward the protection of civil rights in a way that will encourage cooperative effort in the South. For the last analysis any program of this sort

Progressive White Backs Civil Rights In Alabama

MONTGOMERY—Audrey Williams, former National Youth Administration head spoke in defense of the President's Civil Rights program against three southern reactionaries Thursday in a Town Meeting sponsored by the Junior Chamber of Commerce.

All four of the speakers are identfied with important trends in southern life. Their subject was "What of Alabama and the Democratic Party?" Opposing Williams on his stand that Negroes are entitled to full civil rights were Gessner T. McCorvey, State Democratic Party chairman, Former Gov. Chauncey Sparks, and Sen. John Sparkman.

McCorvey, who is said to be the author of the infamous Boswell amendment to the Alabama constitution, indicated that he would bolt from the Democratic Party rather than support a civil rights program.

To a question by Sparks on how he would answer segregation, Williams answered that a person associates with people for what they are, and that he would enjoy having some Negroes he knows in his home.

Civil Advances Seen As Boon To Racial Minorities

48 Favorable And 34 Unfavorable Decisions Recorded

NEW YORK—(SNS)— the issue of civil rights has been plunged into a confusion and an uncertainty over basic principles which is unmatched in years, according to the American Civil Liberties Union annual report published October 9, and sent to the Union's members, branches, cooperating organizations, federal officials and members of Congress.

Under the title "Our Uncertain Liberties," the 88-page report reviews ACLU activities along many fronts, covering, to the end of August, the Federal government's loyalty program, the Union's role in the fight against censorship and for freedom of speech and press as well as academic freedom in schools and colleges; it reviews various phases of campaigns for racial minorities and labor's rights; and surveys means of extending civil rights in those nations now occupied by our own armed forces.

"Speculation as to the future course of American liberties in so uncertain an era is obviously risky," the ACLU report declares.

COMMUNIST FEAR

"In such a complex, the role of advocates of the principles of our Bill of Rights without compromise or favoritism, is more essential than ever to the preservation and extension of democratic liberties. It is to that formidable challenge that the Union will continue to devote its efforts to the limit of its abilities."

Admitting the hostile atmosphere created by the fears of Communism, the report nevertheless shows that civil rights for racial minorities recived more favorable encouragement than in many years.

"In other fields of Civil rights outside race relations and labor," the ACLU report states, "advances were made during the year by decisions of the Supreme Court, the governmental mainstay of our traditional rights. In none of the many important cases before the Supreme Court did the majority fail to support or extend civil liberties. Only the Court's refusal to review a number of cases can be construed as unfavorable."

DEBTS, CREDITS NOTED

Over-all totals of itemized balance sheets covering Federal courts and agencies, State courts, Congress, international and private agencies show debits and credits on civil rights as viewed by ACLU standards amounting to 48 on the favorable side against 34 unfavorable While these represent of course only the major reported cases and incidents involving mostly official action, th report stated, they reflect the proportionate tendencies in governmental agencies throughout the country. They do not, however, reflect the adverse atmosphere of so critical a period, nor the restraints and repression growing out of the fears of war and of Communism, it pointed out.

In Federal courts, among favorable items was the unanimous decision of the U. S. Supreme Court holding that political support of candidates by labor newspapers is not covered by the Taft-Hartley act ban on political campaign expenditures by labor unions, the Court's unanimous decision declaring that Negro students are entitled to the same educational facilities as white; and its 6-3 decision declaring unconstitutional a New York statute penalizing publications featuring "bloodshed, lust or crime."

On the unfavorable side of the same balance sheet was the indictment of 12 Communist Party officials under the Smith peace-time sedition act for association and opinions allegedly advocating forcible overthrow of the government and the decision by the D. C. Circuit Court upholding the validity of the anti-Communist oath provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act as a reasonable requirement of unions to drive out disruptive elements, and two refusals of the Supreme Court to review Congressional contempt cases involving the constitutionality of the mandate of the House un-American Activities Committee.

UNFINISHED TASK

Among major issues still pending in federal and state courts affecting civil liberties are a petition before the Supreme Court to review a N. Y. Federal Court decision upholding the anti-Communist oath provision of the Taft-Hartley Act, and other decisions involving censorship, self-incrimination, trial of Communist leaders, racial discrimination cases, loyalty tests, bans on foreign language teaching in schools, etc.

In addition to the actual civil liberties scoreboards, separate sections are devoted to summarizing developments during the past 12 months on "The Loyalty Program," "Un-American Activities," "Labor's Rights," "Freedom of Speech and Press," and other ACLU objectives.

Present officers of the American Civil Liberties Union, which was organized in 1920 as a national non-partisan organization defending the Bill of Rights for all, without distinction or compromise, are: Edward A. Ross of the University of Wisconsin, national chairman; Pearl S. Buck, Dean Lloyd K. Garrison, Frank P. Graham, Rev. Edward L. Parsons, vice-chairmen, national committee John Haynes Holmes, chairman, board of directors Whitney North Seymour, and Professor Walter Gellhorn, vice-chairmen; Roger N. Baldwin, director.

Although its latest report, "Our Uncertain Liberties" bears an August dateline, printing difficulties beyond ACLU control delayed its publication until today. Single copies are obtainable at 25 cents, or quantities in excess of 25 copies at 20 cents apiece through American Civil Liberties Union, 170 Fifth Avenue, New York. Public libraries and many private organizational libraries throughout the country will receive copies for their files.

South Warned To Await Action On Civil Rights

Celler Says Congress Will Act Soon; Walter White Quotes Truman as For It

WASHINGTON, Nov. 29 (UP). —Southern Democrats got a new warning today that civil rights legislation is still high up on the Administration's list of business for the next Congress.

Representative Emanuel Celler, Democrat, of New York, who is slated to be chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, said that anti-lynching and anti-poll tax laws should be considered by that body as soon as possible after the Eighty-first Congress convenes in January.

Walter White, secretary of the Association for the Advancement of Colored People, told reporters after a White House conference that President Truman feels pretty much the same way.

"He expressed his determination to go right through with civil rights," Mr. White said as he left Mr. Truman's office.

Representative Celler said the Southern Democrats are hopeful of putting the poll tax question before the nation as a Constitutional amendment, in an effort to "stall the issue."

"Any Democrat who advocates it (the amendment) is forgetful of the avalanche of votes which elected President Truman," he said. "The mandate of the people demands action."

Representative Celler said the Southerners had their chance to compromise the civil rights question at the Democratic National Convention in Philadelphia last summer. "But they rejected all efforts to work out a peaceful, progressive solution," he said.

Mr. White said he went over a list of election figures with the President and cited a post-election survey taken by his association which, said, showed that the Negro vote for Mr. Truman represented the balance of power in such key states as California, Illinois and Ohio.

Asked whether he saw any sign that Mr. Truman might agree to water down his civil rights program to mollify the Southern Democrats, Mr. White shook his head.

"There were no signs of any compromise," he said.

WORLD TODAY

By George S. Schuyler

Vice President-Elect Alben W. Barkley predicts that the 81st Congress, which is completely dominated by Democrats, will enact a program of civil rights legislation next year and outlaw filibustering. We hope his predictions will be more accurate than those of Messrs. Gallup and Roper.

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HERMAN TALMADGE, youngest governor in Georgia's history, has pledged himself to fight all civil rights legislation, along with Georgia's Representatives in Washington, D. C., all of whom are Democrats. Mr. Talmadge and the other Democrats should get together and decide what the Democrats are actually going to do. How can they fight both for and against civil rights?

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Federal bureaucrats in Dixie are stirred by the ouster of Internal Revenue Collector Mortimer Jordan of Birmingham for not enforcing the President's executive order against racial discrimination in Federal bureaus. Was Mr. Jordan a Dixiecrat who was punished under cover of the anti-discrimination directive or does the President intend to oust every Dixie bureaucrat who disobeys his order? Time will tell.

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SIGNIFICANT last week was the action of the powerful National Grange Convention, meeting in Portland, Me., which featured on its 1949 program an espousal of the States' rights approach on national problems and opposition to Federal aid to education. What with the Dixiecrats carrying four States in the recent election, this may be a trend to watch.

According to Washington wiseacres, next year's taxes will be much higher if the President's program in housing, health, education, social security, Marshall Plan and bigger armaments is to be carried out. Big corporations will be soaked several billions which they will promptly pass on through the usual channels to the consumer if the tax is graduated. An excess profits tax will retard business expansion and adversely affect employment. Unions will demand, and get, wage increases to meet higher prices, and the inflationary spiral will continue. People thinking of incurring new indebtedness had better think twice. You know who eventually pays for government expenditures!

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ZIONISTS continue to shoot at Palestine Mediator Ralph Bunche over his armistice recommendations. The pressure is getting terrific and ere long Mr. Bunche may have to go. The Zionists have proved themselves dangerous people to offend, and they are hot on Mr. Bunche.

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England's "Be Kind to Colonies" campaign continues. Colonial Secretary Arthur Creech-Jones announced last week the passing of British Somaliland from military to civil rule and the continuation of the $3,000,000 annual expenditure there for improvement

of social and economic conditions. This region rightly belongs to Ethiopia but it looks like Britain intends to keep it.

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THE UN DEBATE over South West Africa has ended. The UN wants trusteeship over the territory but South Africa, which now administers it in its usual manner of handling natives, is determined to continue its present rule. Predictions are that South Africa will win despite the caustic criticism of its rule by Indian delegates.

Civil Rights Charge Faces Clarke Sheriff

Officer And Deputy Indicted By U. S. Jury In Cases Of 9 Negroes

MOBILE, ALA., Nov. 19—(AP)—The sheriff of Clarke County, Ala., and one of his deputies today awaited a federal court trial on charges of violating the civil rights of nine negroes.

Federal officers arrested Sheriff Jenkins Angus Hill and Deputy Willie Ray Harrell, both 35, today after their indictment by a South Alabama District grand jury on charges of violating a 78-year-old statute.

Hill and Harrell were arraigned before U. S. Commissioner Alex T. Howard at Mobile. They were indicted on charges of depriving the negroes of rights and privileges guaranteed them by the 14th Amendment to the U. S. Constitution.

The two officers were released on $5,000 bond each pending a trial which U. S. District Attorney Percy Fountain said probably would be set for January.

Indictments returned by the grand jury alleged that the officers, acting under "color of their office," had committed "illegal assault, beatings, whippings and other cruel maltreatment and physical abuse for the purpose of imposing illegal punishment."

The indictments alleged that the offenses took place between December, 1947, and June, 1948. Fountain said some of the nine negroes had been arrested on minor charges. A few were not under arrest, he said.

A maximum penalty of one year imprisonment and a $1,000 fine for each count of the indictment upon conviction is provided by the civil rights law under which they were arrested, the district attorney said.

The negroes whose civil rights the officers were accused of violating were listed in the indictments as George Dickinson, Robert Gordon, Ed Finch, Mose Nicholson, Leo Williams, John Allen, Jr., Johnnie J. Mitchell, Mattie Lee Pope and Edward Lloyd Buck.

Hill, a war veteran serving his first term in office told a newsman, "I'm not going to say anything to any newspapers. I haven't known any cases yet where newspapers did a man any good."

WHAT PEOPLE ARE THINKING

By ELMO ROPER

Major Candidates on Civil Rights Issue

Harry Truman's stand on civil rights has been one of the historic acts of his Administration. It is also his Achilles' heel in this Presidential election.

Of course, Mr. Truman faces defeat even with the usual solid Democratic support of the South. But a cleavage, revealed by Archibald Crossley (a careful public opinion researcher) that Truman has no chance of winning *without* the 113 electoral votes of the states below the Mason-Dixon line. On the basis of Mr. Crossley's poll, Mr, Truman now appears to be in a precarious position in the states of Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina and possibly Louisiana—and may lose those thirty-eight electoral votes to the States' Rights party.

The civil rights issue in the past has been a delicate tightrope which Presidential candidates have always walked with the greatest of caution. In many pivotal Northern states, such as New York and Illinois, the vote of Negroes and other minorities has sometimes decided the outcome. Almost always Presidential nominees have paid at least lip service to the rights of these groups. Almost never, however, has the issue become a major national campaign controversy.

Mr. Truman took the bull by the horns and he recommended sweeping Federal laws governing civil rights. He risked his political neck for what many consider to have been an act of high statesmanship in domestic affairs. He took a stand when it was bound to hurt him politically.

Probably because in practice only a minority of our citizens do not have full and equal rights, the civil rights issue is not ranked by the nation's voters on a par with prices and peace as a problem for the Federal government to solve. The latest "Fortune" survey indicates that neither Federal anti-poll-tax legislation nor a Fair Employment Practices Commission has the support of a majority of the American people. A cross-section of voters was asked:

Do you think Congress should pass laws that will insure Negroes the same chance to vote that white people have, or do you think each state should decide its own election rules?

	Congress Should Pass Laws P. C.	Should Be Left to the States P. C.	Express No Opinion P. C.
Total voters	42.6	49.0	8.4
Total non-Southern voters	50.0	40.9	9.1
By Regions			
Northeast	51.5	38.0	10.5
Mid-West	47.0	44.0	9.0
South	21.6	72.1	6.3
Far West	53.8	39.7	6.5

These results reveal that Federal laws insuring the rights of Negroes at the polls are favored by every section of the country except the South. But the three-to-one margin of opposition in the South tips the national scales of opinion against the measure. The evidence indicates that while sharp regional differences exist, the opposition of the voters below the Mason-Dixon line is more unified than is the advocacy of such laws in the North.

But if the country is divided fairly evenly between Federal and state action on the poll-tax measure, this is not the case with F. E. P. C. "Fortune" asked:

What would you like to see done about legislation that prohibits employers—when they are hiring people — from turning them down solely because of their race or religion?

1. Would you like to see laws passed by Congress to do this, or

2. Would you like to see it left up to each state to pass their own laws if they want them, or

3. Do you think it would be better not have any laws at all of this kind and work the problem out some other way?

	Congress Should Pass Laws	Should Be Left to the States	Should Not Have Any Laws at All	Express No Opinion
	P. C.	P. C.	P. C.	P. C.
Total voters	24.8	28.9	37.4	8.9
By Regions				
Northeast	32.9	20.5	37.9	8.7
Mid-West	27.3	24.5	38.9	9.3
South	9.9	47.4	33.8	8.9
Far West	31.0	21.5	39.7	7.8

More than one-third of the voters are against any F. E. P. C. legislation, while another 29 per cent would reserve to the states the right to pass F. E. P. C. measures. A vote for state control of either F. E. P. C. or the poll tax is, in many cases, simply another way of voting against it.

So Federal assurance of civil rights is no ready-made bandwagon for an eager candidate to jump on in this election year. The struggle for human rights has always been hard won, and this still seems to be the case today.

In spite of all this, Mr. Truman made his position clear and unequivocal. Today the "Fortune" survey shows that a majority of voters in every party—whether they are Republican, Democratic, Progressive or States' Rights—know where Mr. Truman stands on the poll tax and F. E. P. C.

The same is *not* true of Mr, Dewey. Supporters of the Republican nominee by more than a two-to-one count say they think Mr. Truman would work harder than Mr. Dewey in trying to get the poll tax repealed and in getting Congress to establish a Fair Employment Practices Commission. The voters are not at all sure where Mr. Dewey stands on civil rights legislation. Those who are opposed to an F. E. P. C., for example, also think the New York Governor is opposed to the measure (in spite of the fact that it was under the Dewey administration that New York established a State Commission Against Discrimination). On the other hand, those who want an F. E. P. C. think Mr. Dewey wants one, too. And those who say the issue should be left up to the states think that is the way the Republican candidate also feels about it. On the civil rights issue, Mr. Dewey draws the support of voters favoring exactly opposite things, and, more than that, each side thinks Mr. Dewey agrees with them.

There is little doubt that President Truman will pay a political price for the stand he has taken. Yet if civil rights for minorities is Mr. Truman's Achilles' heel in this election, throughout the world the Achilles' heel of our American democracy is the way we treat our minorities in this country. It seems likely that at least on this one issue history will deal more kindly with Mr. Truman for this firm stand than will the voters next November.

Pepper Definitely For Civil Rights

Pittsburgh Courier
Sat 12-25-48

By E. CALVIN ADAMS
(Courier Staff Writer)

Pittsburgh Post

GAINESVILLE, Fla.—"It is my intention to support President Truman's program of civil rights if it beats me in the next election," United States Senator Claude Pepper (D., Fla.) told young Democrats here last Tuesday night.

This was an open commitment of the liberal Senator's stand on the controversial issue which caused a split in the Democratic party earlier this year.

He added, however, that he did not think it would have any such effect because of the fairness of the American people.

Speaking at a banquet for young Democrats on the University of Florida campus, Senator Pepper denied that the civil rights program would infringe on States' rights.

Pepper said the race issue had been the main factor in the split of the Democratic party and denied that States' rights was a factor in itself, for the program is limited to Federal regulation in interstate, as distinguished from intrastate commerce.

Civil Rights Doctrine Gets Strong Suppor

Journal & Herald
Dayton, Ohio
Sat 12-11-48

THE position on racial segregation and discrimination voiced forthrightly by the Federal Council of Churches in America in convention in Cincinnati, Ohio, last week and that taken by the Southern Conference Educational Fund at Monticello in Virginia a week earlier, constitute forceful implementations of President TRUMAN'S civil rights program.

Significance is attached to the pronouncements of these two bodies not only because of the subjects with which they dealt but also because of the geographical composition of the memberships of the organizations themselves.

The council is America's largest Protestant church group, embracing 27 denominations and 28,000,000 members. Southerners constitute a large and influential segment of its membership.

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The Southern Conference Educational Fund, as it name implies, is a sectional, much smaller and less known body, with a membership composed exclusively of southerners.

Because one represents every section of the country and the other speaks for the South exclusively, their declarations on this nation's complex racial situation may well be regarded as representative of the majority of the present-day attitude on this subject.

What they did have to say unmistakably indicates that the forces of enlightenment and liberalism which have hitherto been all but silenced by national indifference or violent opposition in their aims to help purge this country of its stigma of anti-racialism, are happily gaining in scope and influence.

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In a report adopted without a dissenting vote, the council said: "As proof of their sincerity, the churches must work for a non-segregated church and a non-segregated society."

In obvious reference to President TRUMAN'S civil rights program, the body asserted:

> It is for the state to embody these rights in its own legal system to ensure their observance in practices. It is for the churches to encourage the state fully to recognize these rights in law, but also, since the churches are under special obligation to obey God they must go beyond these requirements of law and encourage their members in conscientious endeavor to achieve these ends.

In a thousand-word draft, termed a Declaration on Civil Rights, and signed by two-hundred outstanding southern leaders, the group meeting in Virginia adopted a statement which included these remarks:

> We take these rights to include equality before the law, and freedom from any discrimination bolstered by law; a right to vote, freedom of expression; unrestricted access to all institutions supported by taxes for the public welfare, schools and hospitals not excepted; equal pay for equal work, and equal opportunity to acquire abilities and to gain employment; freedom of movement and location, and the right to assemble in unsegregated groups.

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Going further, the conference urged the repeal of laws "that force public distinctions based on color, religion or nationality."

Meantime, this organization reports that through a survey it has been discovered that a majority of the members of faculties of southern universities favor the removal of racial barriers in graduate and professional schools.

These statements and revelations, summed up, give powerful support to Mr. TRUMAN'S civil rights doctrine, even in the section where it has been most bitterly denounced. Doubtless they will be read with scorn and derision by that group of blatant reactionaries, who dominated by politically selfish motives, move desperately to perpetuate the South's pattern of racial discrimination bolstered by statutes.

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But it is a pattern that will ultimately go into the discard. It stands already thoroughly discredited in enlightened public opinion at home and abroad. It is an affront to all the concepts of Christianity; if belies the pretentions of the United States as a democratic nation.

Negro 'Opportunity' Plan Urged by Mississippians

Christian Science Monitor
Wed 12-15-48

JACKSON, Miss. (AP)—Thirteen white and Negro Mississippians yesterday petitioned the people of the State to equalize educational opportunities and to make "real provisions for the Negro to participate formally in the practice of his citizenship."

The petition was addressed "To the People of Mississippi." It was made in a few counties to provide for the Negro better educational and citizenship opportunities and released here by H. Brent Schaeffer, a Jackson Lutheran minister and one of the signers.

The appeal called for the appointment by Gov. Fielding L. Wright of "at least two commissions, each to be composed of recognized leaders of the white and colored groups."

At his office in the capitol, Gov. Wright said he had not seen a copy of the appeal.

Signers of the petition included Hodding Carter, of Greenville, author and Pulitzer Prize-winning editor.

Former Virginia Clergymen Deplore Governor's Reaction

Journal & Guide
Norfolk, Va.
Sat 12-11-48

JOINT TELEGRAM

NEW YORK—Speaking for all Virginians living outside of the state, the Rev. L. Lacy Berry, Journal and Guide, the Rev. D. Ward Cleggett, Jr., and the Rev. Charles E. Cooper, D.D., Monday exchanged a joint telegram to the Governor of Virginia.

In a joint telegram to the two eminent clergymen stated: "The political forces of regression seem to have charge of the reactionary moves made recently by the Virginia Legislature. Those of us who were born in Virginia or have lived there and have been taxpayers, learn with deep regret that the governor and the state legislature are Virginia ancient and joined forces and now even civil rights to the reactionary forces of the AME Church and the state population.

One commission would study Negro educational problems and recommend a program to "bring up the colored education section of the public school system to a par with that of the white section."

The other would "seek to formulate a program of relationships in the civic body which will strive to meet the requirements necessary for our day and foster good will and mutual confidence.

"We are confident," the petition asserted, "that no outside power can upset segregation standards of the State as long as these are a part of the State's legal foundation and accepted by general custom and practice, provided there is an aggressive and harmonious effort to adjust and eliminate inequities and discriminations.

Dr. Berry, secretary of foreign missionary with deep regret ment of the AME Church and the state with headquarters here, for-have gone ancient merly pastored St. John's AME totalitarian forces Church in Norfolk. wish to deny even

Dr. Stewart, pastor of the its Negro populat prominent Bethel AME Church, "Keep going w New York City, formerly pas- editorial exp tored Emanuel AME Church in fine Virginia gover Portsmouth, and prior to accept- is the wish to ing his present charge was dean of religion at Wilberforce Uni- versity.

ARTIST CAROL BRICE DONATES CONCERT FOR CIVIL RIGHTS

The Guardian
Boston Mass
Sat. 12-4-48

NEW YORK — Carol Brice internationally known contralto has volunteered her services free for a concert in Carnegie Hall, or in some other suitable hall, to benefit the Civil Rights campaign of the national council of women of which Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune is president

Miss Brice's offer came immediately after she learned that the D. A. R. had refused to rent Constitutional Hall in Washington to Mrs. Bethune for a benefit cocert for civil rights.

In accepting the famed artist's generous service Mrs. Bethune wrote her, "On behalf of the National Council I accept your gracious offer to donate to the Council a concert to support human and civil rights. We shall put forth every effort to secure Carnegie Hall at the earliest possible moment so that the concert moy be performed. This is not the first time your golden voice has been raised against injustice to our people and it will not be the last, for what better purpose could a voice such as yours be used than to fight for human and civil justice through song."

Sat-12-4-48

Laney's Switch to Civil Rights Called a Milestone

New York Herald Tribune
N.Y. Post

Walter White Says Arkansas Bolter's Shift After Election Symbolizes Feeling of Practical Politicians Who Saw Revolt Backfire

By Walter White

No Northern newspaper, so far as I have been able to learn, published the story. But it is one of such possible significance that it deserves wider distribution. Governor Ben Laney of Arkansas was one of the principal figures in the late Dixiecrat party. He presided over the original bolters' meeting in the Benjamin Franklin Hotel in Philadelphia on the Sunday before the opening of the Democratic National Convention last June. So vitriolic was his attack upon President Truman and the civil-rights program and so vehement his demand that General Eisenhower or any one else except Truman be nominated, the rebels wanted to nominate him for the Presidency.

At the subsequent Dixiecrat convention in Birmingham, Governor Laney stepped aside to let Governor Thurmond of South Carolina head the bolters' ticket. He gave that ticket vigorous support in an effort to defeat President Truman. Thus the news dispatch in a recent issue of "The Memphis Commercial Appeal" should be read against Governor Laney's background. It reads:

Sun. 11-28-48

"LITTLE ROCK, Nov. 4.—Governor Laney Thursday declared President Truman's civil rights proposals should be enacted into law immediately. One of the original leaders of the States' Rights Democrats movement and one of the President's most bitter critics, the Governor said:

"'I think the vote cast Tuesday is a clear indication of the development of thought in the country along the lines of what we have been accepting as a liberalization of government.

"'Truman's election means a change in government, and I think the Administration ought to have a chance to put its (civil rights) proposals in effect and see how the people like it.'"

Stirs Storm of Comment

This statement has aroused furious comment. One influential American expressed disgust, characterizing the post-election statement as an attempt to sneak back into the Democratic party to obtain patronage.

"I'd have had more respect for him and other Dixiecrats if they had the courage of the convictions they voiced so belligerently prior to the election," he commented.

But even more belligerent has been the reaction of a number of Southern newspapers like the "Montgomery (Ala.) Advertiser." Still flailing away at the civil-rights program, which it calls the "civil disturbance program," the "Advertiser" blasts Governor Laney as "the Arkansas Traveler" who shuttles back and forth between the Democrats and the Dixiecrats.

Sun. 11-28-48

But there may be a much deeper significance to Governor Laney's statement. Practical politicians in the South have seen their revolt backfire by demonstrating that the Democratic party can win without the South. Some of the more obdurate Southerners are busily engaged at present in an attempt to form a coalition with conservative Northern Republicans in an effort to block, through filibusters, civil-rights legislation. They hope to continue to obtain economic benefits for the South despite the disastrous rout on Election Day.

Hill Promises Opposition

Even the presumably liberal Senator Lister Hill, of Alabama, promises to "continue to oppose the civil-rights program just as vigorously as we have in the past, and I have every reason to believe we will be as successful in defeating this legislation." Senator Hill bases his belief on the hope that "Southern Senators and Congressmen with more important committee assignments under the Democratic majority would be more influential generally at the next session."

Sun. 11-28-48

But it seems likely that Governor Laney is more accurately a spokesman for the South than Senator Hill. It is now a well known fact that the Dixiecrats were bitterly disappointed that their appeals for a South-wide rebellion fell dismally flat. Student, church, veteran and other increasingly liberal Southerners not only shunned the rebels but laughed at them. Nearly all of the C. I. O. members and a very large percentage of A. F. of L. members in the South followed the example of labor generally and paid little attention to the Thurmonds, Laneys and Fielding Wrights. Almost as many Negroes in the South voted for Truman as Dixiecrats for the Thurmond - Wright ticket.

There is a lesson which the North as well as South can profitably learn from the debacle. It is that the country at large should stop taking seriously and being frightened by the political bigots. They have lost caste everywhere with the exception of a very few backward rural areas, such as in Georgia, where Herman Talmadge found enough votes to get himself elected Governor. The millennium has not yet arrived in the South. But the days of fear and of vicious appeals to racial and religious bigotry are nearing their end.

The South And Civil Rights

Atlanta Journal
New York Herald Tribune
Sun 11-28-48

The Dixiecrats, having had their fling, appear to be on the way out to join the Democrats. After demonstrating their own comparative futility and casting an additional reflection on the South's potency as a political force, the Thurmond-Wright sideshow has practically no other course. The States' Rights conservatives huffed and puffed for all they were worth, but the sum of their damage to Mr. Truman was even less than Henry Wallace's wrathful achievement. (The Dixiecrats won four states with a total electoral vote of thirty-eight; the Wallace party swung New York's forty-seven.)

The Southern dissenters have never considered themselves anything but the purest sort of Democrats to begin with, and they promise now to keep the faithful guard for states' rights, more specifically against the quickening day when the Truman civil rights program again stirs to life in Congress. But on the basis of performance, and Tuesday's election was the sternest test of all, some slight doubts are permissible whether the intellectual and political leadership of South Carolina and Mississippi speaks with complete authority for the South. Even granting that many Southern

ers vote the Democratic ticket by habit, one wonders if perhaps a sizeable and silent body of voters down South, white and black alike, consider the civil rights question with something less than complete hostility. At any rate, the bulk of them voted for Mr. Truman, civil rights and all, in the South to Dixiecrats or Republicans.

Legislation against discrimination is standing business ess, and is less likely than ever to be pushed aside. nan chose to make an issue of civil rights when he nessage to Congress last February, and the North-Wing of his party followed up by jamming a forth- orsement into the Democratic platform. And now, o say, Mr. Truman is not turned out and the Dem- arty is still in business. Most certainly such Demo- the new Senator Humphrey will take encourage- her than warning from the Southern election re- e South did not pat Mr. Truman on the back last but it seems to us that the vast problem of equal r the Negro made considerable progress. The head- enough, was indirect, and the immediate effects . But at the next roar of a filibuster, we shall t this is not the voice of a Solid South.

Civil Rights a Federal Problem, Says Humphrey, and We're 172 Years Late

By Hubert Humphrey

U. S. Senator-elect from Minnesota, in Graphic Survey

This year, for the first time in history, both major political conventions have promised to enact a full range of legislation designed to close the gap between profession and practice in the field of civil rights.

Because our fundamental democratic tenets are still under constant fire, this program has become a matter of high moral strategy. But even without this challenge, civil rights legislation has become a compelling political and economic necessity.

Under the urgent pressures and exertions of war we learned many lessons. We found that discrimination in employment deprived us of precious production; that year-to-year denial of job opportunities for many of our citizens had robbed our economy of skilled manpower; that segregated housing, hospitals and schools were expensive; that a Jim Crow army was an inefficient anachronism.

These lessons were not lost on us as a nation. All over America a search for new solutions began to stir. This culminated last year when a committee of distinguished citizens examined the entire civil rights question at the behest of Pres. Truman. The committee presented a full slate of recommendations. The President submitted requests for legislation to Congress.

Almost immediately, the whole question of civil rights legislation became charged with political controversy. After a year or that controversy, two significant facts have emerged.

First, the American people are civil rights conscious.

The second is that the objectives of the President's report have won overwhelming approval. This is evidenced by the platforms of both major political parties. In the case of the Democratic party at least, approval came by no perfunctory parliamentary nod. Testimony of the seriousness with which the Democratic party took that pledge was the secession of the Dixiecrats.

The big "split" turned out to be a splinter which strengthened the Democratic party by attracting many new supporters.

Discounting the hard core of opposition which travels under the raggedy yellow banner of White Supremacy, the main line of criticism against the President's recommendations has come from persons who would prefer "gradualism" as against what they charge is a blitzkreig presentation of a "package deal."

The problem of tactics may properly be discussed by any sincere supporter of the civil rights program. However, I have been in politics long enough to know that democracy, operating at top speed, rarely gets beyond gradualism in its peacetime lawmaking. If we boldly stake out our goals and needs, the cumbersome legislative processes of the nation, state and city will gradually swing into line. If you start out shooting for gradualism, the legislative process is apt to produce a studious backsliding into the status quo.

To those who say we are trying to rush the issue of civil rights, I have said, and I still maintain, that we are 172 years late.

A more oblique line of attack comes from those who maintain that civil rights legislation will not work until we get everybody "educated." Then presumably, we would not need it at all.

As one who has been a teacher, I share the American faith in formal education. But I have also had some experience as Mayor of Minneapolis, where I learned of the profound educational value of the traffic ticket, the fire law, the inspections of the Health Department, and yes, the Fair Employment Practices ordinance.

In factories, mills and department stores, many Minneapolis workers have become acquainted for the first time with Negroes and Jews. Strained feelings about "minority groups" are disappearing.

Important, too, is the fact that our city's FEPC has focused the attention of trend-setting citizens in the fields of employment, housing, hotel and theater management on the whole problem of discriminatory practices.

Southerners must understand that this problem is not theirs alone. Civil rights legislation has become a federal problem because in some way or other every state in the Union, not just those of the South, has denied to some of its citizens the full rights of American citizenship.

Ruark Demands Equal Civil Rights With Tomcats, Drunks and Lovers

By Robert C. Ruark

NEW YORK.—We have recently moved from a neighborhood which was too rich for my blood to a little dirty dead-enl street in Greenwich Village, and it has been a howling success. Already I have waged —and lost—a battle with the neighbors.

That is what I like about the Village. People seem to enjoy fighting. In the midtown Eastside, they just sneer at each other and maybe kick each other's French poodles. Down here they holler and cuss and belt each other in the eye. The edged wit is not practiced, and there is no dainty dueling.

For example, I was playing the typewriter with the window open the other morning, about 2 a.m., and it probably sounded like a team of draft horses clattering over a tin bridge. Loudmouthed dame across the court stuck her head out of the window and bellowed:

"Shut off that thisandthat typewriter!"

"Aw, drop dead," said I, ever the little gentleman.

"Muzzle that suchandso machine or I call the theseandthose cops," remarked this demure bundle of fluff, in a voice easily audible in Newark.

So she called the cops. The cops came. They flashed a light into the office window. I made a rude remark about cops who flash lights into the office windows of sober, industrious citizens. We then have a fine argument on civil liberties, the result of which is still pending.

It seems to me that a man who is working in his own home on a hot night has just as much right to run a mill with the windows open, as, say, a drunk has the right to bawl obscenities on the sidewalk at 3 a.m. This was a nightly circumstance back on 54th St., as Bill's Gay Nineties regurgitated its boozy customers. The hackers cursed and screamed, and the drunks hollered and bickered, but no cops ever came.

Down here in the Village the lushes litter the streets, and the happily married people battle into the dawn, and the radios blare and the lovers quarrel and make up on the sidewalks. We have just had a religious festival in which they touched off block-buster-sized firecrackers, until it sounded like London during the blitz. There is a garish carrousel running around the corner. And there are at least five million love-starved cats.

In my vicinity there is a pent-up Thomas cat with six lady friends scattered around the block. This animal has a set of vocal chords to rival Caruso's. He talks to his wimmenfolk all night long, and they answer him. He sings a different ballad to each, according to the depth of his emotion. From sunset to rise, this ardor-addled beast yowls, and his screams are duplicated over a square mile, so that it is almost like living in a jungle.

We have one neighbor who throws pails of hot water on people. We have another who plays nothing but Italian opera recordings for hours. We have a piano player. We have an endless parade of panhandlers and bums and slummers. They all enrich the general din.

So I intend to slap those keys until 5 a.m., if I desire, with the window open, if I wish, because it is hot in the summer and I earn my oats with an Underwood. I will write columns, novels, short stories, biographies, poems, magazine articles, radio scripts, plays and dirty limericks, if I feel in the mood for it. And the next cop to show up around here gets the hotwater treatment. Not from the lady next door, either.

Clatter-clatter-bang crash! The quick brown fox jumped over the lazy dog now is the time for all good men to come to the aid of their party. Peter Piper picked a peck of pickled peppers! They'll never take me alive!

Dixiecrats Must Accept Civil Rights

Johnson

Walter White, head of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, has had an interview with President Truman and I haven't, but before he went into the White House I knew what Mr. White announced when he came out, and so did you, if you will stop to consider the matter. Mr. White said that the President is determined that there shall be no compromise on the civil rights program.

But you and I had been told that by a higher authority even than the President of the United States. We were told by the logic of events, which speaks with more assurance than any man. What else could Mr. Truman say? Assuming that he hasn't lost his wits, he must know that he has no choice; his enemies have made it impossible for him to retreat, even if he desired to do so.

This is the triumph of the Dixiecrats. Truman didn't want to press that issue any more than Lincoln wanted to press emancipation in 1860. But the Secessionists forced Lincoln's hand no more successfully than the Dixiecrats have forced Truman's. He has to go through with it now. If he wavered, after what happened during the campaign, he would wreck all confidence in his administration.

Advised to Sing Small

The anti-lynching bill, the anti-poll tax bill and the fair employment practices bill are going through, and the South may as well prepare to take 'em and like 'em. An anti-segregation measure of some kind is also going through, and it depends largely upon the South whether it shall be a reasonable act, drawn with some reference to reality and therefore enforceable, or an utterly fantastic statute, as vicious and destructive as the Volstead law.

Fortunately for the South, seven of the 11 members of the late Confederacy flatly refused to listen to the siren song of the Dixiecrats, whose words, according to the Tarheels, were, "If at first you don't secede, try, try again." In fact, the biggest majority Truman won in any State was given him by North Carolina, divided only by an imaginary line from Governor Thurmond's commonwealth. It is evident that not all southern political leaders are obsessed by the blind arrogance that undermined the judgment of the Dixiecrats.

Nevertheless, even these reasonable men will be well advised to sing small during the first weeks of the next session of Congress. If they try obstructionist tactics and begin to indulge in wild talk about filibusters, they will simply align themselves with the Dixiecrats, and the Dixiecrats are going to get their ears pinned back.

At this moment Truman has no cause to be afraid of anything the southern members of Congress can do. They have tried their worst against him and it has failed. So if they now attempt to bulldoze him, they have not the faintest chance of converting him into a Neville Chamberlain, willing to appease them, but they have a very good chance to convert him into a Thad Stevens, grimly intent on their destruction.

If the more enlightened southerners in Congress have the nerve to trust their own people, they can work out a civil rights program that will satisfy reasonable men in the North and yet not cause a ripple of disturbance among the masses in the South. But if they will trust nobody, not Truman nor their own constituents, then they will get what they are asking for, and it will not be pretty.

If they are wise, they will permit the bills against lynching, the poll-tax and discrimination in employment to pass without objection. They are going to pass anyhow, and if opportunity offers to make a virtue of necessity, wise men seize it. When it comes to segregation, it is my prediction that the administration will offer a bill that no fair-minded man can call disruptive of the social system. It is more likely to be one that will set the radical anti-segregationists to screaming that Truman has betrayed them.

Incompetent Leaders

This will be the modern equivalent of Lincoln's offer to pay for the slaves, if the South would consent to their emancipation. Ninety years ago Secessionist leaders, men of the type of Rhett and Yancey, convinced the South that Lincoln didn't mean it, or that he could not be trusted to carry it out if he did mean it. So they rushed into war and ruin.

The Dixiecrat revolt has proved that the South still has some leaders as fabulously incompetent in politics as were the Rhetts and the Yanceys of the last century. They have succeeded in putting the region in an awkward position, but they have not demonstrated that they can control it. On the contrary, the election returns prove conclusively that they control only four States and those doubtfully; for if it had been possible to vote for Truman except by the clumsy and laborious writing-in process, it is far from certain that Thurmond would have carried a single State. The common people below the Potomac have a great deal more sense than their leaders are willing to believe.

The People Are For President Truman's Civil Rights Program

(From the Atlanta Daily World, Atlanta, Georgia)

On the basis of the hearty response and applause that the audience here Friday gave to proponents of President Truman's Civil Rights message to Congress, the people who will do the voting are very enthusiastic about the matter and will no doubt express that feeling in a tangible way at the ballot box next November.

The meetings were sponsored by a group of civic and social-minded organizations of both racial groups totaling fifteen in number. The first meeting was held at a white church but the meeting with the largest attendance was held Friday night at Spelman College.

Editor Ralph McGill of the Atlanta Constitution expressed what he believed was the sentiment of the average white southern mind. He said that "the core of the south's political mind is the theory that if segregation were abolished its institutions would be overrun." The President's program does not propose to break down segregation at any point but in inter-state travel.

The Supreme Court in 1946 already has ruled against this type of segregation. Mr. McGill also cited a steady decline in lynchings to prove an anti-lynching law is unnecessary. However, he called attention to a statement made recently by Walter White of the NAACP to the effect that lynchings have gone underground. We know of a recent instance where a substantial Negro farmer was lynched in the jail at Hamilton, Ga. and nothing has been done about it. We agree that lynching has gone underground and the federal government must be given authority to deal with this form of injustice.

P. L. Prattis, of the Pittsburgh Courier, made a strong plea for the Truman program. He told the large audience that "Civil Rights are the human rights every man, woman and child is demanding. There are new attitudes in race relations everywhere but in South Africa and the South."

Adding that the United States could not logically insist on free elections in other parts of the world until it saw that free elections were made possible in all the United States, Mr. Prattis, declared that he did not think President Truman's program was motivated by political consideration but rather by the necessity of meeting the world situation.

The speaker concluded by declaring "the President is trying to put this nation on the side of Democracy rather than Hypocrisy."

A. Abbott Rosen of the Department of Justice, Boris Shishkin of the A. F. of L. and attorney A. T. Walden, president of the Georgia Association of Citizens Democratic Clubs were the other speakers at the forum. Atty. Walden discussed the NAACP's attitude on the Civil Rights program.

The conference also went on record as being opposed to the proposed regional school plan for higher education for Negroes.

The forum discussion climaxed an all-day session on Civil Rights which were participated in by white and Negro citizens from eleven southern states.

ROGERS SAYS:

By J. A. ROGERS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier—The Editors.)

I SAID last week that Negroes might as well write off all hopes of civil rights legislation by the next Congress. It would be so even if the Republicans had won. With the 81st Congress made up as it is, civil rights are back to where they were under Wilson and Roosevelt.

Mr. Rogers

Most of the 81st Congress will be from States that already have anti-Negro laws or with strong anti-Negro feeling. Those in the Truman column with laws against Negroes are Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Tennessee, Kentucky, Arkansas, Missouri, Oklahoma, Texas, Colorado, Arizona, Nevada, Utah, Wyoming and Idaho.

Those with strong anti-Negro feeling are New Mexico and the southern portions of Ohio and Illinois.

ALL IS NOT gloom, however. While the election has gone against the Negro, the campaign has not. The campaign has brought his cause into the limelight as it has not been since 1870, as in the fight against the Dixie-Rats at the Philadelphia convention and far more so through Henry Wallace. I firmly believe that most American whites treat Negroes as they do, not because they are inherently bad at heart but because they have been taught over the centuries that they must hate Negroes in self-defense.

But the whites are seeing now, thanks to the dictators, to the last war, and the campaign that when they support civil rights for minorities they are really preserving them for themselves.

The desire for a jim-crowless America must rise first in the hearts of white America, then Congress will follow. The more **that Negroes can win friends the sooner that day will come. In this respect those Negroes engaged in sports and entertainments as well as certain white religious and civic groups are doing far more than the politicians.**

No right-thinking person needs laws to make him kindly to his fellow-man. As one who sticks to facts, pro and con, honest, I was nauseated most of the time by the hypocrisies, lies double-talk, half-truths and promises impossible to fulfill, slung so recklessly in the campaign. I hope they return to plague those who uttered them.

DO YOU THINK that Congressmen from these areas are going to offend their white constituency by giving equal rights to Negroes? Add to them the Dixie-Rat States of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama and South Carolina. Of the Republican States four have laws against Negroes and these may be counted on generally to vote for jimcrow.

In short, since the most anti-Negro part of the Nation is again in power, placed there, it is said by the Negro vote, hope of relief from injustice by Federal legislation is further away now. I expect to enjoy many a cynical chuckle from next January on. "The people," as Harry Hopkins said, "are just too damn dumb to understand." The only thing left to the thinker is to laugh or to cry, and I choose to laugh.

HAND IN HAND with a desire for justice must go better information. With the public aroused, it seems to me that Negro newspapers, periodicals and publishers with constructive books have a golden harvest awaiting them. What are they going to do to take their wares to the vast masses? A million circulation ought to be easy for any Negro newspaper after this.

Although the race question is three centuries old, the ignorance on it is appalling. Here, for instance, is a letter from a Negro student in a white college. He says that he has chosen as his thesis, "The Contribution of the Negro to America," but that he knows little of it and his professors still less. One professor said such contributions were Negro rhythm, folk-lore, superstitions, and personality as developed by rural life.

I wish I could give all of his letter but here is one excerpt about a white student who was called on to enumerate the Negro's contributions.

THE BEST HE could do was "to stammer out that the Negroes didn't contribute too much . . . uh . . . the climate was very hot and it made them lazy . . . uh, uh . . . oh yes, we owe them jazz, folk songs . . ."

Here also is a letter from a Negro mother in Tuxedo, N. C. She says that her daughter has to write a biographical sketch of six noted colored Americans but her school has no library and the town library is "for white people only." However, the mother has heard of a book, "Who's Who" among Negroes and wants to know where she can buy a copy. That book, by the way, has been out of print for years.

Civil Rights Are Back To Where They Were Under Wilson, Roosevelt

SOUTHERNERS VOTE CIVIL RIGHTS PLEA

Stand Adopted at Monticello Meeting Calls for an End to Segregation and Racism

Special to The New York Times.

CHARLOTTESVILLE, Va., Nov. 20—A declaration of civil rights for an end of segregation and discrimination and proposing individual, group and legislative action in support of the program was adopted this afternoon by a group of more than forty men and women representing almost every Southern state.

The statement was formally adopted at Monticello, the mountain-top home of Thomas Jefferson. It was approved during morning and afternoon sessions held in Madison Hall, the Y.M.C.A. building of the University of Virginia, where, through several hours of discussion, minor textual revisions were made in a preliminary draft which had the signatures of 200 Southerners.

James A. Dombrowski of New Orleans opened this morning's session with an explanation that the gathering had been called by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, of which he is the director, a non-profit educational organization. It was described as an outgrowth of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare but as not now connected with it.

Aubrey Williams in Plea

Aubrey Williams, former head of the National Youth Administration and now editor-publisher of The Southern Farmer at Montgomery, Ala., who took over chairmanship of the Monticello meeting, said that in a very real sense a new day was dawning in the South. He stated that there must be an end to saying that evils would right themselves in time, and called for a stand against segregation "fearlessly, without shading or compromise."

Thomas W. Johnson, a lawyer of Macon, Ga., presided through the morning and afternoon sessiongs, during which the thousand-word declaration was discussed clause by clause, after which most of the group motored to Monticello to take part in the formality of approval.

At Monticello, Mr. Williams proposed the following preamble to the declaration which was unanimously approved: "We make the following declaration as Americans deeply committed to our form of government and our way of life."

Returning to Madison Hall after the Monticello action, the group began consideration of how the program might be carried out, with L. P. Jackson, Professor of History at Virginia State College, Petersburg, president. Student delegations from the University of Oklahoma and the University of Arkansas were among the first to back the program.

The delegation begins with a statement that many citizens, particularly in Southern states, are advocating ideas of racism and white supremacy contrary to American democracy, that truth and justice are not bounded by parallels of latitude, and that a rapidly-changing world requires a new analysis of the meaning of equality and freedom adequate for new conditions.

Then follows a statement of rights, stating:

"We take these rights to include equality before the law, freedom from any discrimination bolstered by law; freedom of expression; an unrestricted access to all institutions supported by taxes for the public welfare, schools and hospitals not excepted; equal pay for equal work, and equal opportunity to receive training and to gain employment; and the right of unsegregated transportation, housing or assembly.

"For many of our citizens enjoyment of these rights is denied or abridged by laws and conventions contrary to justice and to the aims and purposes of this democratic Republic. We recognize the habitual and cultivated prejudices upon which such discriminations are sustained; we recognize the need for protection in law, and in the enforcement of law, to these rights, in our day."

Jefferson's Words Recalled

The declaration notes that this country was founded with the declaration that all men were created equal, framed in words given to the world by a Southerner, Thomas Jefferson, and that, closely associated with the idea of equality and political democracy, was another concept of American culture, the idea of the brotherhood of all mankind.

Discrimination, the statement continues, means lower living standards for those who discriminate as well as for victims of discrimination, and states that while the South is one of the nation's richest regions in natural resources the average Southern citizen has an income forty per cent lower than the non-Southern citizen.

Proposals for action were offered in a final section, under three headings:

For individual action by speaking out against discrimination and guarding against prejudice in word, thought or deed;

For group action to inform and educate members about present inequalities and injustices and to obtain approval of changes needed to establish these rights;

For legislation, repeal of existing laws violating these principles, notably laws enforcing public distinctions based on color, religion and national origins, and by passage of new legislation at all levels to shield the civil rights of all citizens.

Peace, Civil Rights Voted Issues of Today

By Genevieve Reynolds

This year's crop of Vassar College freshmen voted peace and civil rights as the two most important questions confronting this Nation, Dr. Mabel Newcomer, chairman of the college's economics department, told members of the Washington Vassar Club in a luncheon address yesterday.

She said that the decision was made during an indoctrination course planned by the students themselves.

"Training for responsible citizenship is the aim of education now," explained Dr. Newcomer. "Back in the 20s colleges emphasized job preparation. Then in the 30s when jobs were scarce during the depression, it was fashionable to train students for leisure or marriage."

Educational trends today are toward general rather than specialized training, she said. In fact, there's a tendency away from specialization. To meet the general trend there's an increase in formal requirements that would give a broader basis of learning and more freedom in the selection of the final major, according to the economics head.

"Liberal arts schools are doing a lot of soul searching and thinking about the problem of educating for what," she declared. "No longer can these schools take themselves for granted."

"In order to train for responsible citizenship," said Dr. Newcomer, "colleges should have students with a wide variety of backgrounds with emphasis on diversity of religion, race and geography.

"To obtain the diversity needed among Vassar students at least 25 per cent of the student body must of necessity be on scholarships because of the high tuition," she continued. "Majority of the scholarships must be for the full amount otherwise the needed variety in backgrounds will not be reached."

Dr. Newcomer said that the students themselves want racial diversity but that some of the same students who are tolerant of racial differences raise their eyebrows and look askance at the small town girl from the Midwest whose manners and speech accents are different.

She pointed out that there are no discriminatory bars against the admission of Negroes to Vassar and that the college would welcome a greater number than now is enrolled.

Mrs. John D. Stewart, president of the local alumnae group, presented the speaker and presided.

Truman's Civil Rights Talk Puts GOP on Spot

(By The Pittsburgh Courier Press Service)

WASHINGTON — Civil rights legislation, given the number one priority in the State of the Union address of President Harry S. Truman last week, has been totally ignored by Republican spokesmen in comments on the speech made here last week.

Republican leadership is hostile to most of the President's proposals. But in its discussion of the address, the GOPs have simply ignored the first of the five major goals the President urged this Nation to seek—the goal of securing fully "the essential human rights of our citizens."

WASHINGTON — Republican leaders in the Senate gave the "green light" last week which cleared the track for consideration by the Eightieth Congress of the following bills affecting race relations: anti-poll tax, anti-lynching and Fair Employment Practices Commission.

The Republicans have attacked almost every other section of the address and have announced that they will proceed with their own legislative program, which is considerably more conservative. However, the Republicans have not mentioned plans to push through a single piece of legislation on the civil rights front.

President Truman's speech, which is a reaffirmation of the liberal political ideas of the "New Deal" era, will provide voters in this significant election year with a clear cut choice of major issues. General surprise was registered here in Washington when this address was delivered.

It was generally believed that President Truman would not challenge the Republicans with a program quite so definitely of a liberal flavor. Some observers thought he had been converted to the "middle of the road" policy and that he would compromise with the hostile Congress, which is dominated by the Republican party.

But, for better or for worse, President Truman elected to underwrite the political principles of the Rooseveltian New Deal, thereby offering voters diametrically opposed alternatives in the election campaign, which has already begun.

It is believed here by competent observers that this decision will eliminate much of the confusion which might have developed if President Truman had elected to try to lead the Democrats into the election fight on a platform which echoed conservative political philosophies.

Negro leaders [illegible] tremendously [illegible] President's strong stand on civil rights legislation and in his announced intention to deliver a special message to Congress in the interest of achieving legislative implementation of the recommendations of the Civil Rights Committee report.

It is generally conceded that, in this sphere, President Truman has put the Republican leadership on the defensive. If he had elected to ignore the question of human rights, the GOPs would have felt safe in forgetting civil rights legislation or, at best, making a casual gesture in that direction by passing one bill in the House and passing another in the Senate.

But by not only making security of human rights his first great goal, but by highlighting this goal with a special message to Congress, President Truman has clearly established his personal position and that of his executive administration. While his party generally, especially the Southern Democratic bloc, may not completely support this program, President Truman knows that the burden of legislative proof is squarely up to the Republicans who control both houses of Congress.

If the Republicans are to make any appeal to the liberal electorate in the key industrial States with large blocs of electoral votes, or are to attract the crucial Negro vote, they will have to pass some legislation in this civil rights field.

In the first few days following the President's historic message, GOP spokesmen have acted as if there were no problems at all in the area of civil rights. The consensus of opinion among Negroes in Washington is that the next move is up to the Republicans.

Meanwhile, Congress opened here last week in the same leisurely manner which has characterized previous openings in spite of the urgency attached to a large volume of legislation and the plan to adjourn early this summer in preparation for the Presidential election campaign.

Negro-interest legislation and civil rights bills which were introduced in the first session of the Eightieth Congress have not been scheduled on the calendars of either House.

Mr. Truman and Civil Rights

The Dixiecrats, in nervous anticipation, wonder if they are to be taken out to the woodshed. On the one hand, Mrs. Roosevelt, who carries the continuing potency of her name, says that the Southern rebels should be permanently ousted from the Democratic party. In the same day's news, Huey Long's son, Senator-elect Russell Long of Louisiana, expresses the belief that the Dixiecrats "are ready to return to the regular party." The hopefulness is thoroughly apparent; every wish is to be taken back on the old basis, before any one mentioned civil rights. The party chairman, Senator McGrath, intends to bar the anti-Truman wing from Democratic posts of consequence. And, as for a voice of influence in the organization of the new Congress, Mr. McGrath quite properly says this is a matter for the elected majorities in the two houses rather than the political technicians of the national committee. The real truth is that the decision belongs to President Truman — not merely what the chief Democrat shall do with a beaten faction of his party, but how now to turn the civil rights program from a promise into a fact.

Following the original challenge of Mr. Truman's civil rights message to Congress last February, which met its anticipated fate there, the Southern opposition suffered a staggering, blow in the mid-July Democratic convention. By a vote of 651½ to 582½, the Democrats scrapped a straddle on civil liberties and rewrote their platform to uphold the complete roster of controversy on Negro rights—equal rights in politics, equal opportunity to work (a Fair Employment Practices Commission), security of person (anti-lynching), and "equal treatment" in the armed forces. This was the day, as the November election proved, that the old Solid South was split, but the rest of the story was not at all as expected by the Dixiecrats. The shouting for states rights appears to have been greatly exaggerated, and the Southern politicians begin to find their supposed importance in some question.

President Truman faces the challenge to make good on civil rights, an obligation of his intensely personal making. A system of legislative guaranties against discrimination can hardly assume a vindictive quality in its making. By consultation and agreement the achievement may be surprisingly substantial. At this moment Mr. Truman possesses an enviable power to enforce his decision. How he handles the Dixiecrats in marching toward the goal of equal rights for all will be rather revealing. With the fight won on every round so far, we hope that Mr. Truman drives ahead, fairly but boldly.

Know Your 'Rights' — What They Mean

National political outlooks and objectives have brought into common and glib usage the terms "States' Rights," "Civil Rights" and "Civil Liberties." The latter two have the same meaning, but all may be confusing to the reader.

The terms "Civil Rights" and "Civil Liberties" as now commonly used are intended to apply to President Truman's so-called civil rights program which calls for, among other things, Federal abolition of the poll tax; an antisegregation statute; Federal antilynching statutes; and the Fair Employment Practices Commission.

The term "States' Rights" means what it has always meant—the traditional viewpoint of the South that the Constitution establishes definite limits on the rights of the Federal Government to assume the prerogatives of the separate states and prohibits the usurpation by the Federal Government of authority belonging solely to the states.

It is the conviction of the South that the Truman "Civil Rights" program violates the "States' Rights" principle.

Boykin Is Optimistic On Civil Rights Laws

FOLEY, ALA., Nov. 11.—(AP)—Rep. Frank W. Boykin said today that a talk with the President had left him convinced Truman would not impose civil rights legislation on the South.

The congressman told an Armistice Day crowd here "I am convinced after discussion of the civil rights proposal with the President that he will not bring this thing upon us."

He did not say when the conversation took place.

Boykin said he was working for location of a large rayon and cellophane plant in south Alabama, but owners of the plant had told him results of the Nov. 2 election made them a "bit afraid" to come here.

How States Voted On Platform Plank For Civil Rights

CONVENTION HALL, PHILADELPHIA, July 14.—(AP)—Here is how the delegations voted Wednesday to include in the Democratic platform a more specific civil rights plank than that proposed by the Convention Resolutions Committee:

Alabama 26 votes: 26 no.
Arizona 12 votes: 12 no.
Arkansas 22 votes: 22 no.
California 54 votes: 53 yes, 1 no
Colorado 12 votes: 10 yes, 2 no.
Connecticut 20 votes: 20 yes.
Delaware 10 votes: 10 no.
Florida 20 votes: 20 no.
Georgia 28 votes: 28 no.
Idaho 12 votes: 12 no.
Illinois 60 votes: 60 yes.
Indiana 26 votes: 17 yes, 9 no.
Iowa 20 votes: 18 yes, 2 no.
Kansas 16 votes: 16 yes.
Kentucky 26 votes: 26 no.
Louisiana 24 votes: 24 no.
Maine 10 votes: 7 no, 3 yes.
Maryland 20 votes: 20 no.
Massachusetts 36 votes: 36 yes.
Michigan 42 votes: 42 yes.
Minnesota 26 votes: 26 yes.
Mississippi 22 votes: 22 no.
Missouri 34 votes: 34 no.
Montana 12 votes: 1½ yes, 10½ no.
Nebraska 12 votes: 3 yes, 9 no.
Nevada 10 votes: 10 no.
New Hampshire 12 votes: 11 no, 1 yes.
New Jersey 36: 36 yes.
New Mexico 12 votes: 12 no.
New York 98 votes: 98 yes.
North Carolina 32 votes: 32 no.
North Dakota 8 votes: 8 no.
Ohio 50 votes: 39 yes, 11 no.
Oklahoma 24 votes: 24 no.
Oregon 16 votes: 7 yes, 9 no.
Pennsylvania 74 votes: 74 yes.
Rhode Island 12 votes: 12 no.
South Carolina 20 votes: 20 no.
South Dakota 8 votes: 8 yes.
Tennessee 28 votes: 28 no.
Texas 50 votes: 50 no.
Utah 12 votes: 12 no.
Vermont 6 votes: 6 yes.
Virginia 26 votes: 26 no.
Washington 20 votes: 20 yes.
West Virginia 20 votes: 7 yes, 13 no.
Wisconsin 24 votes: 24 yes.
Yyoming 6 votes: 4 yes, 2 no.
Alaska 6 votes: 2 yes, 4 no.
District of Columbia 6 votes: 6 yes.
Hawaii 6 votes: 6 yes.
Perto Rico 6 votes: 6 yes.
Canal Zone 2 votes: 2 no.
Virgin Islands 2 votes: 2 yes.

Southern Stand Commended

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

Permit me through your paper to congratulate the courageous group of Southerners, loyal to the Bill of Rights, who at Charlottesville publicly expressed disapproval of any form of discrimination.

I write as one who recognizes the injustice and the grave danger inherent in the attitude of many of our people toward our Negro fellow-citizens.

ETHEL CLYDE.

CIVIL RIGHTS CRUSADERS

Circumstances Hamper Rewards for Those Who Fight for Freedom

By JOSEPH D. BIBB

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors.)

IF JOHN BROWN had lived it would have been inappropriate for the Freedmen to have voted for him, perchance had he been a candidate for President. Rightfully our votes would have been cast for Abraham Lincoln. But John Brown, Nat Turner, Frederick Douglass, Harriet Beecher Stowe, William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips and Denmark Vesey were the zealots who brought emancipation to the fore. These people were friends of humanity and crusaders for human liberty. We were unprepared and incapable of bestowing proper rewards upon them. Henry Wallace, Glen Taylor and many of their cohorts are undoubtedly the powerful moving forces behind the present drive for civil liberties.

Mr. Bibb

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HENRY A. WALLACE is the John Brown of the Twentieth Century. He spoke his piece for civil rights back in July 1944, at the Democratic Convention in Chicago. His speech and his unflinching stand contributed largely to his failure to become Vice President and then President of these United States. He looms today, majestically, as a fine and sincere friend to America's minorities.

He undoubtedly planted the seeds for the present sprouting of civil rights. So did John Brown fire the opening shot at Harpers' Ferry for the liberation of the slaves. People have long pondered the inequities of the sowers being denied the fruits of their labor. John Brown and his fore-runners, slaves like Nat Turner, Denmark Vesey and Frederick Douglass, were not rewarded by the human objects of their martydom. But today, they are held in reverence. Theirs was the tortuous trail of the pioneers and pathfinders. So it is with Henry Wallace.

IT IS THE expressed opinion of countless thousands of colored citizens that it would be unpropitious to vote for Wallace for President. First, because it is the foregone conclusion that he cannot win and secondly, the suffrage of minorities must be utilized where it will count the most. But Mr. Wallace, like John Brown and the early abolitionists, will be enshrined forever within the hearts of those whom he sought to serve.

Now let us consider the much vaunted question of the motives of President Truman. It is being loudly and blatantly claimed that ulterior, political motives underly his present position on civil rights. That may be true. Harry S. Truman is a politician. So was Franklin D. Roosevelt. But Truman went far afield in proclaiming the dignity of human liberty — farther than Roosevelt ever went. No Republican President ever went so far.

Even though Mr. Truman might have been motivated to win our suffrage, he proved that he put far greater value and premium upon it than did his contemporaries and forerunners. Truman's stand marks the beginning of a "New Emancipation."

• • •

THOSE, WHO FOLLOW him, be he Dewey, Wallace or some unknown figure, will never dare to retreat. The old order of affairs has ended. Harry S. Truman sounded the death knell.

If John Brown, Garrison, Phillips and their followers were the fanatical abolitionists of their day, then Harry S. Truman falls into the category of the "anti-slavery" forces, who were not so radical, but nevertheless, had the courage to declare slavery wrong. Discrimination, disfranchisement and second-class citizenship is wrong by all honest standards. Truman had the courage to say so. And if he seeks votes thereby, then he may be classed along with many of the greatest political strategists of all times.

SOME SAY THAT Truman is a practical politician and that Wallace is an idealist. Such may be true. We do not expect human perfection on earth. And that is why we do not condemn Mr. Truman for his obvious efforts to corral our votes. Nor do we condemn Mr. Wallace for his "Guru" letters, nor for his alleged mysticism.

We see many queer rituals and mysterious mumbo-jumbo in our most acceptable religious spheres. Wallace's mysticism, like Truman's politicial motives, is but a smoke screen to becloud the true issues. The true issues before the American people are Liberty and Freedom.

Colored Americans are conscious of these verities. We are not unmindful of those who precipitated these basic doctrines before the American people. We may not be in position to reward our friends at this time, but in the struggle for the "New Emancipation," we are fully cognizant of both the ideals and the motives.

But Not FEPC

Editor Constitution: I am a poor Negro. My education is very limited. My home is in Georgia. I have been here most of my life. There is some well-to-do Negroes in the South. Believe it or not, the South is a hard place for a colored person to live for many reasons. The lives of colored people are not much more than that of a rabbit. In the South we never grow up. We are always called boy or gal.

I believe in the civil rights of all races, but I don't like the FEPC. It just don't make sense. If you deal with a person honestly and with justice you don't have to be afraid of having to take some of your own medicine.

Atlanta. ALFORD FORD.

GOVERNOR GREGG CHERRY has indicated that he will not attend the meeting in Washington at which the committee of five governors, of which he is a member, is to report to the full Conference of Southern Governors on their conference with Chairman McGrath of the Democratic National Committee. The governors are expected to decide at this meeting what shall be the Democratic South's next move in regard to President Truman and the national party as a result of the civil rights issue.

High North Carolina officials seem to be continuing a middle-of-the-road policy regarding the intra-party fight, agreeing in general with other southerners that the President's program of civil rights legislation is a bad thing and something the South

Congress To Get Civil Rights Message

WASHINGTON (ANP) —A bid for the vote of Negroes and othrer minorities is seen by some observers as the reason for President Truman's decision to present congress with a special message urging federal civil liberties legislation.

In previous years, civil liberties proposals have been included in his general message on the State of the Union. In view of the forthcoming presidential election in 1948. the President lifted the subject out of the regular message to make it the center of a special message later this month or early in February.

Atty. Gen. Tom C. Clark, reportedly, is making the first draft of the message and is basing it upon the comprehensive report of the special committee on civil liberties headed by Charles E. Wilson of General Electric. The committee recommended broad reforms to protect the basic rights of all Americans regardless of race, creed, or color.

Civil Rights Report Given

BUFFALO, N. Y.—(ANP)—Robert A. Burrell, only Negro assistant in the district attorney's office here, broke another precedent last week as the guest of honor at the Sunday Nighters Club of the Central Park Methodist Church.

The organization, composed of younger members of the white congregation, invited Mr. Burrell to address them on the recommendations made recently by President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights.

More than 200 persons turned out to hear the brilliant young prosecutor express the hope that legislative decisions based on the committee's recommendations "would and should not become a political football if the voters in communities from coast to coast let their representatives in Congress know exactly how most Americans feel on the basics of human rights."

Wallace Assails 2 Major Parties On Civil Rights

Tells St. Louis Audience Neither Has Made Honest Effort for Racial Laws

ST. LOUIS, Sept. 25 (UP).—Henry A. Wallace, Progressive party candidate for President, accused both Republicans and Democrats today of failing to make an honest effort to pass promised Federal laws against racial discrimination and "the Jim Crow system."

In a speech at a party rally here, he also accused Senator J. Howard McGrath, of Rhode Island, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, of assuring Southern Democrats that there was no serious intention of trying to carry out President Truman's civil rights program.

Mr. Wallace, whose speeches on racial issues recently led him into a series of hostile demonstrations in the South, put new emphasis on those issues as he moved into this border state. He flew here—into the home state of President Truman—from Cleveland on the third day of his 8,500-mile campaign tour of the country.

He coupled his declaration on racial rights with another charge the Republicans and Democrats had united into a "bi-partisan machine" which gave the voters no clear choice this year.

He said the "Jim Crow system" in this country presented "dangerous contradictions" because it showed the United States betraying its ideals in the eyes of the rest of the world.

"Republicans and Democrats have both been lavish in their promises to tackle this issue with the forthright courage it demands," Mr. Wallace said, but "neither has made an honest effort to live up to those promises."

He asserted that the "white supremacists" of the South could rest easy because Senator McGrath "has assured them that there is no serious intention" behind the pledges to enact civil rights laws.

"In fact, he told Southern Democrats that the anti-lynching bill was not aimed at abolishing lynching but at labor unions," Mr. Wallace said.

Mr. Wallace told his audience tonight that there once had been real differences between Democrats and Republicans but that those differences no longer existed.

"To pretend that there is any essential difference between the Democratic party of Harry Truman and the Republican party of Tom Dewey is really to insult the intelligence of the American people," he said.

Mr. Wallace said Mr. Truman was "masquerading" as a progressive and that Governor Dewey was giving "lip service" to progressive

ideals but that either would represent "big business" in the White House.

The Progressive party candidate will fly from here tomorrow for speeches at Chicago and South Bend, Ind., before heading toward Texas.

Dixie Fights Rights

PHILADELPHIA—Dixie Democrats marched into Philadelphia Wednesday demanding—as one possible price for recapture of party unity—a hands-off platform policy on Federal civil rights law and resounding party planks for state rights.

The race issue plopped before the Democratic platform writers shortly after they convened—five days ahead of the party convention—to begin the task of uniting warring factions on a single statement of party principles.

Chauncey Sparks, former Alabama Governor, quickly threw out a hint that if the platform writers "are smart" they may bring some Southerners back into the fold.

Charles E. Shepperd of Florida, another platform committee member, told reporters:

"We want a states rights plank in no uncertain terms—with as little interference of the Federal Government into the internal affairs of the states as possible."

Mayor Hubert H. Humphrey of Minneapolis, a platform committee member, told reporters he is ready to battle for a direct pledge in the platform for anti-lynch, anti-poll tax and Federal fair employment practices legislation.

Rights Plank Town Hall Meet

LOS ANGELES (ANP)—Civil rights for everyone must be established in the United States before we can have true Americanism, Dr. Frederick D. Jordan, pastor, First AME church of Los Angeles, told a radio audience last week.

He was one of six speakers on the radio program, "America's Town Hall Meeting of the Air." The topic for the evening, July 6, was "What Is Americanism." Other members of the panel were Rep. Earl E. Mundt, co-author of the Mundt-Nixon anti-Communist bill; Miss Ilona Massey, movie star; Dr. Max Raden, University of California; Mike Kivatisky and Joe McNamee.

Criticizing the treatment of minorities in the United States, the minister said:

"The American creed is alive, but it has not yet been able to give citizenship status to the inhabitants of this country who proceeded all of us here — the American Indian. Nor has it been able to remove the pattern of racial segregation and limitation from our armed forces; nor to abolish the system of wages based on race in the Panama Canal Zone, by which the natives of Panama are paid only a fraction of the wage received by a white American who performs the same services there."

He quoted from the President's Committee on Civil rights, "We have surveyed the flaws in the nation's record and have found them to be serious. We believe the time for action is now."

Humphrey Helped Kill The Democrats' Chances, Frank Kent Declares

By FRANK R. KENT

JUST before she left for Paris, Mrs. Roosevelt, through her column, let the people of the country know who are the candidates in the coming election in whom "I have a special interest." Her idea is that all citizens concerned with good government should work and vote for these candidates.

Needless to say, they are all "liberals" and include such modest characters as Chester Bowles, who is running for governor of Connecticut and the ineffable Helen Gahagan Douglas of California, who has been so highly publicized by the professional commentators on the air and in the press. It is notable that without exception all those approved by Mrs. Roosevelt more or less violently opposed Mr. Truman's nomination at Philadelphia, bellowing, along with her son James, for Eisenhower, Justice Douglas or practically anyone else. In particular, however, Mrs. Roosevelt expresses her "special interest" in the election of Mayor Hubert Humphrey of Minneapolis, Democratic candidate for the Senate against Senator Ball. Him she praises most lavishly. He, she says, "might infuse new life into a Congress that certainly needs it."

In this connection it is interesting to note what, before he gets to Congress—if he does—Mr. Humphrey already has done for the Democratic Party, Mr. Truman and the country. The outstanding act of his career, for which he ought long to be remembered, occurred at the Democratic Convention in Philadelphia last July. It was Mr. Humphrey who, against the personal wishes of Mr. Truman and the advice of White House spokesmen, knocked out the Administration's "civil rights" platform plank which was similar to that in the 1944 platform, which was indorsed by Mr. Truman and which was, if not satisfactory, at least tolerable to the South. The substitute for which Mr. Humphrey led a successful fight went far beyond the generalities of the 1944 plank which the South, having swallowed once under Mr. Roosevelt, would have swallowed again. It specifically and in detail pledged the party to put through Congress the four points of Mr. Truman's "civil rights" program including the exceedingly offensive Federal Fair Employment Practices Act.

The Regulars Were Off Base

The Administration forces, caught off base, were in no position effectively to fight this proposal. Aided by convention confusion and mismanagement, and by the leaders of the C.I.O. and the A.D.A., all of whom had been against Mr. Truman, it was jammed into the platform from the floor. It is not easy to recall a more signal disservice to the party, or, for that matter, to the country. Naturally, the South immediately and violently gagged. Some Southern delegates bolted the convention without delay. Others bitterly denounced the Humphrey plank and organized to fight. In brief, the Southern revolt, which every clear-headed man knew was inevitable under such circumstances, was on. Stimulated by the Americans for Democratic Action, promoted by their C.I.O. allies and precipitated by young Mr. Humphrey, a split developed more serious than any in Democratic history.

The platform, as finally adopted, was interpreted—and rightly—as committing the party to carry out a "civil rights" program (by force from the Federal Government if required) which would alter the whole structure of social organization in the South. The State's Rights ticket headed by Governor Thurmond was an inevitable development. The result is that two months before the election Mr. Truman already has lost 45 electoral votes—probably more.

At Least They Mean Well

But that is not all the damage inflicted by the Humphrey plank. A much worse result has followed than the defeat of Mr. Truman and the Democratic Party would be. That plank forced the Southern revolt and the Southern revolt has worsened race relations in that section. It has presented an opportunity for the "white supremacy" demagogues of the Talmadge type and has weakened the efforts of many enlightened Southerners who for years have been steadily striving to promote political justice for the Negroes—and have made real progress. No one can consider the great increase in Negro voting, the rarity of lynchings, the rapidity with which the poll tax is disappearing and the advance in Negro education without conceding that in the past 50 years the South, on its own, has made remarkable progress in handling this race problem, so vastly more vital in that section than anywhere else.

Nor can it be denied that, with understanding and sympathetic aid from outside, the South would have continued to make progress. It has not had that kind of aid. On the contrary, it has been handicapped and hampered by cheap politicians in both parties who yapped about social and political equality without in the least understanding what they were talking about. Certainly the attempt, for transparent political reasons, to force on the South by Federal law so-called "reforms" that strike at the very foundations of its social life does not promote progress.

It is not too much to say that the Humphrey plank, which is worse than futile, dealt a body blow to social relations not only in the South but in the nation. Thoughtful men of both races deplore it, are deeply disturbed by the situation. They know that steady progress in the South has been checked. They do not know when nor how it can be resumed. Yet, here is Mrs. Roosevelt lauding this bungling, bumptious young man, apparently without the remotest conception of racial realities, telling us that he, with his heavy responsibility for present dismal conditions, should be elected so as to "infuse life" into Congress.

SUPPORT CIVIL RIGHTS, SOUTHERN NEGROES URGE

August 5, 1948

Press Service of NAACP

WASHINGTON, Aug. 5.-- Disproving the contention of Dixiecrat politicians that southern Negroes are satisfied with existing conditions, NAACP branches in Alabama and Florida have sent communications to their respective senators asking for passage of the anti-poll tax bill and other civil rights measures. New York N. Y.

In identical telegrams D. S. Stephens, president of the Birmingham branch, called upon Senators Lister Hill and John J. Sparkman "to support President Truman's program including civil rights bills. Civil rights are needed now to bolster and enrich our democracy. Urge that you uphold the spirit of democracy by insisting and working for the Senate to have opportunity to vote on civil rights measures."

Congressman Laurie C. Battle, who represents the Birmingham district, was informed that more than "170,000 Negroes together with a substantial number of decent white people in Jefferson County desire to see democracy protected by such basic measures recommended by our President."

Killer In Civil Rights Argument Thanks Donors

Louisville Courier-Journal
Norfolk, Va.

By Associated Negro Press

JACKSON, Miss — Horace Miller of Meridian, the white mechanic who beat a 53-year old Negro to death following a discussion on civil rights early this year, thanked persons from six Mississippi towns who donated funds to his defense.

In his letter to the Jackson Daily News, the paper that collected the donations, Miller wrote: 7-31-48

"I can never thank too much the kind people who contributed for the purpose of my defense as well as those who had interest and helped. The kind people of my state, as well as other states, have made it possible for me to clear my lawyer's fee which I sincerely appreciate more than I can express."

Gifts of $216.55 came to the Daily News from Durant, Centreville, Prentiss, Midnight, Crystal Springs and Belzoni for Miller's defense. They came in after the donors read his statement in the press about the death of Rayfield Davis. He said:

"Rayfield Davis approached me and insisted we have a drink together like equals. Davis said our friend, President Truman, will soon make the Negro more important than the white man. I struck him and kicked him after he reached into his coat pocket." 7-31-48

Civil Rights Issue And State Politics Interest Readers

The Courier Journal
Louisville, Ky.
Date 7-25-48

To the Editor of The Courier-Journal:

The best description of loyalty I have ever heard was given by an old Navy captain in a talk to those of us who were to be on board his ship for the first time. He said that in order to be loyal, we must exert faith in his experienced judgment and cooperate with our shipmates on a give-and-take basis, that the moment we became sure we knew how to do the other man's job better than he did, our ship would become an unhappy and inefficient one. I have been reminded of the wisdom of these words on many occasions, and now I think of them in connection with the utter lack of loyalty displayed by those members of the Democratic Party who are attempting to ram down the throats of the South the so-called civil rights program. One might well ponder over what reasoning allows those delegates from States which were never Democratic until they were bought by W.P.A. projects, to believe they have the right to usurp the leadership of the party.

How can some of those delegates feel wise enough to solve all the problems of the South, but can't convince the people in their own home towns that they are wise enough to be elected to even the lowest political office? How can their leader, Mr. Truman, have the effrontery to cry out that the farmer and the laboring man can be loyal to their interests only by voting for him and at the same time reach out with the knife of disloyalty and cut the throat of the South which was largely responsible for putting him in the White House? How can this group of W.P.A. Democrats have the nerve to beg the South to agree, for the sake of party loyalty, to many planks in the platform inimical to its interests, and then refuse absolutely to compromise on their misbegotten civil-rights program, which is designed to disrupt our entire society? How can those leaders of the North sell out their vote and their birthright to the highest bidder? Are these leaders actually stupid enough to believe they will help the colored people, or succeed in raising them in the eyes of their fellow men by use of such cheap politics, or are they only interested in milking a few more Negro votes from their precincts? Is it not these same leaders who cry out for us not to overlook the fact that some Negroes were in the Army and Navy during the war, and at the same time overlook a much larger group of Southerners who were fighting for their traditions and for the States' rights in which they believe? How can these mutinous W.P.A. Democrats, who have consistently flaunted party tradition, have the audacity to associate the term, bolters, to the ever loyal Southern Democrats?

Lexington, Ky. 7-25-48 THEODORE K. DYER.

Ga. Paper Urges South to Stop Cold War on Civil Rights Issue

Atlanta Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.
11-20-48

ATHENS, Ga. (ANP)—An editorial to end the "cold war" on the civil rights issue "before this question eventually destroys unity at a time of national peril," appeared in the Nov. 5 edition of Banner-Herald, a local white Democratic paper since 1832, published and edited by Earl B. Braswell.

It pointed out that the South would do well to "read accurately what the Truman-Barkley election meant for the South—that it "means that we must put an end to our poliical arrogance.

"Our politicians must drop their tactics and seek to find a solution for the great civil rights questions, for instance, that will be in accordance with the facts and spirit of democratic institutions. And that does not mean that we must surrender to the extremists of the left any more than it means we must follow in blindness the leadership of the extremists in our own section who are using this issue and distorting it as a means to power."

CIVIL RIGHTS

The civil rights debate in the Democratic convention was distinguished for lack of candor. Purposes were not honestly avowed. Motives were disguised. The appeals to high principle were hypocritical.

If the southerners had been honest, they would have confessed a purpose to "keep the Negroes in their place." The southern orators were contending, so they said, for state rights, but insofar as these rights included the authority to oppress or depress the Negro, they were lost by 1870 when the 15th amendment was adopted. The southerners know this, of course. All their talk of state rights was merely a mask to conceal their real purpose, which is to prevent the federal government from using whatever authority it has to better the condition of the Negroes.

It is pretty late in the day for Democrats, and southern Democrats in particular, to prate of state rights. The southerners have generally supported TVA, which is no respecter of state rights. They voted for the whole line of New Deal legislation extending the authority of the federal government and reducing that of the states. Most of them were for the Volstead act and prohibition. They favored extending the meaning of the interstate commerce and general welfare clauses of the Constitution to the point where the law now stands: a window washer in an office building is engaged in interstate commerce and is subject to federal regulation of his pay and hours if a tenant in the building produces goods for sale outside the state.

The northern Democrats were equally hypocritical. Their interest in this matter springs from a desire to win their state and local elections in November. Their appeal to principles of humanity is phony. Without giving the Negroes, north or south, anything substantial, Mr. Roosevelt managed to win great blocks of Negro votes in the northern cities for the Democratic party. The northern politicians strove at Philadelphia to hold this support for themselves.

Any one who really wants to do something to establish the civil rights of the southern Negro will find the formula spelled out in the 14th amendment. A state which denies or in any way abridges the right of citizens to vote can have its representation in congress and therefore its voice in the electoral college reduced in proportion to the number of citizens so deprived. "The congress shall have power to enforce by appropriate legislation the provisions of this article," the amendment concludes.

Action along these lines never could be criticized as unreasonable, unjust, or unconstitutional.

Jefferson's Birthday and Malone's Book

The Constitution

Two hundred and five years ago today Thomas Jefferson was born. He remains the greatest philospher-statesman of our history and he also is the only great historical figure who continually has participated in local and national politics since his death.

Just the other day President Truman called upon him for support in his civil rights message to Congress, and over in Virginia, Sen. Byrd called upon Jefferson to sustain him in opposition. Hardly a campaign for coroner, even, gets through its campaigning without some reference to Jefferson.

All our other great heroes of the past have become mere legends, their words encased in the stones that commemorate them. George Washington's farewell message is recited on occasion. Abraham Lincoln is held in great reverence, his Gettysburg Address a must for high school orators. Jackson is remembered for his forthrightness, "old hickory" honesty.

But Jefferson is with us every day.

Therefore, of particular significance is the appearance of the first volume of Dumas Malone's biography of Jefferson. The nation's critics have hailed it as the finest work done on the nation's great Democrat.

The Constitution

Malone, graduate of Emory University, and a frequent visitor to Atlanta, is one of the great historians of our time. This long-expected first volume—there are three more to come—deals, of course, with "Jefferson, the Virginian." The Declaration of Independence and the almost equally important Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom are properly regarded by Mr. Malone as the great achievements of his early years.

Mississippi-born Malone taught at Virginia for 20 years. Author of many historical books, he now teaches in Columbia University's Graduate School of Political Science. He will be a visitor in Atlanta this week.

The book and Jefferson's birthday come happily together. The Constitution is happy to recommend a study of the book to understand better the man whose birthday we celebrate today.

THE NEGRO IN THE SOUTH

Hendersonville, N.C., July 19—Your editorial on civil rights last Friday refers to two interesting human characteristics, honesty and hyprocrisy. The only honest thing about that editorial was the admission that there was as much hyprocrisy in the north as there was in the south. The predominating feature about the northern politician in this matter is that of unmitigated hyprocrisy.

You do not understand the most elementary phase of the racial problem in the south. The whole issue is one of the basest and most despicable political agitations ever manipulated by the corrupt element of the northern political parties. It is recognized for exactly what it is, a play for the northern Negro vote. When that vote is won, northerners will have far less use for the Negro than is true in the south, until the next election.

You will do well to live a while in the south, to enjoy the fellowship of those you champion under the most intimate circumstances, and remember the while that the north introduced slavery to America, and resented it only when they could no longer make fortunes from it.

This letter does not come to you from the pen of a race fanatic, but from a native northerner whose life and experience in the two spheres has been divided equally. The south respects the Negro; the north despises him except when his plight can be made the bone of political contention for a group of unethical shysters who make politics a racket rather than an honorable profession.

Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said in a statement: "Real Americanism won at Philadelphia yesterday."

* * *

WHITE SAID "in sheer self-defense the South is going to find new political leadership to replace that which disgraced the South in fighting civil rights."

Adoption of the civil rights plank precipitated a walkout of Alabama and Mississippi delegates from the convention hall.

The Negro leader added: "We just do not believe that those who walked out because they wanted no interference with lynching, disenfranchisement and racial bigotry represent majority opinion in the South.

"We have more than 700 branches in the South through which we keep closely in touch with opinion there. Except in a few isolated instances the type of sectional selfishness and bad manners exhibited in Philadelphia are not approved by church, labor, student and veteran groups in the South."

* * *

TERMING THE DEMOCRATIC decision a "victory for decency," White said the NAACP was "delighted at the specific inclusion of remedial legislation and other action against longstanding abuses like lynching, poll tax, job discrimination and segregation."

Both parties, he said, "are now committed to implementation of the major recommendations of the President's committee on civil rights."

Negro Leader Declares 'Real Americanism' Won At Philadelphia

NEW YORK, July 16—(AP)—A Negro leader said yesterday that adoption of the civil rights plank by the Democratic convention "marks the greatest turning point for the South and for America which has occurred since the Civil War."

SENATOR HUMPHREY

Nothing could be more galling than the election of Hubert Humphrey as the Democratic senator from Minnesota. Humphrey, mayor of Minneapolis, defeated Senator Joe Ball (even the Gallup Poll predicted that he would

Humphrey, be it remembered, is the author of the amendment to the Democratic platform which caused the Alabama walkout. It was the passionate young Humphrey—who comes from a state where they have but 10,000 Negroes—who declaimed before the convention that Truman's Civil Disturbance program must be enacted in order to get the "sunshine of human rights."

Truman and McGrath, through Chauncey Sparks, had offered the South a civil rights plank no stronger than the one on which Roosevelt ran in 1944, et ante. But the Ellis faction of the delegation would have none of it and would not call off the walk.

McGrath paced the convention floor over and the convention prepared to nomi- nate, we looked across the aisle and re- garded Humphrey, a delegate of Min- nesota. He was a man of good and mediu build, with intense black eyes and a slight-

He looked combatively towards the Ala- bama delegation. In his lap he had a floor pasteboard box. It made him the only com- plete all-out, fortable man in a convention hall whose was heat rose once to 106 degrees. In the box was dry ice. Its icy fumes wafted up and ht was over Humphrey, efficiently cooling him. The fumes, we thought at the time and in the circumstances, looked like fumes aris- ing from a stewpot of witch's brew.

JOSEPH AND STEWART ALSOP

Security and Freedom Both Are Precious

WASHINGTON—Traditional American liberties are precious to most of us. So is the security of the United States. Yet if our freedoms and our national security are to be intrusted to men like J. Parnell Thomas, or to such men as the bumbling politically illiterate accusers of Mrs. Ann Smith, then God help the United States. Some of Mrs. Smith's recent experiences—by no means uncommon in Government service today—have already been too briefly reported in this space. It has been recounted how Mrs. Smith, a Navy clerk-stenographer in the Panama Canal Zone, was prevented from marrying Petty Officer Robert Jones; how she answered a remarkable questionnaire and how, in March of this year, she was charged with disloyalty to her country.

Against the advice of the Navy legal officer, Mrs. Smith, a woman of considerable spirit, immediately demanded a hearing before the loyalty board of the Fifteenth Naval District.

Most of the questioning, conducted by Commander Joe E. Munster, concerned certain radical outbursts which took place in the '30s on California campuses, while Mrs. Smith was going to college. This in itself raises the question whether having indulged years ago in left-wing college shenanigans is really evidence of disloyalty to the United States.

At any rate, it came out at the hearing that the radical activities which had aroused the suspicion of Mrs. Smith's accusers had taken place at the University of California at Los Angeles. It also came out that Mrs. Smith had attended the University of Southern California, apparently a far more decorous institution than UCLA. This being established, Commander Munster then asked hopefully, "Did you ever have occasion—did you ever drift over there (to UCLA) when one of these affairs was going on?" "No, I never," Mrs. Smith replied, and then nervously volunteered that she had belonged the women's debate team in her freshman year.

The rest of the hearing, which would have been funny were it not for its serious implications, was conducted on about the same level of intelligence. Mrs. Smith denied that she had belonged to various radical youth organizations and, in another pathetic attempt to establish her respectability, volunteered that she had been "very active in the University Methodist Church." She denied ever having used a false name and denied having had subversive contacts with a number of people she had never heard of. Then Commander Munster remarked: "I don't believe I have any more questions to ask," and that was that.

A few days later, on leave in New Orleans, Mrs. Smith and Petty Officer Jones were married, fully believing that the whole silly mess had at last been cleared up. Then, on their honeymoon, she was notified by Rear Admiral F. W. Hanson that she was suspended without pay, because "grounds exist for the belief that you are disloyal to the Government." It thus became part of the official records of the United States that Mrs. Smith was a traitor to her country, or a potential traitor.

Many Government employees in like cases have bitterly or resignedly accepted their fate. The spunky Mrs. Smith did not. She had already written to her Congresswoman, Helen Gahagen Douglas, describing the circumstances. Mrs. Douglas had investigated, received countless angry assurances of Mrs. Smith's loyalty and referred the matter to Paul Porter, former OPA Administrator and Washington lawyer.

It is not known why Mrs. Smith was accused in the first place. Perhaps her tolerant racial views made her suspect. Perhaps it was a case of mistaken identity—it is alarming that no less than 41 out of the first 245 FBI full field investigations under the loyalty order turned out to be cases of mistaken identity. Perhaps it was a combination of both. At any rate, the Navy Board, prodded by Porter and "after complete and careful review of all the evidence," immediately reinstated Mrs. Smith with back pay and wholly exonerated her.

Thus the case of Mrs. Smith has ended happily. Many others have not. One thing seems clear. The stupidity and bumbling in the handling of many loyalty cases and th eager headline-seeking of men like J. Parnell Thomas are no answer to the very real problem of security. Yet the answer must be found. It can best be found by a commission of men of undoubted intelligence and integrity, men like Dwight Eisenhower, Learned Hand, Justice Owen Roberts. Such a commission, meeting in secret, could consider coldly, carefully and intelligently the whole troubling and immensely difficult problem of the relationship between national security and the personal liberty and personal dignity of people like Mrs. Ann Smith.

Henderson Named Director Of Human Rights Council

Memphis World, Memphis, Tenn. Tues. 7-6-48

BALTIMORE, Md. — The appointment, effective August 1, of Elmer W. Henderson, as Director of the newly-formed American Council on Human Rights was announced Thursday by Mrs. Edna Over Gray, President of the Board.

The Council is a cooperative venture of six national Greek letter collegiate fraternities and sororities: Alpha Kappa Alpha, Alpha Phi Alpha, Delta Sigma Theta, Phi Beta Sigma, Sigma Gamma Rho and Zeta Phi Beta. It was founded primarily to seek the extension of civil rights to all Americans without regard to race, color, or religion. The Council also is aware of its responsibilities in regard to international problems. It will maintain an office in Washington to aid the passage of legislation supporting the aims of the Council and to oppose legislation considered detrimental to minorities. It will disseminate information and organize an action program.

OFFICERS LISTED

Officers of the Board of Directors of the Council in addition to Mrs. Gray, the president, are: Mrs. Mae Wright Downs, former national president, Delta Sigma Theta, vice-president; Dr. R. O. Johnson, national president, Phi Beta Sigma, recording secretary; Miss Esther Peyton, former Chairman Executive Board, Zeta Phi Beta, treasurer; Attorney Belford V. Lawson, Jr., national president Alpha Phi Alpha, general counsel.

Memphis World

Other members are: Miss Norma E. Boyd and Mrs. Beulah T. Whitby, Alpha Kappa Alpha; Miss Dorothy Height, national president, Delta Sigma Theta, and Mrs. Bertell Collins Wright, Delta Sigma Theta; Mrs. Ethel Ross Smith, national president, Sigma Gamma Rho, and Attorney Ruth Whitehead Whaley Sigma Gamma Rho; Mrs. Lullelia W. Harrison, national president, Zeta Phi Beta and Dr. Nancy B Woolridge Zeta Phi Beta; Dr. Howard H. Long and Attorney Thomas Clark, Alpha Phi Alpha; Attorney George A. Parker and Dr. A. J. Harris, Phi Beta Sigma.

Memphis, Tenn. 7-8-48

In announcing Henderson's appointment, Mrs Gray stated that the Board had reviewed a number of highly qualified applicants and after careful consideration concluded that Mr. Henderson most nearly met the requirements of the position.

Memphis World

Mr. Henderson is presently executive secretary of the National Council for a Permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee and has been seeking to have Congress pass an FEPC bill. In releasing Mr. Henderson for the new post, A. Philip Randolph, Co-chairman of the FEPC Council, said: "May I say that we greatly regret the necessity to release Mr. Henderson as the directing head of our movement, but I am glad to know that he will become the Executive Director of the American Council on Human Rights, which is developing a program comparable to and broader than, the National Council for a Permanent FEPC. I want to congratulate the fraternities and sororities upon their initiating a legislative program of the character and reaches suggested by the name of your movement."

Tues. 7-6-48

For nearly five years Mr. Henderson served with the wartime FEPC created by former President Roosevelt, the greater time as Regional Director of the agency for eight states with headquarters in Chicago.

BIAS FIGHT IS URGED ON PAPERS IN SOUTH

The Times

Area Must Solve Its Problems, Educate Negro, Florida Head Tells Publishers

New York Times Tues. 11-9-48

By JOHN N. POPHAM

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ST. PETERSBURG, Fla., Nov. 8—Gov. Millard F. Caldwell of Florida called today on newspaper publishers in the South to "castigate unmercifully" any persons who attempt to inject racial or religious prejudice into the public affairs of the country.

In an address at the annual convention of the Southern Newspaper Publishers Association, the Governor said that "this country cannot build its future on prejudice," then added:

"We must face the issue on the great civil rights controversy in a sensible way. We learned our lesson about religion in 1928, and, I believe, we have learned the lesson about the races in 1948.

"If the word 'Negro' could be kept out of the press and off the air for ten years, we would make great progress down here, which would meet the approval of the rest of the nation."

Mr. Caldwell asserted that "constant northern meddling in our internal affairs" raised a "compensating resistance" in the South that created obstacles to efforts to improve the social situation.

He urged southerners to take steps to give the Negro "the finest in higher education so that he can be trained within the framework of the South and know how to do the job for the South."

The Governor appealed for strong support of the regional school movement for graduate education and training in the South and deplored attacks on the regional school plan as a "Jim Crow device.

"You can dispose of the Negro question as you please," he said, "but the matter will take care of itself if we have sense enough to train our students in the best of schools.

"The North, which pats itself on the back, has twenty-seven medical schools with a total of eighty-six Negro students. The South, with its segregation, has two Class A medical schools for Negroes, with 1,000 students.

"We need Negro doctors, dentists and nurses. Whether we like it or not the segregation laws are on our books. The only answer at this time is to set up equally fine institutions for both races and get our people, white and Negro, trained in the best way."

Thurman Arnold, former assistant Attorney General, said that it would be "detrimental" if Congress succeeded in "knocking out the Taft-Hartley Act entirely."

He urged the publishers to present their case to Congressional committees considering repeal or revision proposals, but to recognize that any provisions which impeded organization of new unions or interfered with the organization of old unions "should be stricken."

He said that in the litigation involving the International Typographical Union, the publishers were "fighting the battle of labor against the domination of local unions." The international union should be "an arm in the arsenal of the autonomous local and not a powerful dictator," he added.

Lisle Baker Jr., president of the association, called on the publishers to "bend every effort and thought to the accomplishment of an intelligent and forceful foreign policy designed to achieve a just and enduring peace in which we will continue to have the chance to make our own individual decisions and make them count."

RALPH McGILL

We've Paid Enough Checks

Change, in the full meaning of the word, is mostly a matter of mind, of mental acceptance or grappling with new conditions and new difficulties.

That is why change seems to come slowly. We accept it slowly. Change is difficult to see. We see cities growing and small towns expanding and noisy with the sound of building, and we think of that as growth—not change. But it is. It means that people are leaving the country and moving to town. It means more pressure in the towns. It means more people to become fearful about their security in the jungles of the cities. It means something back on the farm. It means an empty tenant house, its door swinging in the winds and its windows broken by passing boys. It means a new tractor in the shed.

Sometimes change comes and walks around with us for days, or even a year or so, before we recognize it. Nothing was changed after John Brown was hung and buried. There were those who said that his death settled the problem.

Politics change, too. Also slowly.

Elections Now Georgia has added an election to others in the South. The South is reacting as was expected to react, from the civil rights controversy, the threats of a federally policed FEPC; from Wallace's bumbling tour of the South, with shrewd hard-eyed men watching him and directing him, and very pleased with it all.

They were very pleased the South interpreted their visit, with its deliberately planned incidents sure to arouse, as a bid for Southern Negro votes. It was not that. The hard-eyed Communist direction was shoving Wallace through the South, not for Southern votes, but for Negro votes in the North, where they will count for more, and for independent votes. They loved the egg throwing.

So at a time when too many persons are saying our elections are the answer, I want to try and make a point. Nothing is settled. There is a wind blowing that scares me a little.

The Bill History shows us that we have insisted on picking up a lot of checks after a lot of parties which other people gave. It was New England which created the slave trade and it was in New England the slave trade fortunes were made and it is there they remained. It was slave-trade fortunes which, in the hands of the next generation, financed the most radical of the abolitionist agitation. We stubbornly refused to consider any federally subsidized plan to abolish slavery and we picked up the bill at the end of the war—a $3,000,000,000 bill for what the slaves, all perfectly proper property under the Constitution, had been valued. We have been picking up the check ever since—as we have striven, badly and cruelly at times, to take the 4,000,000 slaves and their descendants and to fit them into our life and economy when that life and that economy was shattered and broken by the check we picked up at Appomattox.

We still are paying the bill for the subsidy of the Eastern war factories at the end of that war, out of which came the industrialization of the East and of New England, all of it carefully protected by freight rates and tariffs which kept us a raw-material colony.

I am tired of being a part of paying the bills and I also am weary of those among us who lead in grabbing the check every time history presents it. I am against the Dixiecrats, who insist that we grab the bill.

Negro Votes So, for God's sake, let us not think of Henry Wallace and the civil rights measures in terms unflexible or see them with eyes that don't take in the whole scene and its very great possibilities.

The prize is the Negro vote. Not so much this year, although that is what Messrs. Truman and Dewey are after, but in 1952 and 1956. There are others. There are the shrewd-eyed men who are behind Wallace. There is Walter Reuther, of the CIO, who is planning a new political party, and who hopes to pick up the real progressives when they leave the Communist shambles of the Wallace party. They are thinking in terms of 1960 and thereabouts.

I have been trying to say, as the Dixiecrats scream for us to grab the check that history again is presenting, that we have cities in the South. And we have Negro voters, too.

Change It will surprise most Southerners to realize that we have 600 percent more registered Negro voters in 1948 than we had in 1940. There are, in the Southern States, 700,000 qualified Negro voters. There are 5,068,805 Negroes of voting age in the South. Not all are qualified voters, even under the qualification laws such as New York State has and employs, but there will be more and more of them qualified. That is why Wallace was in the South, to get Negro votes in the North on behalf of those in the South. And to plan for those in the South by 1952. The hard-eyed Communists think in terms of years. When they wear out Wallace they will use someone else.

Our old political ways are breaking up and are going to break the more. We will be fools if we do not see that already in our local elections the Negro vote is being sought by candidates of the Democratic Party in our Southern States.

The competition for the Negro vote is going to be increasingly keen. The Dixiecrats will hang on for a few years as the anti-Negro party. It can't last very long. For the Democratic Party—for the winners of recent elections in Tennessee, in Georgia, in Louisiana, in Florida and in other States, it is time for decision. Shall it be only the Republicans, Northern Democrats and Communists who fit the qualified Negro into their party? Shall the South, which says it knows the Negro best and is his best friend, refuse to consider his vote and leave it for the machines of the Northern Republican and Democratic States or the Communists now behind Wallace?

I surely don't want the South to pick up the check I can see on the tray of the waiter who will be around after the party of 1952 and the one of 1956. Especially when we still are paying on the ones we grabbed years ago.

TRUMAN'S TEN COMMANDMENTS

The South is massaging President Truman thoroughly these days because the Chief Executive issued ten commandments governing changes in civil rights.

They talk about deserting the President, withholding campaign contributions and various other methods of rebellion.

Mr. Truman probably expected this. He was close enough to the late President Roosevelt to know that the South kicked equally as hard and as loud against the liberal measures sponsored by FDR.

Mr Truman didn't go into this blindly. He knew he was sticking his neck out, and at the proper time, we think, if he finds it necessary to answer his critics, he will do so.

We are not looking for the President to take a step backward. In fact, the announcement that he will, within ten days or so, issue an executive order against discrimination in government, shows plainly that he is not yet slowed down because of the Southern reactionaries.

Wholesale discrimination in the post office and other Federal departments has been called to the President's attention. He believes that everybody should have an equal right to employment and plans to correct existing conditions.

We hope he sets up an independent section in the government to ferret out cases of discrimination and brings the officials or department at fault to book.

This independent agency might be the Department of Labor. It ought not to be the Civil Service Commission. That Commission, under President Roosevelt had 2,000 cases of discrimination called to its attention by the FEPC and acted in only sixty of them.

It was for this reason that the FDR Fair Employment Practice Commission was not as effective in Federal departments as it should have been.

His regulation was sabotaged by his own Civil Service Commission.

We trust that President Truman will see that this does not happen again.

BOSTON HERALD

Southern Side of the Dispute

The Southern side of the controversy over Mr. Truman's civil liberties program has had entirely too little airing outside of the South. While we are strongly in favor of Negroes having all of the rights to which they are entitled under the Constitution, we sometimes wonder whether their position might be bettered or worsened by Federal legislation which, as the Southerners protest, would extend the Federal police powers into their States to enforce a national law. How would the citizens of Massachusetts like it if a Southern majority in Congress should pass a law requiring us to have separate schools for Negro children? The Southerners claim that Negro children in the South would never get a fair deal if they had to go to the public schools with white children. They contend that segregation in schools is in the interest of the Negro. The fact is that the majority of Southerners work constantly in their own way to improve the lot of their colored brethren. The hot-headed Bilbos and Rankins are a distinct minority, however vocal.

There is real substance to the legal objections raised by the Southerners regarding national laws which would permit the Federal police power to regulate racial relations in their States. It is an issue which will continue to arise.

Aid We think of it, for example, in connection with the Federal-aid-to-schools bill now pending before Congress. In fact, it has already been passed by the Senate. While the bill contains language which specifically provides that the Federal Government shall not derive any authority over local school systems by virtue of the funds which would be contributed under the bill, there can be no question that such a subsidy would be the opening of the crack in the door which might very well lead to the full harsh glare of Federal regulation. All of our history points in that direction. The Government subsidizes steamship construction, and who sets the standards, even the specifications, under which our merchant ships are built? The Government subsidizes the farmers, and who tells the farmers how much of basic crops they may plant if they wish to qualify for Federal benefits? As Sen. Byrd, of Virginia, said during the Senate debate on the bill:

> **"There have been quite a number of bills which have provided, in their original text, that the sole control of the funds should rest with the States and localities; but in each and every case, sooner or later, the Federal Government has exercised control over its funds."**

It happens that Sen. Byrd's State would have been a beneficiary of the aid-to-education bill, but he stood on principle just the same. It is a good principle to stand on, and we would regard it as the height of inconsistency if any of the Representatives of Southern States should vote for a measure containing such a potential, yet real threat to States' rights.

Truman's Civil Rights Record

While his opponents are asserting before the mis-informed that his civil rights stand is a political expedient the written record of President Truman on the issue is illuminating.

In 1920, as an unpretentious campaigner in Missouri, and before he went to the U. S. Senate, he battled almost single-handedly against the Ku Klux Klan, was brickbatted, tomato and egg splashed and drew numerous warnings from the hooded order and its supporters.

In the senate, he voted for cloture on an anti-lynching bill in 1938, voted for civil liberties in 1939, voted for cloture on a poll tax bill and against a poll tax for servicemen in 1942; in 1943, he voted against abolishment of the NYA and in 1944 voted for FEPC and for cloture on another anti-poll tax bill.

These things took place before Mr. Truman was demanded over Henry A. Wallace by southern Democrats in the Chicago convention of 1944, and before he had any exhibited presidential ambitions.

In being consistent, he finds himself also being crucified. But his record suggests strongly that his civil rights stand is far deeper than that of political expediency. It is genuine and sincere.

RALPH McGILL

Change Is a Sure Thing

I was riding along in the back seat of a car with a small-town businessman who has been largely successful. His feelings about the civil rights controversy were in the majority pattern. He was violently against them. But, with an intellectual honesty not in the accepted pattern, he said:

"I guess they are a part of the evolution of the world and there is no present answer."

There isn't. But there are things we can do to present the South well and sanely.

There is an old axiom which asserts that nothing is so sure as the steady changing of life, opinions and status.

A lot of things have changed that we don't quite see as change. A farmer looks at tractors pulling plows or machines, and sees what they do. But, it is difficult for him to see that the meaning of it is greater than the efficiency on the field. Yet the average person has only to look about him and recall what the same scene was like 20 years ago in terms of his daily life and his contact with it, to admit how much change there is. And it continues, as days follow nights.

Move Our people are on the move again. They do not migrate westward in covered wagons. But they do migrate. Since 1940 the population of California has risen by 42.1 percent and California's Governor, Earl Warren, the Republican nominee for Vice President, calls it the greatest bargain his State has ever had, despite the increased costs of enlarging schools and services. In the same period Oregon has risen 41.8 percent in population and Washington State by 35.8 percent.

The total population increase of the three States is but a little short of 4,000,000.

This time it was not movies or gold at Sutter's Creek or the climate and scenery.

This time it is jobs.

The West once more is a new frontier. There is no land on which to homestead, no free mining sites, no clamor from the movies to hire millions of extras.

This time it is jobs.

South The only region continuing to lose population by migration is the South.

There are reasons for it. Every tractor means there is less need for a farm worker. Every farm failure—and every year some of our small farm tenants fail and give up the struggle—means some man and family looking for jobs.

The Negro, once so essential to the economy of the South, is becoming less and less essential. That fact is the more true in the three years since the end of World War II than ever before. It will continue, a fact the civil rights partisans might consider. There is legislation which will help the Negro far more than civil rights, such as aid to education, aid in buying land for farms, aid in carrying out improved soil practices for all farmers. As others have commented, what help will the end of the poll tax be to the great Negro centers in New York, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Los Angeles, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia—and so on around the map? It may be the emphasis is all wrong. The South will be badly hurt if it continues to lose population, white and colored. Because the harmful fact is that in migration a large percentage of those who go are the better ones of both races. So the South, which is not going to surrender its basic separation policy, must face the fact that the South's future depends upon its willingness to give to its population, white and colored, jobs. If we lose too much man power we will miss something that is surely coming. We will kill off our best chance since the War Between the States to move up on an economic par with the rest of the nation and to bring our farmers along with them. Our cities, too, are growing and our rural population shrinking. We must have population making money to buy what our mechanized farms of 12 years from now will produce.

Movement Is this imagination? Is it theory? Not at all. The National Security Resources Board has asked the nation's industry to speed up what they long have wanted to do—decentralize. Some of them have already done so. Witness the new factories in Des Moines, Atlanta, Dallas, Houston, Kansas City, Tennessee, Alabama and Florida.

A recent survey by McGraw-Hill, the greatest organization dealing with business and industry, reveals that whereas before World War II 72 percent of the nation's manufacturing jobs were in New England, the Middle Atlantic States and the Great Lakes region, only 55 percent of the new war plants were built in those regions.

Increase In a dozen years, it says, this country will have increased its factory capacity 50 percent, but the increase for the South and West will have been 100 percent.

How much will we get and how much the West?

Well, a calm South, minus politicians shouting "Nigger! Nigger!" minus the Ku Kluxers and their violence and stupidity; a South free of clamor and strain and racial tensions will get most of it.

The Dixiecrat movement is pushed by a small group determined

But, shall the South not do something about establishing civil rights, within its pattern of segregation, which will be equal and separate? Thus far, we have maintained them separate and unequal. Shall we insist that we want States' rights to do as we please and expect the rest of the nation to stand by and let us alone? If so, it is a ridiculous insistence which ignores completely historical processes and the political and social forces now at work in the world. The Dixiecrats speak the exact language of the leadership in 1856-60 which refused all compromises and human rights.

It is cowardly and intellectually dishonest, I think, to say that the South cannot end discriminations in the field of civil rights, such as education, medical attention, jobs, housing and justice, without creating "social equality." I cannot stultify myself or betray my affection for the South by being afraid to advocate simple justice and right. I refuse to masquerade wrongs as "rights." The South can become great when it puts aside fear and believes in itself.

Fearful persons often confuse thunder with God. And, apparently, some fearful persons confuse Truman with right. Let the South not be afraid to do its duty.

to sabotage the Democratic Party. It is not interested in the South or its future. The persons who distort the civil rights controversy or use it for agitation are not helping the South.

We face our last big chance. And we need a calm, sure planning, free of violence and tensions. Let's be sure to get it. When a tractor replaces one of our young men from the farm, we don't want him to look toward California, Oregon or Washington State for a job and a home. Let us have the job here. Let us have a South free from clamorous factions.

No Magic Formula

Southerners Are Not Alone In Believing Legislation Not Answer To Civil Rights

BY FRED TAYLOR

More and more Southerners agree that there is no magic formula like "civil rights" legislation for solving the race relations problem in the South.

Such proposals as the FEPC are a hindrance rather than a help. Regardless of the outcome of the presidential election little more than a month from now, there will be no national FEPC law enacted, in the opinion of informed observers. They doubt that such purely anti-South measures as anti-lynching and anti-poll tax bills will be passed, even though there is more chance of these being rammed through Congress than for passage of the FEPC proposals.

TAYLOR

Any number of Easterners and Northerners say they don't want an FEPC in those states any more than Southerners do.

* * *

STATE LEVEL "CIVIL RIGHTS"—Even though New York state has an FEPC law, enacted since Gov. Dewey has been in office, Republican leaders here say that if he is elected president he has no intention of ramming this and other "civil rights" legislation down Southerners' throats.

Claude O. Vardaman, Alabama Republican chairman, says that if and when Dewey becomes president, the South will have a friend in the White House. Vardaman, a long-time Dewey plumper, probably is as close to the New York executive and his cagey campaign manager, Herbert Brownell, as any man in the South.

The Alabama chairman has discussed Southern problems, especially race relations, with Dewey time and again and he emphasizes that Dewey will let the states determine their own "civil rights" matters.

California, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania also have FEPC laws, but I'm told enforcement is none too strict, particularly in Pennsylvania.

LAWS NOT ANSWER — The North American Newspaper Alliance, through cooperation of The Atlanta Constitution, recently released a story by Jim Furniss, political reporter for that newspaper, emphasizing that "civil rights" legislation or other such formulas would not solve race relations problems.

Wrote Furniss:

"Such men as Dr. George S. Mitchell, head of the Southern Regional Council, and Nelson C. Jackson, Southern field director of the National Urban League, have devoted most of their lives to work for an equal opportunity for all in the South, both white and black.

"Yet even Dr. Mitchell and Mr. Jackson side with men like Gov. Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina, the Dixiecrat nominee for president, that federal laws are not the answer.

"In Thurmond's case, the enactment of an FEPC, the end of the poll tax and anti-lynching laws are an invasion of states' rights and a threat to Southern traditions.

"In the opinions of Dr. Mitchell, Jackson and others, such laws alone will not untie the Gordian knot of prejudice, fear and antagonism between the races in the South.

STRIVES FOR "BASIC EQUALity"—The council, headed by Dr. Mitchell, is a non-profit, nonpolitical group of Southern educators, civic leaders, newspaper men, church leaders and professional people of both races. Furniss makes reference to the recently published (in The News-Age-Herald and other newspapers) report in which the council strongly recommended a three-way remedy—legal, educational and economic—for the "civil rights" controversy.

Furniss' story added:

"Dr. Mitchell says the nation should have a program to provide jobs, farms, homes, schools and health for the South.

"This would produce a basic equality between the races and civil rights would come walking along,' he believes."

SOUTH'S INTEGRITY — Continuing, Furniss wrote:

"He (Dr. Mitchell) says it is not surprising the rest of the country mistrusts the South's integrity to handle federal-aid for such a program, in view of numerous instances in the past of unfair discrimination.

"If the South would open up a little bit—put Negroes on appoitive bodies affecting their own welfare or grant those things the courts are going to give Negroes anyhow—the nation would sigh, 'My Lord, that's what we've been waiting for,' and lend a hand," he quoted Mitchell as saying.

* * *

OPENED UP SOME—Furniss goes on to point out, quoting Jackson, that "the South has opened up some."

Jackson directs efforts of the 11 Southern branches of the National Urban League, which is supported by Community Chest funds, "to smooth over the rough spots in interracial dealings."

As to Jackson's statement that the "South has opened up some," Furniss pointed out that:

"In Richmond, Va., Mr. Jackson cites as an example, Oliver Hill, a Negro, was elected a member of the City Council by both whites and blacks.

"In Houston, St. Petersburg, Wiston-Salem, Oklahoma City and other communities, conference groups of whites and blacks have worked on basic planning with signal success and have not waited for tense situations to develop."

The annual otter hunt of Dumfriesshire, Scotland, may be cancelled because of a shortage of meat for the hounds.

Accordions have never been so popular as today, says Tony Verecchia, accordion teacher, of Glasgow, Scotland.

South Begins To Reap Civil Rights Whirlwind

Long ago The Record pointed out that the real victims of this so-called civil rights political controversy would be the cause of decency in the South.

The more President Truman and the Republicans have vied with each other to win the Northern Negro vote the more impetus the Southern demogogs have picked up. Every time the National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peoples has made a statement, supporting the anti-poll tax, the anti-lynching bill or the F. E. P. C. bill, the task for the Southerner who has been combatting racial prejudice was made more difficult.

And now the South begins to reap the whirlwind that the Northern politicians and the do-gooders sowed.

In Louisiana, young Russell Long, son of the "Kingfish," has won the Democratic nomination for the United States Senate. His uncle, Earl Long, already sits in the Governor's chair.

In Mississippi, Representative John Rankin of Tupelo, who squeaked in by the narrowest of margins two years ago and who didn't even carry his own district in the race for the United States Senate, has been renominated by a majority of landslide proportions. And Rankin, of course, is the worst race baiter in either House or Senate, deliberately offensive to every racial minority in the United States, a disgrace to Mississippi or any other state.

In Georgia, Herman Talmadge, son of the late Gene Talmadge, expects to win the Democratic nomination for Governor in the primary tomorrow. His issue is the civil rights issue. "Hummon," who took over the Governor's office after the death of his father and had to be ousted by the courts of Georgia, is the same stripe of politician as his father and he has a good organization behind him. If he should be elected he may hold power in Georgia for many years.

In Alabama, Police Commissioner Eugene Connor of Birmingham, who got into politics by way of radio announcing, is grooming himself to run for Governor on the strength of his vigorous racial issue fight in Birmingham. And he too might be a formidable contender.

Everywhere in the South the racial issue is being magnified where it should be soft-pedaled. Southerners who believe in good government had been making progress throughout the South. Rankin might have been defeated this year and Russell Long have been turned back. Thompson might have been expected to win in Georgia. It had been a long fight and a hard one, but education and persistence were beginning to pay dividends.

Now all this is lost and the fight must be started over again. And it's a long row the South has to hoe for itself.

'Carpetbagger' Bludgeon Proposed In Truman's Civil Rights Program

To The Commercial Appeal:

Whatever the American people may think about Civil Rights they could never approve the methods that Truman's Committee on Civil Rights proposes to employ in enforcing the President's Civil Rights Program.

Lamenting the fact that practically all of the extremely desirable Civil Rights legislation that was inflicted on the South in carpet bag days has been declared unconstitutional and realizing the Constitution still bars the kind of legislation they would have passed, they advocate bureaucratic sanctions as the best way to put the program [illegible]

Quoting from page 131 of their official report, "Another useful sanction is the grant-in-aid. Today, public services provided by state and local government agencies and by private organizations are increasingly financed by Federal grant-in-aid in part or wholly. The Federal government is spending hundreds of millions of dollars annually for this kind of support. This grant-in-aid could be made contingent upon the elimination of various forms of discrimination or other violations of Civil Rights. The increasing use of such a sanction is desirable.

"A similar possibility is the use of taxing power to discipline individuals and organizations which are guilty of discriminatory practices. The right of nonprofit educational or welfare organizations to be exempt from property or income taxes and the right of individuals to deduct from their income tax contributions made to such organizations might be deliberately withheld."

On page 130 the committee suggests having a Federal administrative commission to hear Civil Rights cases instead of Judge and Jury.

On page 110 they would use the United Nations Charter, article 55 on Human Rights as authority for enactment of Civil Rights legislation which our Constitution does not empower Congress to enact unless such proposed legislation has acquired "Treaty status."

On page 166 the committee recommends "The conditioning by Congress of all Federal grants in aid and other forms of Federal assistance to public or private agencies for any purpose, on the absence of discrimination and segregation based on race, color, creed or national origin. We believe that Federal funds supplied by tax payers all over the nation must not be used to support or to perpetuate the pattern of segregation in education, public housing, public health services and facilities generally."

In approving and publishing this report President Truman has furnished the best possible argument for opponents of the Federal aid wing, New Deal, Communist-infested party of Roosevelt and Truman, but stayed on anyway be-

3634 Oakdale, St. Louis, Mo.
STANLEY HANKS,

His Civil Rights Program can-
not possibly get anywhere and his
meddling has set the negro back
a good many years.
But his greatest disservice is to
his own party. He has kicked 11
states right out of the Democratic
Party—eleven states that had
counted before the election with-
out any campaigning, 11 states
that put Harry Truman in the
White House by their opposition
to Wallace, 11 states that had
nothing in common with the left
wing, New Deal, Communist-in-
fested party of Roosevelt and Tru-
man, but stayed on anyway be-

Robeson Leads Pickets at White Hous

CIVIL RIGHTS DRIVE—Paul Robeson (tall man at right) Negro singer and cochairman of the Progressive Party, leads advocates of "effective civil rights legislation" parading on Pennsylvania ave. in front of the White House. They were among more than 2000 Civil Rights Congress members who came here from New York for demonstrations at the White House, Capitol and Pentagon

No, Thank You, Mr. Cullen

(AN EDITORIAL)

Roy Hugh Cullen, a Houston philanthropist extraordinary, has issued a public invitation to Negroes through the press inviting them to tell the Democratic National Administration and the Republican Congress that they do not wish federal statutes passed outlawing the poll tax, Jimcrowism, and lynching, or the passage of a Fair Employment Practice act. The reasons given are the friendship of Southern whites, the loss of freedom under the Bill of Rights, and encroachment upon states rights.

Negroes decline the invitation of Mr. Cullen, with thanks to him who extends it. Mr. Cullen's invitation is like telling a drowning man in the ocean to order the people on the rescue ship to cease throwing rope to help the man, either because of the repeated failure to reach him, or because the rope might hit him in the eye. Negroes are hopelessly fettered by the laws and practices of Mr. Cullen and his friends in the South, and have no hope of escaping except through federal legislation.

It is still true that beggars can't be choosers. Negroes, who have been begging for the type of legislation recommended by President Truman, are in no position to reject it because it may be offered for political reasons. Instead of "insulting" the intelligence of Negroes, any promise to pass legislation to break the present fetters is accepted avidly as a fulcrum to be used for achieving the deed.

We are trying to tell Mr. Cullen that the President's message is in answer to the insistent petition of Southern Negroes. The common interest of Negroes in the South is to hasten the fruition of the President's message into law, and there are no honest Negroes in the South who would even think of asking that the passage of the laws be stopped.

We grant that there may be sufficient laws in the Southern states to give the protection promised by the federal statutes. But unfortunately for Mr. Cullen's invitation, he and those who administer those laws of the South have failed to make them accomplish the purpose, without any beneficial success to Negroes. Therefore, Negroes have no faith in the enforcement of laws in the South to give them citizenship rights.

Frankly, Negroes are not interested in states rights as understood by Mr. Cullen. If any rights now enjoyed under the Bill of Rights are lost through the enactment of the suggestions in the President's message, the Negroes are willing to take a chance on such loss.

We hate further to upset Mr. Cullen and his friends at a time when they are clearly so beside themselves with fear and concern, but it is our duty to suggest to them that Mr. Cullen does not speak for the majority of the Southern whites.

We doubt seriously that Mr. Cullen speaks for labor in the South. We know he doesn't speak for the Catholics in the South, the Catholics having quietly but firmly anticipated the President's message to a great extent already. He doesn't speak for a vast army of college students and youngsters ranging from 18 to 30 in his own group in the South.

Neither does he know that the man in the street has changed his point of view markedly in the last five years regarding the things that Mr. Cullen is striving to maintain. If leaders like Mr. Cullen would stand aside and let the masses really express their current views, it might be that we would not need much of this federal law.

More significantly Mr. Cullen has overlooked the fact that few of the reputable daily papers of the South have cared, since the President's message to stultify themselves by contending for the things that Mr. Cullen is representing in his article.

Now let's look at the record of Mr. Cullen and those who have run the South since the emancipation of Negroes to which he alludes in his message. It may be observed that if the Emancipation Proclamation gave Negroes their liberty and constitutional rights, the predecessors of Mr. Cullen took them away in the Reconstruction period.

It may further be noted that within the 80 years since Negroes have been emancipated, not a single Southern state has passed a civil-rights statute. This fact alone kills any suggestion that Negroes should voluntarily ask the federal government to leave their rights in the hands of Southern states.

The right of Negroes in the South have received lip service and nothing else. No Southern state has apprehended and convicted a lyncher.

But we do not here choose to plead the prejudiced exploitations we have suffered, we prefer to point out to Mr. Cullen the terrible cost of race discrimination to the South itself.

It has led the South, which professes democratic ideals, to deny those ideals repeatedly, in order to justify and continue their exploitation. It has made of the religion a monstrous hypocrisy.

No, we aren't going to ask that no federal laws be passed to grant us the rights of the Constitution.

As we have told Mr. Cullen before, we cannot accept South's reasons of money as sufficient earnest of friendship

in this cause of freedom. To us the right to be men, with the freedom and privileges of the Constitution is greater than any benefits we may get from charity.

If Mr. Cullen is correct in saying that the present situation is a challenge to us, then we choose to meet that challenge by doing everything we can to bring about the realization of the President's message to Congress in which he asks the abolition of the poll tax, the abolition of Jimcrowism, and passage of an anti-lynch bill, and the establishment of fair employment practice acts.

Finally, we are not concerned with what the Labor News may or may not have said of Mr. Cullen, but we are persuaded that he will find no honest Negro in the South who will deny that he wants most heartily to have the President's message to Congress enacted into law at the earliest date.

Despite the word "final" above, we cannot close without correcting one other error in Mr. Cullen's statement. Lynchings have not diminished appreciably in the South. What has really happened is that since the agitation for a federal anti-lynch bill has become so pointed, there has been a conspiracy in the South between the leaders to cover up and play down lynchings.

We will cite for Mr. Cullen any time he wants them facts and figures to show where lynchings have taken place, where sheriffs have gone to the scene; and where a whole community has known of the lynching, which was shared in by 20 or 30 men, but still it was not reported in any daily papers in the community or anywhere near. Also how many Negroes are being lynched by use of judicial processes. Police officers and sheriffs are shooting Negroes, whom they have taken in their cars to carry to jail, and then claiming that the Negroes were resisting arrest, though they had been quelled and taken into custody. Let anybody examine the cases that used to be reported as lynching in the Southern papers, and then compare them with the situations that are turned up now, and they will find that the incidents are the same but the treatment is just different by agreement of the South.

Unfortunately, the Tuskegee people continue to report only those lynchings that are so described in the daily papers. So if the daily papers do not call them lynchings, then the statistics will not refer to them as lynchings.

Tuck Scores Civil Rights Program In Assembly Speech

Special to Journal and Guide

RICHMOND, Va.—Governor William M. Tuck launched a bitter attack against President Truman's civil rights program in a prepared address to the Virginia General Assembly here Thursday, and declared that Virginia Negroes are satisfied with the course of race relations in the state. He asserted that the President's civil rights program was an invasion of states rights and should be opposed by the legislature.

Although Gov. Tuck did not attend the meeting of five governors in Washington Sunday to get favorable action from him on the civil rights program, he made it clear that he preferred state action on every measure recommended by Mr. Truman in his special message to the Congress on civil rights.

The Governor spoke in the House of Delegates which was jammed to full capacity some time before the hour of his scheduled appearance in the House. Over 300 persons gathered for the occasion and hundreds were trying vainly to get into the House when Tuck appeared.

WILL NOT BE DRIVEN

Introduced by Lt. Gov. Collins, Gov. Tuck declared that democracy was founded in Virginia by Thomas Jefferson and that "the people of Virginia will not be driven from their ideals."

Explaining his appearance before the legislators he said:

"We have before us a bill to amend the 13th amendment of Virginia and to repeal section 157 of the Code. I request that the bill be introduced herewith, to shield the people of Virginia from iniquitous influences."

Hitting the President's civil rights proposals, the Governor asserted, "The civil rights bill is uncalled for and unwanted in the states of the South. This will bring about the complete destruction of all states, both North and South.

TOTALITARIAN SYSTEM

"These proposals lead to a totalitarian system of government or rule," Virginia's chief executive said, adding, "It will eventually lead to the setting up of a huge gestapo to see that the FEPC is carried out, and if Wallace ever gets to be President, the gestapo will be set up and waiting and ready to go to work.

"This legislation is aimed primarily at the South, but it will not be confined entirely to the South. The people are weary of bureaucracy. The cardinal purpose of the constitution was to preserve the liberty and happiness of the people. The power of the Federal government is limited as far as the states are concerned and the states should not sell out their rights for a pot of porridge in the form of help from the Federal government."

Governor Tuck pointed out that Virginia in 1928 enacted an anti-lynch law and that since that time not one person has been lynched in the state. He said the civil rights proposals would not improve race relations but would destroy the rights which have been enjoyed by many people."

President's Civil Liberties Stand Scored As 'Political Immorality'

To The Commercial Appeal:

According to a news dispatch Congressman Boykin of Alabama, quotes President Truman as having recently said to him: "You know, I don't believe in this civil rights program any more than you do, but we have got to have it to win."

If we believe Mr. Boykin—and there is no reason to question his veracity—the President of the United States advocates legislation in which he himself does not believe, and which he knows to be viciously unconstitutional, in order to keep himself in office.

Not since Thaddeus Stevens who frankly stated that the Fifteenth Amendment would be passed with the sole objectives of adding three million negro voters to the Republican Party and to punish the South, has there been a more brazen exhibition of political immorality. Perhaps it is retributive justice that the Republicans have lost the negro's vote to the Democrats who would resort to any expedient, regardless of consequences, to hold it.

The State of Mississippi should be proud of the fact that it has fewer people who "would vote for a 'yellow dog' running on the Democratic ticket" than any other state in the South. Of 185,000 votes in the recent election, Truman got only 18,000, several thousand of which were probably cast by negroes.

So our new black and tan party can boast of only 18,000 members in this state; a small number indeed when compared to their membership in some other Southern states.

The South will never have the influence in the political life of the Nation to which it is entitled until the majority of its people learn that there is no moral or legal requirement that they vote the Democratic ticket when they disapprove of the principles—or lack of them—of the party candidates; and that it is not treason or secession from the United States to even bolt a Party.

Top Legal Aces Fight P.O. Purge

NAACP, NAPE Put Nation's Crack Lawyers At Disposal of Workers Accused of "Disloyalty"

By LEM GRAVES Jr.
(Courier Washington Correspondent)

WASHINGTON — Post office supervisors and other officials who have recklessly filed "disloyalty" charges against militant Negro postal employes were served notice last week that Negro workers would be defended by the Nation's outstanding civil liberties lawyers.

A decision last week by the NAACP executive board made available to Negroes charged with "disloyalty" the full resources of the NAACP legal staff headed by Thurgood Marshall, noted for his brilliant victories in the civil rights field before the U. S. Supreme Court.

Simultaneously, the National Alliance of Postal Employes, with headquarters in Washington, appointed Leon A. Ransome, widely known Washington civil rights attorney, and James Cobb to the national staff of the NAPE for the purpose of preparing defenses for postal employes.

FUND DRIVE

In addition, the NAPE is stepping up a drive for a special legislative and civil rights fund with which to fight these cases. The fund already has $1,300 and more money is being pledged all over the country.

The NAACP decision to aid in the defense of Federal workers who are victims of charges makes it possible for the local NAACP legal staffs in the various cities to help in the defense of victims. Prior to last week's decision, the NAACP was confining its official staff work to cases involving NAACP officials.

Under the ruling of the NAACP board, the entire legal staff will be made available (1) when Federal workers are charged with "disloyalty" under circumstances which suggest that they are being persecued because of their race or color, and (2) when NAACP officials are under charges.

CITE THIRTY WORKERS

Meanwhile, thirty Negro postal workers in seven major United States cities are facing "disloyalty" proceedings. In almost every case, the victim has been a militant leader in the NAPE's fight for better working conditions for Negro employes. The disloyalty proceedings have allegedly been seized upon by disaffected superiors in an effort to get rid of employes who have insisted on the rights of Negroes to fair employment practices and non-segregated facilities.

The complete breakdown of the thirty cases is as follows: Cleveland, 19; Philadelphia, 6; Chicago, 1; Newark, 1; Detroit, 1; Brooklyn, 1, and St. Louis, 1. In these cases, one hearing each has been held in Chicago, Philadelphia and Cleveland.

WASHINGTON—Much significance is attached to the decision now being awaited in the disloyalty probe charges filed against Mrs. Bertha Lomack, well-known employe of the Government Printing Office, who was accused of a former membership in the National Negro Congress. Fred H. M. Turner, ex-president of the Brooklyn (N. Y.) NAPE branch, was also fighting "purge" charges stemming from a similar membership in the NNC.

RALPH McGILL

Not Liberalism, Just Good Sense

I remember as a boy a caller at our farm house. He was an old man, even then in his nineties, and he had walked a matter of six or seven miles.

"Uncle Bill, how did you make it here?" asked my uncle.

"By just putting one foot before the other," he answered.

I think of that now and then in considering the South, in the light of the present troubles, and in the shadow cast by the controversies yet to come.

We have made a lot of progress and that progress has been made, God save the mark, by the so-called Southern liberals who are not well regarded by the so-called liberals of the other sections, they regarding the Southern progressive as fearful and full of compromise, which perhaps in a sense, he is.

Now But, there are articulate voices in high places now saying that the nation cannot afford to act as if it were possible to concoct a legislative panacea or sovereign specific in the congressional pharmacy, and apply it to all the nation, and especially to the South.

There is an increasing awareness of the fact that "force bills" or legislative fiats will not do the job.

That is what the Southern liberal has been saying all along. But, it is highly important to keep in mind that the Southern liberal also has been saying all along to the South that it, too, must be willing to display an aggressive awareness of the necessity of removing the wrongs which it so long has allowed to endure while demanding to be "left alone" to work out the problems of our complex racial situation. The Southern resentment of outside interference is natural and no more a novelty than is the Western, or New England or Eastern resentment at outside interference.

Honesty But, the honest Southerner must admit that much of what he has been willing to change has been changed because of the prodding by some of his own, as well as by outsiders.

We are moving ahead toward the next meeting of Congress and the civil rights measures. If they are met by the traditional attitude of chip-on-shoulder and a filibuster of one and all measures with no Southern initiative to offer something of their own, we will be in for a sad and dark time of it.

The attitude of the States' Rights Party, of Thurmond and Wright, will be fatal. An angry Republican minority and the Eastern and Western Democrats will be forced into a position which will allow the real enemies of the South to work their will.

The South can follow the lead of the Alabama courts, at Wetumpka, Ala., which gave a white attacker of a Negro woman 45 years in prison, and say to the Congress and the nation that we have reached that stage. We can point to Georgia, where seemingly reluctant local law enforcement, a tardy press, and uninformed public opinion made a national scandal which could have been avoided by prompt law enforcement.

If we will go ahead and somehow manage to bring about a change of venue in such cases so that men far from the local fears and loyalties may serve as jurors, we will have made additional progress. We can say to the Congress and the nation that we can solve our problems and that we will uphold the accepted laws of the land against violence, no matter who is involved.

Step The Southern liberal has been saying all along that this really simple step—to admit the supremacy of the law as being superior to the interpretation by the Klan and others as meaning they can kill and assault Negroes without fear of the law—would solve much of the Southern problem.

The liberal in the South has been trying to make his voice heard about segregation and the Fair Employment Practices Act.

He has said that one may defend the Southern policy of segregation, but cannot defend the injustices within it. He has been saying that we cannot expect a white school to have heat, toilets, running water and playgrounds and a nearby Negro school to have little or no heat, no electric lights, outdoor privies, no running water and no playgrounds, and have no objections made. That has been, too often, the meaning of segregation in the educational as well as in the other fields of public services.

Now, the honest Southerner cannot defend that sort of meaning of segregation, however much he may defend the policy of segregation.

It is possible, too, to have an FEPC without trampling on a single right and without any force, or police measures. The Southern position of opposing a Federal police measure in employment is gaining more and more support. Such an FEPC would be a calamity.

But, what would be wrong with an FEPC within the Department of Labor which had the same power as the present Federal Board of Conciliation—to conciliate, to negotiate, arbitrate and recommend? Such a board, with no police or judicial powers, would bring about reform and change in employment prejudices and conditions without trouble.

Government Our Government cannot impose social welfare. But it can, and does, properly interest itself in the welfare of its people. There is a great difference.

Therefore, it is important the South continue to prove its own good will, its integrity and its determination to uphold supremacy of the law.

We are governed, under the party system, by compromise. That is good and as it should be. Opposing parties means opposing views and legislation. Out of opposition comes compromise. The South's position will determine what sort of compromise we get in January and February.

That isn't "liberalism," it is just good sense.

Truman's Civil Rights Record

While his opponents are asserting before the mis-informed that his civil rights stand is a political expedient the written record of President Truman on the issue is illuminating.

In 1920, as an unpretentious campaigner in Missouri, and before he went to the U. S. Senate, he battled almost single-handedly against the Ku Klux Klan, was brickbatted, tomato and egg splashed and drew numerous warnings from the hooded order and its supporters.

In the senate, he voted for cloture on an anti-lynching bill in 1938, voted for civil liberties in 1939, voted for cloture on a poll tax bill and against a poll tax for servicemen in 1942; in 1943, he voted against abolishment of the NYA and in 1944 voted for FEPC and for cloture on another anti-poll tax bill.

These things took place before Mr. Truman was demanded over Henry A. Wallace by southern Democrats in the Chicago convention of 1944, and before he had any exhibited presidential ambitions.

In being consistent, he finds himself also being crucified. But his record suggests strongly that his civil rights stand is far deeper than that of political expediency. It is genuine and sincere.

WE DON'T SCARE SO EASILY

H. L. Mencken is fearful that the Truman civil rights program would so embitter the South that we would have another upsurge of the Ku Klux Klan and mob law all over the South.

We are not fearful of any such thing. The civil rights reforms are going through some time.

What with education and service of our men overseas as soldiers in the war for democracy, colored people would not stand for any rough stuff. Too many of them will die first rather than submit to any of the klan orgies that characterized the Reconstruction period.

When a patriotic citizen with right on his side, is ready to die rather than submit to injustice and tyranny, he usually finds nobody is willing to kill him.

In the second place, there are too many white people on the side of civil rights in the South; not only are white war veterans who served with colored troops on our side, but young white people in the schools.

Christian white women have long been the bulwark against the Ku Klux Klan, mob violence and the white supremacy boys.

No, Mr. Mencken, we haven't any fear of the resurgence of the KKK. There are enough upstanding, right-thinking white and colored people to take care of it.

what we advocate abroad, is the only road to effective leadership.

With these ideas in mind, we, the undersigned citizens of the Southern States and of the United States, have taken a fresh look at our American heritage of freedom and equality for all, and how it works out in actual practice. We present here our findings and conclusions in all sincerity, hopeful that our efforts may stimulate others to undertake a similar discipline.

(B)

We still believe all men are created equal, and are endowed as men with certain rights which each must respect and guard for the other.

We take these rights to include equality before the law, and freedom from any discrimination bolstered by law; a right to vote; freedom of expression; an unrestricted access to all institutions supported by taxes for the public welfare, schools and hospitals not excepted; equal pay for equal work, and equal opportunity to acquire abilities and to gain employment; freedom of movement and location, and the right to assemble in unsegregated groups.

For many of our citizens enjoyment of these rights is abridged by laws and conventions contrary to justice, and to the aims and purposes of this republic. We recognize the habitual and cultivated prejudices upon which such discriminations are sustained; we recognize the need of protections in law and in the enforcement of law, to these rights, in our day.

(C)

Looking back at the road we have travelled, we are gratified at what progress has been made. However, past achievements should serve as an incentive to greater progress and not as an excuse for our failure to meet present obligations.

(D)

This nation was founded with the declaration that all men are created equal and are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights.

We are proud that these words were given to the world by a southerner.

Closely associated with the idea of equality and the political democracy built upon it is another concept basic to American culture, the idea of the brotherhood of all mankind. It was given to us many centuries ago in the Hebrew-Christian tradition — "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

(E)

We understand the historic conditions that gave rise to our present plight. However, those conditions long ago ceased to exist, although their effects endure.

Discrimination inevitably means lower living standards for those who discriminate as well as for those who are victims of discrimination. Although the South is one of the richest regions in the United States, the average citizen in a Southern State has an income forty per cent lower than that of a citizen in a non-Southern state.

Today we are bound by economic, political, and ethical demands to abolish segregation and discrimination against racial, religious, and national groups.

(F)

To bring American ideals and deeds into closer harmony, we offer the following proposals:

I. **FOR VOLUNTARY INDIVIDUAL ACTION:** To speak out against discrimination when it is confronted in a particular case; to guard against prejudice in thought, word, and deed; to cultivate the habit of thinking of all persons as individuals, rather than as members of a group.

II. **FOR VOLUNTARY GROUP ACTION:** (By educational, religious, fraternal, labor, business, professional, civic, and other groups.) To inform and educate their members as to present inequities and injustices, and to secure their consent and approval of changes in constitutions, by-laws and practices needed to establish these rights.

III. **FOR LEGISLATION:** (a. Repeal of existing laws in violation of these principles, notably all laws that force public distinction based on color, religion, or national origin.

(b.) Passage of new legislation at federal, State and local levels to serve as a shield to the civil rights of the citizens, including the rights outlined above.

Truman Holds To His Civil Rights Guns

(The Pittsburgh Courier Press Service)

KEY WEST, Fla. — President Harry S. Truman, consistently sticking by his civil rights guns, reaffirmed last week his intention to ask the Eighty-first Democratic Congress to pass his civil rights program.

In his first official press conference since he was re-elected to the Presidency, Mr. Truman told assembled reporters on the lawn of the Commandant's house at the Key West Naval Base that he would seek to carry out the Democratic party's platform to the best of his ability and that he would press Congress for civil rights legislation. The Democratic party platform was forthright on civil rights pledges. Poll tax, FEPC, anti-lynching and armed services equality were included in the platform commitments.

The man who engineered the inclusion of the strong plank on civil rights at the Democratic National Convention will be a junior Senator in the Eight-first Congress. He is Hubert Humphrey, Mayor of Minneapolis, who won a Senate seat held by Republican Joe Ball of Minnesota.

President Truman also told reporters that if he has his way, the Taft-Hartley Bill will be repealed. He said the technique for doing this had not been worked out.

Meanwhile, Senator Howard D. McGrath (D., R. I.), Democratic National Committee chairman, told reporters in a Washington press conference Thursday that the party leaders in Congress would move to revise the cloture rule and to halt filibusters.

Civil Rights

Editor Constitution: I was born in Bibb County. I have been in Georgia 36 of my 43 years. I have studied closely the civil rights program of President Truman. He advocates equality of opportunity in voting, education, health, housing, recreation, jobs and religion. At present, in the South such does not obtain among whites. It is worse among Negroes.

The Constitution of the United States, democracy, the Bible, Christianity and God support the civil rights position. Objecting may delay but time and justice will bring these rights into their own.

It would be better by far, since Democrats are so strong in the South, for Democrats to institute and accept the reform where the defect is more acute. Republican reformation from afar, though good, could be greatly improved by Democratic redemption here. This is the time for us to apply to our situation, "Let us in the South settle our problem."

Civil rights are here to stay. They were born in Europe amid the labor pains of tyranny and cruelty. They crossed the Atlantic on the Mayflower. They were created by Washington, substantiated by Jefferson, approved and improved by Lincoln. Any revolt against them is a revolt against America's foundation, the moral order of the universe, and God.

Says Races Already Mixed

It is difficult to understand how "Southerner" can conceive of civil-rights legislation as being a means of forcing whites and Negroes to marry each other. It is equally difficult to understand how anyone can sincerely endorse racial segregation and discrimination in the U. S. A.—a country that proclaims to the world that its basis is freedom and economic equality for each of its citizens.

To segregate any segment of U. S. citizens is an attempt to force the building of a civilization within a civilization. Failure to include all citizens in the mainstream of community organization ... is to weaken the "dominant civilization" and invite eventual destruction.

"Southerner" opposes marriage between whites and Negroes and probably endorses the legislation of those Southern States which makes it impossible to force the father of an illegitimate child to contribute to its support, and makes it a crime to place his name on the child's birth certificate. Was this legislation framed as a means of enabling the Negro man to evade the responsibility of parenthood or is the number of white men fathering children by Negro women the real explanation?

In view of the fact that inter-racial mixing in the South is going on behind a statute screen that is inconsistent with democratic ideals, Christianity, and plain decency, isn't it asinine reasoning that bolsters opposition to civil-rights legislation on the ground that it will cause inter-racial mixing?

Civil Rights Day

Congressman William L. Dawson Chairman of the National Citizens Committee for the Reelection of President Truman, has issued a nationwide call to churchgoers to rededicate themselves to the achievement of true democracy for all Americans. Mr. Dawson, in sending out the appeal, called upon ministers of all faiths to set aside one Sunday during the period September 12-26 as National Truman Civil Rights Day.

We do not think that it will be necessary for ministers to be told of the importance of cooperating in this gesture of respect to the able fight Mr. Truman is making for all Americans. Civil Rights is basic to the welfare and progress of any American. For the Negro minority, it is vital and absolutely essential. Freedom from fear, fear of the lynch-mob, fear of floggings, fear of injustice in the courts; freedom from want brought on by reason of color and race in the form of unequal pay for equal work, together with other freedoms, to secure these rights Negroes themselves must strike the first blow for their individual freedom.

Thus, while Mr. Truman may not know of our interest on this special day, Negroes owe it to their own people to set apart one day when they can take out time to honor the service of a man so courageous as Mr. Truman. We need more men like him. The way to encourage others is to show appreciation for what our friends are doing now.

CHAMPIONS CIVIL RIGHTS

In Detroit, Motor City of America, members of the United Automobile Workers, (CIO) took a firm and definite stand in favor of President Truman's Civil Rights Plank in the Democratic platform. In districts and states where UAW-CIO has larger memberships the powerful workers organization asked 97 Representatives and 40 Senators to STAND UP AND BE COUNTED AND DEMANDED PASSAGE OF THE FOLLOWING LEGISLATION NOW PENDING IN CONGRESS.

1. Effective anti-inflation legislation, including price control.
2. The TAFT-ELLENDER-WAGNER HOUSING Bill
3. Federal Aid to Education, including the Labor Extension Service.
4. CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION, INCLUDING FEPC.
5. At least 75 cents minimum wage immediately.
6. Extension of Social Security coverage and liberalization of benefits.
7. Adequate funds for the extension of public power generation and distribution.
8. An adequate and decent Displaced Persons Law to replace that Anti-Semitic, Anti-Catholic law already passed.

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The Case Of Mrs. Smith: I

BY JOSEPH AND STEWART ALSOP

MRS. ANN SMITH, a former clerk-stenographer for the U. S. Navy in the Canal Zone, is not herself an important political figure. But what has happened to her and the way in which it happened is important—deeply important—in these times.

Mrs. Smith (which is not her real name) is a personable young woman in her late 20s, a Phi Beta Kappa from the University of Southern California, mildly liberal, mildly intellectual, mildly interested in the problem of race relations. After an unhappy marriage in California which ended in divorce, she took a job in 1945 in the Panama Canal Zone as a Navy clerk.

Her interest in the race question was partly responsible for her also taking on a part-time job teaching English after working hours at the University of Panama. She had received permission to do so. But the classes she taught were largely colored, and racial feeling in the Canal Zone runs high. There were certainly those in authority who frowned on Mrs. Smith's after-hours' work and on her tolerant racial views.

* * *

An 'Interrogatory'

WHETHER THIS HAD something to do with her subsequent experiences, no one knows. At any rate, in 1947, she met Petty Officer Robert Brown, and they decided to marry. Brown applied for permission to marry from his commanding officer, Adm. J. F. Shafroth. Then the blow fell. Permission was refused, on the grounds that the intended bride was suspected of disloyalty to the United States.

This was in August, 1947. In September, Brown's locker was searched in his presence, his personal papers were read, and a copy of "Generation of Vipers," a rather dull but by no means Marxist book by Philip Wylie, was confiscated.

Nothing more happened until January. Despite repeated requests for a decision, permission for Brown to marry Mrs. Smith was still withheld. Then, on Jan. 30 of this year, Mrs. Smith was presented with an "interrogatory," consisting of some 21 questions.

Some of these questions are routine, others are peculiarly interesting. Mrs. Smith was asked whether she read, among other publications, "The New Republic"; whether she was acquainted with "persons you know to be connected with labor activities and labor leadership in the Canal Zone"; whether she had "exchanged views on political, governmental, or international subjects with persons connected with the University of Panama"; and whether she had in her possession "books or literature concerning the government of the U. S. S. R."

The implication of such questions is both clear and shocking: It is simply that any one capable of intellectual curiosity is automatically suspect. If this is to become an accepted principle of American government, it is a chilling prospect. At any rate, Mrs. Smith admitted only that she had once subscribed to "In Fact" some years previously, and that she had occasionally leafed through a copy of "The New Republic." On every other score, she protested her innocence.

* * *

More Questions

A SECOND CATEGORY of questions concerned Mrs. Smith's acquaintanceship with four individuals. One was a Negro minister in California. Mrs. Smith had, she said, never heard of him, although it is difficult to see how it would have mattered if she had, since the minister is an anti-Wallace Democrat and a delegate to the recent Democratic convention. The second individual was a woman who had been active in radical student movements in California, in the '30s, while Mrs. Smith was going to college. Mrs. Smith asserted flatly that she had never heard of this woman either.

She had known the third individual, though only briefly. On a vacation in Guatemala, she had been assigned to share a hotel table with him and his wife for three meals. More than a year before the date of the "interrogatory" he had sent her some newspapers clippings and a copy of "PM." As for the fourth individual, a woman who lived in the Canal Zone, she and Mrs. Smith had both attended a luncheon given in Balboa by the Unitarian Church, which Mrs. Smith attended regularly. But Mrs. Smith had not, to the best of her knowledge, been introduced to this woman and she did not know her.

Having answered the "interrogatory" frankly and fully, Mrs. Smith felt certain that the whole troublesome business would at last be cleared up, and that Brown would be allowed to marry her. Then, on March 17, she received a memorandum from Capt. W. F. Weidner, U. S. N. The memorandum, citing no evidence to that effect, bluntly charged her with having lied consistently in her answers to the "interrogatory," and with disloyalty to the United States.

The case of Mrs. Smith would not, perhaps, be worth reporting if these were different times, or if hers were an isolated case. But these are times in which traditional American liberties are closely threatened. And, as will be shown later, what happened to Mrs. Smith in the Canal Zone has happened to too many others elsewhere. In the year, 1948, it is the plain and necessary duty of the American government to protect itself from attack from within. But a great deal, a very great deal, depends on the way in which this is done. Therefore a second report in this space will shortly be devoted to describing Mrs. Smith's subsequent history.—©.

WHY?

Editor Constitution: The unwritten social contact which for 80 odd years has preserved certain inequalities in the agrarian South is based on the idea that a great civilization is entitled to die gradually if in the meantime it submits to economic exploitation.

Evidently the industrial East will now abrogate this working arrangement by enforcing the 14th (Civil Rights) Amendment to the United States Constitution.

Why did the East wait so long to enforce the Constitution in the alleged interest of human dignity and liberty? Was it because the South's needed resources have been exhausted by the spoilers and now, industrialized, has become the competitor of Eastern capital and labor? Or is it because ever-increasing Federal income taxes have made sectional economic imperialism unprofitable?

Notes on Civil Rights

In a hideous week of witch hunting in Washington a couple of cheering news items on civil rights came along.

Over in New Jersey John Colier, the 28-year-old refugee from a chain gang in South Carolina, went free after 27 months in jail. His jail term amounted to protective custody from extradition to what he said would be "certain death." It was Eleanor Morehead of this paper whose stories brought to public attention as charges the chain gang brutalities from which Colier fled in 1937 after serving ten months of a 19-month sentence for petty larceny.

As a result of Miss Morehead's disclosures The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the American Civil Liberties Union, the Newark Baptist Ministers Conference and other groups got interested in Colier's case. Our Miss Morehead went south and conducted her own investigation which in turn resulted in a grand jury investigation at Greenwood, S. C. At the extradition hearing in New Jersey, Miss Morehead's findings were strong evidence, backed with affidavits. New Jersey weighed, in Governor Driscoll's words, "the demands of justice against the demands of the principle of comity between the states," and freed Colier.

All this plus court tests of New Jersey's original refusal to grant extradition, took the 27 months that Colier spent in jail, much of the time as a trustee. And all this was told in the *Star's* news story yesterday.

Why do we tell it again? Oh, just to remind readers that the state which produces a Parnell Thomas and his methods also can produce a Driscoll, and before him an Edge; men with whose conservatism we might disagree, but men whose decent respect to the opinions of mankind, to judicial processes, and to the protection of civil rights of one who even has fallen by the wayside, is refreshing. We commend the example to Thomas, his fellow Jerseyite Representative Hartley, and to all the Thomases, Hartleys, Mundts and their ilk everywhere.

Drop Program And Get Dixie, Truman Told

McCorvey Says Votes Available If 'Rights' Plan Junked

MOBILE, ALA., Oct. 9 — (AP) — President Truman could still win a substantial number of Southern Democratic electoral votes if he would renounce his civil rights program.

State Party Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey today set that price in giving a four-point program by which he said Truman could regain support of rebellious States' Rights Democrats.

The president would be "surprised at the number of electoral votes he could regain in the South" if he took a stand against the civil rights program which he already has submitted to Congress, McCorvey asserted.

Letter To Editor

McCorvey outlined the program in a letter to the editor of the Roanoke, Ala., Leader, defending his recent proposal that Southern Democrats make a deal with Republican Party leaders.

McCorvey had suggested that States' Righters help elect Gov. Thomas E. Dewey president, "in exchange for a GOP pledge not to enact civil rights legislation during the next four years.

"I refer to the 'next four years' because I am absolutely convinced that four years from now we will have the national conventions of all political parties wooing and courting the South," he said.

"I am sure that four years hence none of the platforms of the major political parties will propose such unconstitutional and anti-Southern planks as those contained in the platforms of the several parties at the recent Philadelphia conventions, and I would not be. at all, surprise to see all of these platforms contain a strong States' Rights plank," he declared.

The South would be much better off with the Republicans in power "with the kind of assurances I have suggested," than to have Truman serving as president "with his determination to practically wreck our civilization," McCorvey stated.

States Rights Backed

Meanwhile Ben Bloodworth of Decatur joined two other Alabama Democratic elector nominees in asserting he will vote the Thurmond - Wright presidential ticket in the Electoral College Dec. 14. He notified McCorvey by telegram of his intentions.

Their announcements followed a hint by Gov. James E. Folsom that he might seek court action to force Alabama's 11 Democratic elector nominees, now all pledged to the State's Rights Democratic ticket, to vote for Truman for president if they are elected.

Did Pres. Truman Really Say This?

MOBILE, Ala.—President Truman has been accused of using his civil rights program as a purely political expediency in order to insure re-election. The charge was made here by Congressman Frank W. Boykin (D., Ala.,) before the [illegible] Club.

According to the Alabama Congressman, President Truman made a statement to him during a visit which Boykin had made to the President recently. In that statement, Boykin quoted Mr. Truman as saying that he himself didn't believe in his civil rights program, but that it had to be used for political victory.

Reportedly quoting the President, Boykin said Mr. Truman told him:

"Frank, I don't believe in this civil rights program any more than you do, but we have got to have it to win."

Reporters in Key West, Fla., questioning White House Press Secretary Charles G. Ross were told that Mr. Truman had no comment to make on what Boykin had attributed to him. The President was in the midst of a vacation at the Little White House.

A Southerner On Civil Rights

The current issue of The Southern Patriot carries an illuminating account of an address made by Dr. W. Patrick Donnelly, President of Spring Hill College, Mobile, Alabama, in which he calls upon the South to step out of the way of progress and help America to complete the unfinished business of Democracy to all of its people.

"The free and secret ballot" for all is a minimum and maximum requirement of democracy. The president's address, delivered to the graduating class, said:

"Let us look at what has been called the unfinished business in democracy in the southland. The focal point of political discussion in the South today is the question of civil rights. From what I can gather, a great clamor is being made against the extension of civil rights to Negro citizens in the South, mainly by the politicians and the press.

"It seems to be that they are answered by a conspiracy of silence. Is there nothing to be said on the other side—and by southerners? Democracy, I tell you is sick when only one side of a question is aired; it is dead when rights claimed by one citizen are denied to another.....

Concluding he says: "This is at once the sword and shield of human rights. The free and secret ballot-unencumbered and unrestricted by poll tax or any other anti-democratic device—the ballot freely granted and intelligently used by all citizens—and I mean all citizens—is both the maximum and the minimum requirments of democracy."

"That, at some length, is what a southerner believes should be the attitude of the southland on civil rights. And he is convinced that the clamor for state rights should not be used as a screen for denying to any group human rights.

This is the answer to both the politicians and to some of the daily papers which argue, without logic, that the South is not opposed to civil rights for Negroes, that what it opposes is the method. The proof against this flimsy defense is the fact that the South has never yet proposed a conference to advance the cause of the Negro in any instance nor has it sought the views of Negro leaders as to what is best for their people. To the contrary, it has called numerous meetings such as the Southern Governors meet to find ways and means by which the laws can be circumvented.

Fooling White Folks, Again

A Valdosta, Ga., minister, Rev. N. T. Tinsley, pastor of Carter's Temple CME church, needs some money with which to lift a mortgage from his church. So he and an agent in his church addressed an appeal to the "good white friends" to help them pay off this martgage and some other 'floating obligations" which now hang over the church. And the minister figures the easiest and quickest way to get the needed funds is to appeal to the weakest point of his white friends which currently is the fight over civil rights for Negroes.

Rev. Tinsley's letter, which is nothing more than a jumble of words, condemns the civil rights program advocated by Mr. Truman and supported by "false leaders" which is contrary to the fundamental principles of democracy as advocated by Thomas Jefferson. The letter then reaches its lowest depths when it advise the white folks that: "Slavery was a blessing to the Negro, and that the southern white man was the Negro's best friend."

We deal at some length with this strange letter from Rev. Tinsley, which was published in The Valdosta Times, not because Negroes would be misled by it, but mainly to show to what extremes some small handful of our rural ministers will go to get money for the upkeep of their churches. The great pity of it all is that some white people will believe in such a man, although more and more white people are beginning to peep the hand of these unworthy representatives of the people.

If we did not know Bishop Bell so thoroughly and believe in him so sincerely, we would be inclined to say some rough things about Rev. Mr. Tinsley, who is a disgrace both to the great church he professes to represent to his bishop and to the Negroes of Valdosta. What he and other such leaders in the pulpit need most, is not money to get a mortgage off his church, but a nice job in a factory or on some farm, where he can go to work and earn an honest living and stop trying to fool white people and mislead the colored. For it is extremely doubtful that he or his kind can make any contribution to the Kingdom of God, when they do not even know the truth of the Bible or the Christ they profess to preach.

Slavery is a great moral wrong and the Bible from which Rev. Tinsley preaches, says so in eloquent language. Jesus drove the Money Changers from the Temple because He deeply resented the moral hurt and harm being done to the common people. Amos, the Prophet, preached eloquently against the social injustice of his times. Christ commanded Moese to go into Egypt and warn Pharoah to let his people out of slavery and bondage. None of these great truths can impress a minister like Rev. Tinsley. And because of it he should be some place else than the pulpit, from whose tower the lowly colored masses are looking for honest and intelligent leadership.

Words Of Wisdom

In view of the blind sectionalism with which most southerners approach the broad question of human justice as it appears to Negroes, it becomes a bit refreshing to listen to a voice of one, who himself is a southerner to the manner born, prescribes a different cure for problems, affecting civil justice. Georgia's former Governor, E. D. Rivers, speaking in Omaha, Nebraska this week, sees no hope in solving the urgent question of civil rights by leaving it to local communities, as so many southerners are prone to suggest.

The issue, said Mr. Rivers, "should be immediately met and mastered on an equitable national basis. Overwhelmingly the South," in its almost 3 to 1 vote for Truman, "rejected the idea of dealing with civil rights issue on a sectional basis," he contends properly. Mr. Rivers, no honest southerner could suspect of any ulterior motive with Negroes, sees a positive danger in leaving this issue to the hotheads of both races to solve. In that he scores a very vital point, it seems to us when he said:

This issue should not be permitted to hang fire and to gravitate completely and irrevocably into the hands of hotheads, North and South." More and more, we hope, such proposals. Witness the opposition to civil rights by southerners will be honest and frank enough to admit the politicians question of constitutional justice and equality for the Negro cannot be met completely out of background devastated by passion and belief as is the southern background. It goes back so far and so deep that it will require years and years yet before any straight, honest and forthright thinking can be done in this direction. Ways the South has failed to deal

In a number of lesser ways in a number of lesser ways the South has failed to deal fairly and honestly with the Negro. It has made no serious efforts to extend the franchise to the Negro but is fighting strenously to deny him that constitutional privilege. It has maintained a double pay standard for Negro and white on the public payroll for years on top of years and continues to resist a Christian interpretation in this area. It has not moved a finger to reduce the inequalities between facilities granted to white pupils over those to Negro children. In short, the South goes on and on in the rut of inequalities, injustice and double-standards for its white and Negro citizens until some one proposes steps by which these should be eliminated, and at once they shout down

MEET:- THE FIGHTING MAYOR OF MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

Here's Hubert Humphrey Who Led Fight for Stronger Civil Rights Program at Recent Democratic Convention. He Pushed Through FEPC In His Own City and It Has Helped Him Prove Prejudices Disappear When People Are Able to Work, Live and Play Together Without Restrictions.

by CARL T. ROWAN

SEVERAL years ago, when American business lay prostrate under the onslaught of depression, when hunger and poverty held sway across the nation, a young white American rose from the ranks of the WPA to proclaim his belief in the equality of men.

Jobs in Minnesota, as across the nation, were becoming more scarce. Even the WPA was to lay off workers.

Nobody wanted the task of telling men whose families already were in need that they no longer had jobs. To "simplify" the matter it was decided to lay off an entire unit of colored workers.

He Spoke Up

But Hubert Horatio Humphrey, then unheard of in politics, stepped forth to protest such a move, to point out the unfairness of it.

He stood to lose his job — he had worked hard and become assistant regional director of WPA — but, as those who tell the story say, "There was a principle involved," and Humphrey held fast.

In the recent Democratic convention there was another case of principle, the principle of human equality.

There the battle of human rights versus States' rights was fought, and in the vanguard, crying that "There are some principles on which I can not compromise," was Hubert Horatio Humphrey.

He asked the Democratic Party to "get out of the shadow of States' rights and walk forthrightly in the bright sunshine of human rights."

When the convention's delegates rallied behind the 37-year-old, quick-tongued leader of Minnesota's Democratic-Farmer-Labor party, nobody in Minneapolis was surprised. Humphrey is mayor of Minneapolis, the nation's 16th largest city with a population in excess of 500,000.

Here's 37-year-old Hubert H. Humphrey, mayor of Minneapolis, Minn., who doesn't mind stepping on people's toes in fighting for civil and human rights. He campaigned for an FEPC ordinance in his town and won the election by a 31,000 majority.

At present he is an announced candidate for the senate seat of Republican Joe Ball. Still, many Republicans will admit that he is "one of the best mayors Minneapolis ever had."

Humphrey has done much to promote tolerance and human understanding in a city described by Carey McWilliams as "the capital of anti-Semitism."

Must Step on Toes

Running for mayor in 1945 after losing in 1943 by about 5,000 votes, he campaigned strongly on civil rights issues. "You don't get anywhere by not stepping on people's toes," he said, and he really let go.

Humphrey hammered on the issue of an FEPC ordinance to such an extent that colored leaders feared he would talk himself into defeat, since FEPC was not too popular at the time.

"We know you're honest on the human rights question," they told him. "You've got all the colored vote, now soft-pedal this FEPC issue."

That night Humphrey made a radio speech and talked for 15 minutes on FEPC. He won the election with a 31,000 majority, and got his FEPC ordinance as well.

The colored vote wasn't a factor in the first place, for it was less than one per cent of the total vote.

Upon taking office in 1945, Humphrey established what is now his object of pride — his Human Relations Council. He appointed colored publisher Cecil Newman to this council and set the group busy tearing down barriers of prejudice and discrimination.

In cleaning up areas of vice and corruption he established a policy of having a colored and a white policeman travel together.

A school was also set up in which policemen were instructed about interracial matters. Crime and vice almost disappeared and charges of police brutality to colored citizens vanished.

Despite the fact that only 6,500 colored persons lived in Minneapolis, he appointed colored members to three of his five other advisory committees.

FEPC Passed

In January of 1947, after much work by the mayor and his human relations group, the city council passed the FEPC ordinance.

The mayor persuaded George M. Jensen, a topflight business executive, to head the commission which has been exceedingly successful in smoothing out employment problems for minority groups.

Since the commission began work, at least six department stores have hired colored sales people.

Colored women have secured work in white beauty parlors, colored telephone girls have begun work, many colored men have begun work as street car conductors and motormen, along with many other jobs that were formerly closed to minority groups.

At times, in cases of discrimination in public places, the mayor has had to give personal attention.

There is the recent case of a cafe which gave the human relations group trouble in its treatment of colored patrons. Always, they were full, or all tables were reserved (although the cafe has never made reservations) when a colored person entered.

Mayor Humphrey learned about the cafe and invited Urban League Secretary Bill Seabron to lunch with him there. The cafe took the hint and provided courteous service.

Grew Up That Way

Ask Humphrey how he became such a champion of human rights and he answers that he simply grew up without prejudice. He has known colored people most of his life, and says that when Booker T. Washington made trips to South Dakota, where Humphrey formerly lived, he would stay overnight with Humphrey's father.

The mayor points to the many colored people who are his personal friends as one reason for his beliefs.

He points out quickly, however, that the fight for human rights is not primarily one for the rights of colored people. He believes that the fate of democracy for "all of America's minorities" is wrapped up in this fight for human freedom.

His hatred for Jim Crowism springs from his sincere belief that when people can work, study and live together, prejudices and hatreds will disappear.

Over his desk in city hall is a sort of document of his beliefs. Framed, and hanging alongside pictures of Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman, is "A Pledge for American Unity:"

Pledge for Unity

"1. I will spread no rumor and no slander against any sect.

"2. I will never try to indict a whole people by reason of the delinquency of any member.

"3. I will deal with every man in business, in social and political relations, only on the basis of his true individual worth.

"4. In my daily conduct I will consecrate myself, hour by hour, to the achievement of the highest ideal of the dignity of manknid, human equality, human fellowship and human brotherhood."

It was beneath that pledge that restless, energetic and likeable Hubert H. Humphrey sat reading the letters and telegrams praising his recent civil rights action.

Solemnly, he shook his head and said: "Man, this sure gives you a feeling of responsibility."

But the people don't seem to worry, for they know that Mayor Humphrey will put his own neck on the chopping block for the sake of a principle; and up until now the opposition hasn't found a political hatchet sharp enough to chop it off.

Huiet Stymies Civil Rights Indorsement

Georgia's Labor Commissioner Ben T. Huiet, led a successful fight in Washington yesterday to prevent the Labor Department's conference on State Labor Laws from indorsing President Truman's Civil Rights Program.

The conference rejected, by the close vote of 23 to 21, a resolution introduced by Harry Kranz, of Newark, representing the CIO Industrial Union Council of New Jersey.

Huiet led the opposition to the resolution, the Associated Press reported.

"Leave us alone," the Georgia Commissioner told the conference. "We'll treat the colored man right. He knows that. We know what we want."

While Huiet fought the resolution, another Atlantan favored it. Miss Lucy Mason, of the CIO, supported the resolution.

Only 44 of the 143 delegates were recorded on the civil rights issue, although the conference room was crowded for the final session addressed by former Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins.

The Conference earlier voted to seek a $1-an-hour minimum wage law in every State.

Methodist Women Support Civil Rights

Buck Hill Falls, Pa., Dec. 8 (U.P.). Methodist women are united in a program for world betterment and peace and the safeguarding of human freedoms, Thelma Stevens, Christian Social Relations executive secretary, told the annual meeting of the Methodist Church Board of Missions and Church Extensions today.

The four-year, seven-point program calls for activites by church women to strengthen the moral forces of the world, and to safeguard human freedoms by having recommendations of the presidential committee on civil rights enacted into law, she said.

H. Conwell Snoke, Philadelphia attorney, was named treasurer of the division of home missions and church extensions, succeeding Dr. William J. Elliott, 70, Philadelphia. Dr. Elliott, who served as treasurer for 30 years, reached the retirement age.

Dr. Ralph Diffendorfer, head of the division of foreign missions, told how Chinese Communists hamper or close churches in their areas of China.

Dr. Earl R. Brown of New York, executive secretary of home missions and church extension, told the 200 board members yesterday the Methodists must establish one new church a day for the next four years to keep pace with the population shift.

Claim 40,321 Churches

The Methodists today claim 40,321 churches in the United States and its territories with a total membership of 9,089,943.

Dr. Brown said a minimum of 1461 new churches must be established and built by the end of 1951.

"In short," he asserted in his annual report, "the Methodist Church in the United States and outpost missions is faced with the necessity of advancing or losing ground. Any failure to go forward is a backward journey."

Dr. Brown said many areas of the Nation's cities and nearby suburbs "are underchurched."

To solve this problem, he declared, Methodists must: 1. Establish at least a thousand new urban churches; 2. Lift all city churches to the minmum level of effective strength—500 members; 3, Double church-school enrollment.

SOUTHERNERS TO ASK TRUMAN 'TO GO SLOW'

Group Wants Him To Hold Fire On Civil Rights Until The Spring

By The United Press

WASHINGTON, Nov. 28.—A group of "moderate" Southern congressmen is prepared to ask Truman to hold fire on his controversial civil rights program until Spring, it was revealed Sunday.

They believe the Senate will be deadlocked for weeks if Mr. Truman asks the new Congress in January for immediate passage of antipoll tax and antilynching measures and a fair employment bill.

Thus far, discussions looking toward a possible compromise on the civil rights issue have been confined to a small group of younger legislators, including Senators J. William Fulbright (D., Ark.) and John Sparkman (D., Ala.). But there has been no encouragement from the White House. Mr. Truman is described as adamant that his election campaign promises—including those on civil rights—be pounded through the new Congress and quickly.

Breach Might Heal

Here is the line of thought being pursued by those working toward a compromise:

1. If Mr. Truman refrains from prodding Congress on civil rights for at least a few months, tempers will cool, the Democratic Party breach caused by States' Rights Democrats will heal, and Congress can do business as usual without a Southern filibuster threat.

2. Let the Administration settle for a constitutional amendment—requiring ratification by three-fourths of the states—banning poll taxes in Federal elections rather than insist on a "quick" remedy by Federal law. A good many senators would go along with the amendment process, but have said they will wage a bitter-end filibuster on a bill doing it by congressional action alone.

3. Confine application of anti-lynching legislation to those states which do not have "adequate" state laws punishing mob violence, or, on the other hand, draft the law on such broad terms that "gang slayings" in Northern States also would be subject to Federal intervention.

Objects To Sectionalism

4. Drop once and for all the most disputed feature of the entire civil rights program—Federal legislation to end racial bias in employment.

Fulbright said the civil rights issue must be taken out of the realm of sectionalism. Far too long he said, the South has been used as "a whipping boy" by Northern legislators who hail from states with far from perfect records in this field. He maintained that "much progress" has been made in the South, particularly in its schools, without goading from the Federal Government.

CIVIL RIGHTS PLAN FACING NEW DELAY

Sparkman Reveals a Southern Proposal for a National Survey of Problems of Minorities

By WILLIAM S. WHITE

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 24—The Senate's Southerners, facing in the new Congress a strengthened phalanx backing the Truman civil-rights program, are considering a new type of delaying action, without abandoning their ultimate weapon, the filibuster.

They are discussing a plan to try to seize an early initiative against the poll-tax repealer, the anti-lynching bill and the other items in the President's pattern, by proposing a national survey of the problems, social and economic, of all minority groups.

This was disclosed today by Senator John J. Sparkman of Alabama. He said that he had "about decided" to offer such a proposal by resolution. He added that "certain consultations" must be completed, presumably first among the Southern group.

There was nothing to indicate that such a plain would be acceptable to the Republicans and northern Democrats and it was rejected instantly, for example, by Senator Claude Pepper of Flordia. He represented President Truman as determined to exert all his prestige for early aid direct action. Mr. Pepper also asserted that the administration and the Democratic leaders could break any filibuster and thus had no need to settle for anything less than the full Truman program.

There likewise was nothing to suggest that another propesd solution, some sort of compromise, would find favor among the bipartisian majority. Such as possibility was again offered during the day, this time by Senator J. William Fulbright of Arkansas.

Mr. Sparkman told reporters that his proposed resolution would call for "an independent study," by a special Senate committee or by a Senate-House committee, "of the problems of minorities everywhere, and not simply in the South."

"Naturally the emphasis should be laid on the South, so far as the problems of the Negroes are concerned," he added. "Nevertheless, such a study would look into conditions in Harlem and the treatment there of the Puerto Ricans, for example.

"Coupled with all this should be an investigation of economic conditions of minorities, because for racial problem and the economic problem are so bound together as almost to be one."

Senator Sparkman contended that greater understanding of what already had been done for minorities, for the Negroes in the South, for example, might be found to justify alterations "in the whole civil rights program as it is presently offered."

At the same time, Senator Sparkman predicted that most Southern members of Congress would follow President Truman in nearly every other aspect of his legislative proposals.

"Some people make civil rights the only measure of liberalism," he continued. "It would be interesting to analyze the votes of the Southerners back over the Roosevelt and Truman years. Southern votes are responsible for the heart of the New Deal."

This indication of a drawing together between the President and the Southerners, if in fields apart from civil rights, was seen in yet another quarter during the day.

Senator Allen J. Ellender of Louisiana, after a call on the President, told reporters that he had informed Mr. Truman of the status of efforts to have the state's electoral vote cast for the Democratic ticket, even though Louisiana was carried by the States' Rights ticket.

"I am working," said Senator Ellender. "the make it unanimous."

No Ducking on Civil Rights

Sen. John Sparkman of Alabama, one of the ablest and most liberal of southern Democrats, is talking about a proposed investigation of racial tensions all over the country. Such an inquiry by the new Congress would be entirely appropriate were it not a delaying action that, by design or not, would postpone and eventually defeat enactment of President Truman's civil rights program. On this issue, the Democratic Party cannot afford a two-faced role.

All sorts of "compromises" have been suggested since the Dixiecrat rebellion was crushed and the Thurmond-Wright scheme to throw the election into the House of Representatives was defeated by the Truman triumph.

It is suggested that an anti-poll tax bill may be passed—but only in the form of a proposed constitutional amendment. It is suggested that Mr. Truman will "settle," in the long run, merely for an anti-lynching law. It is indicated that, above all, southern Democrats want no change in the Senate rules which now permit a small minority to filibuster to death any measure it bitterly opposes.

These suggestions completely miss the point. The Dixiecrats suffered defeat not only last November but also last July, when the Democratic convention overrode a report from the Resolutions Committee and deliberately strengthened an endorsement of Mr. Truman's civil rights proposals.

In handling the whole thorny subject of civil rights, a wise victor must use discretion. It already seems clear that Mr. Truman intends to leave any "purge" of Dixiecrat congressmen—even those who openly campaigned against him—to the people of their own states. But that's as far as the President needs to go in generosity toward those who were mangled while seeking his destruction.

The majority of this country's citizens no longer will subordinate the duty of securing ordinary human rights to sectional bias. Southern states which seek, either through poll taxes or other devices, to restrict the voting power of Negroes and poor whites, have had plenty of time to correct their errors. They can call their legislatures into session even now, if they wish, and forestall the need of congressional action. Unless they do, they cannot reasonably expect the majority to wait any longer, and if the only way to pass an anti-poll tax bill is through breaking a filibuster then the fight must be made.

Sen. Alben W. Barkley, who will be the new presiding officer of the Senate after next Jan. 20, did not agree with an interpretation of the rules made last year by Sen. Arthur H. Vandenberg, then presiding, which gave greater power to filibustering Senators than they deserved. Mr. Barkley, as Vice-President, can reverse the interpretation. Both Mr. Truman and Mr. Barkley openly pledged to revise the rules if they should retain Senate control.

COLLIER'S MUST BE KIDDING

Collier's Weekly has taken the wrong side in Dixie's revolt against President Truman's civil rights program.

In a recent editorial, it suggested that "the best way to solve what remains of the color problem is to go on just as we've been going since around 1870 . . . Don't saddle the Federal Government with a bunch of laws which it cannot enforce.

"In other words, let the South work out its color problems mostly on its own—which it is doing anyway, and we think will continue to do."

Such drivel could only have been written by Collier's errand boy while the editor was sick with spring fever.

Go back in memory to the 1870 period—when the civil rights act was declared unconstitutional by a rebel U. S. Supreme Court. Go back to the period of the Ku Klux Klan, lynchings, disfranchisement and all of the other Nazi-like exploitations of the South—and imagine a national weekly like Collier's advocating a return to these days!

As to the admonition not to saddle the government with laws that it cannot enforce, who said that the government can't enforce laws against lynching and against disfranchisement?

It is already enforcing them and Collier's should be informed enough to know that the reforms in the South since 1870 have come through decrees of the courts enforcing the Constitution and existing statutes.

How else could we have gotten equal schools, equal teachers' salaries in the South, service on juries and decent treatment in the courts?

If Collier's think that these have come about through the goodwill of the Southern white man, let Collier's explain the 35 victories of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People within the past ten years.

If we didn't let Hitler exploit the Jews on his own terms, and, if we do not propose to let Joe Stalin overrun Western Europe, is there any reason why we should permit Southerners to exploit the colored minority?

Does Collier's advocate one kind of democracy for the Jews, the Poles and the Czechs and another kind for colored people?

If the South, as Collier's says, has had its way since 1870, what is it now squawking about? As we interpret the so-called Southern revolt, the agitation is due to the fact that the thinking white people in America, Collier's to the contrary, will not permit the South to have its way.

A Good Half-Loaf of Civil Rights

SOME form of civil rights legislation will surely pass in the 81st Congress. Both the Republican and Democratic Parties are specifically pledged to such reforms in their 1948 platforms. The faction in the Democratic Party which insisted on a strong civil rights statement at Philadelphia, in place of a weak and guarded one, triumphed in the elections of November 2. Now it is up to Congress to act. As we debate this issue, the rest of the world will be looking over our shoulder.

This newspaper wants to see civil rights legislation pass which will meet three tests. Will it help Negroes and other minorities to attain their fundamental democratic rights, rather than merely to attack social distinctions between the races? Will it be enforceable? And will it improve our international position as a country that practices the democracy it preaches?

We do not believe all these tests were met by the blanket measure on civil rights which President TRUMAN proposed to the 80th Congress. There were four separate issues lumped together in that proposal—lynching, the poll tax, segregation, and fair employment practices. Only two can be handled satisfactorily in the present state of our national development, the lynching and poll tax issues. Public opinion has been built up to the point where a Federal anti-lynching and an anti-poll tax bill could be passed, and could also be enforced. These two issues should be detached from the general civil rights program, and that all friends of equality and justice in this country should concentrate their forces upon them.

Some will argue that anti-lynching legislation is not really needed now, since the South's lynch record has improved so notably in late years. But the recent killing of the Georgia Negro, ROBERT MALLARD, under mysterious circumstances, exposed all over again the farce of State control of such matters in the deep South. Georgia's Governor HERMAN TALMADGE made handsome statements about justice in the case, but the first concern of the Georgia Bureau of Investigation seemed to be exoneration of the Ku Klux Klan. It was not until public sentiment was aroused by the curious conduct of the case that a special grand jury indicted the two white men named by MALLARD'S widow as his slayers.

For the sake of our leadership of the democratic cause, we must enact a Federal statute against lynching. In the last session of Congress Senator FERGUSON worked out such a bill which satisfied sincere objections on constitutional grounds. It was a good bill before Senator EASTLAND of Mississippi insisted on pulling out the clause which provided penalties for communities in which lynchings take place. That provision should go back, and the FERGUSON Bill should be passed.

Long-time opponents of the poll tax want quick action in the new Congress. Their zeal is commendable, but if they insist on a head-on fight against the poll-tax members of Congress, we are doomed to another filibuster and a reign of renewed bitterness. The result can be better achieved by getting Congress to pass a constitutional amendment abolishing the poll tax. Southern opposition in Congress would collapse under this method. It might take two years or more for 36 States to ratify such an amendment, but their action would be sure. The slower course might actually prove the quicker in the long run.

We have stated how we felt before about the F.E.P.C. and segregation issues. From the standpoint of abstract morals, we can see no defense for segregation or for discrimination in jobs. Yet we believe that Federal legislation on these issues now would be unenforceable, and would provoke such bitterness as actually to harm the very people we want to help. The influential Catholic publication, *The Commonweal*, makes a sound point when it notes that Negroes in the South are insulted by the white habit of calling them always by first names, never by the title, Mr. or Mrs. "Yet who would propose attempting to eradicate this by law?" the publication asks. It is buried so deep in the unwritten code of custom that the long arm of law enforcement simply cannot reach it. The Supreme Court has dealt with the segregation issue in interstate commerce. Anti-segregation and fair employment laws just could not be enforced now within the Southern States.

Negro leaders would not be satisfied with Congressional action on merely two fronts, lynching and the poll tax. That is understandable, for the salt rubs every day afresh into the wounded pride of Negro Americans. Political agitators will demand the whole loaf and spurn the half. But those of us who genuinely want to improve the Negro's status as an American are concerned with results, not with gaudy displays of sympathy.

The 81st Congress would make social history in America if it outlawed lynching and the poll tax. Further reforms must come later, when public opinion has been developed by education to the point which now prevails on the poll tax and lynching issues. Remember that 10 years ago there would have been no possibility of getting action in Congress on those two fronts.

Solutions Proposed on Civil Rights Issue

Free Press Wire Services

WASHINGTON—Two ways of handling President Truman's civil rights program were suggested Wednesday—compromise and a comprehensive study of racial and economic problems throughout the United States.

Both suggestions came from Southern senators. Senator Fulbright (D., Ark.) said that a compromise of the touchy issue is "under discussion."

Senator Sparkman (D., Ala.) advocated the survey, which he said should be an unbiased study not limited to Negro conditions in the South.

* * *

SPARKMAN SAID he is considering introducing a resolution in the new Congress for the inquiry, framing it so a spotlight could be thrown on every section of the nation where there are racial problems. He mentioned, among others, the Puerto Ricans and Negroes in New York City, and the Mexicans in California.

Delay or not, Sparkman said, "I don't see any use in hurrying into the question."

Fulbright told a reporter he believes a fair legislative compromise can be worked out on such controversial parts of the civil rights program as anti-lynching legislation and prohibition of the poll tax.

Truman Is Firm On Civil Rights, Russell Declares

LANETT, ALA., Dec. 1.—(AP)—Senator Richard B. Russell (D), Georgia, said today "those who are hoping President Truman will not press for the legislation he advocated during the campaign are building their hopes upon the sand."

Speaking at a joint meeting of civic clubs of Lanett and West Point Ga., the Georgia senator said the only way to defeat the civil rights program in the 81st Congress is by convincing the people of the United States that such a program would in the end destroy our system of government.

"The minority pressure groups of the nation are supporting the program," Russell said, "because they know enactment would be a step further in the direction of state ownership and control.

The senator said the proposed federal anti-lynching law is an insult to the South, the FEPC bill "is neither fair nor conducive to more employment," and the anti-poll tax

Russell Pledges Fight On Civil Rights Planks

(Picture on Page 2)

By ALBERT RILEY

Sen. Russell declared here last night that certain planks of the victorious Democratic Party's Philadelphia platform "will be resisted to the utmost," as he reaffirmed his belief in the principle of States' rights.

In an obvious reference to the so-called Civil Rights Program, Russell said that "to have the Federal Government destroy the right of association is unthinkable."

Adressing the Atlanta Lawyers' Club, the Georgia Senator declared that "indestructible States are necessary to constitute an indestructible Union," as he warned that "every people who have lost their liberty have lost their election privileges to a central government."

Despite President Truman's victory, Sen. Russell forthrightly reiterated his opposition to parts of the Party platform and said he has "an abiding faith that it is a temporary thing, and that the Democratic Party will not forget the principles of Thomas Jefferson."

Cloaked under an "attractive label," the Civil Rights Program is one "taking away rights," he declared, as he termed the FEPC a "monstrosity."

He defended the South's record in handling a racial problem "we have lived with" as one worthy of "commendation instead of condemnation."

The Senator predicted that no punitive measures will be taken against the Dixiecrats, (a group he refused to join), because the Democratic Party "does not have the power to go off on a political paddling expedition."

Frankly admitting his opposition to segments of the Party leadership, Russell declared that he was "as mad as anyone else" about the Philadelphia platform, but that "I refused to be driven from the house of my fathers."

In another phase of an amazingly outspoken address, Russell dared to take a slap at the Supreme Court of the United States as he said he thought the Court has "undertaken to function as a legislative body."

He added facetiously that if he were practicing law today, he probably would have to subscribe to every newspaper and listen to every radio newscast to keep up with precedents set up by the Supreme Court.

On international affairs, the Senator said the people of the United States have been "sadly disillusioned" in their quest for world peace and have found "the word of great nations valueless," but he added that "I hope the American people will not lose faith in the United Nations.

"Despite its infirmities, the UN "still represents the one last hope of mankind to avert war," he asserted. "Billions must be spent, however, for defense and to bolster our allies," he declared, "lest they fall and we become a small island of Democracy in a raging sea of Communism."

"We must maintain our Army and Navy until we know this crisis is ended," he warned, "and you must maintain your interest in the United Nations and see that the maintain their interest until we can pierce the Iron Curtain and convince the Russian people that we are not an imperialistic nation.

"I believe the average Russian yearns for peace, and if we can get our story across to them, not even the Politboro nor the OGPU could get the Russians into a war with us."

Barkley Likely To Spur Rights Mob Law by Ruling

By Robert C. Albright
Post Reporter

A new set of teeth for the Senate's nearly defunct cloture rule, opening the way for passage of at least part of the President's civil rights program, became a distinct probability yesterday.

Administration proponents of civil rights legislation, exploring means of enacting the program, disclosed that a simple ruling from the Senate chair may clear the way.

The ruling, shortening the life-span of future filibusters, would be up to the Senate's new presiding officer—Vice President-elect Alben W. Barkley—a civil rights advocate.

All Barkley needs to do, some of his colleagues said, is reverse an earlier ruling by his predecessor in the chair, Senate President Arthur H. Vandenberg (R., Mich.), with whom Barkley took issue at the time.

Vandenberg ruled on August 2, 1948, that cloture procedure (shutting off filibusters), cannot be used to stop debate on a motion to call up a bill.

As a result of the ruling, which Vandenberg said was in line with his unbiased "best judgment and honest reflection of what the Senate rules require," Southern Senators won their last filibuster against antipoll tax legislation.

Vandenberg went further and found that "the Senate has no effective cloture rule at all."

Barkley, however, took a diametrically opposite stand in debate leading up to the ruling. The Kentucky Democrat, who, starting January 20, will have the power to place his own construction on Senate rules, told the Senate:

"I have not any doubt that when the Senate adopted Rule 22 (cloture) it intended to make it possible for the Senate to bring to a termination debate upon any matter before it."

Barkley has never intimated just how he will rule when the cloture issue again comes before the Senate but an associate said:

"If he follows his arguments on record in the Senate, I do not see how he can do otherwise than reverse Senator Vandenberg's ruling."

It was learned that the Vice President elect plans informal talks with Southern Senators, before he succeeds Vandenberg on the rostrum, in an effort to work out some amicable settlement.

He has long favored changes in the cloture rule to make it possible for something less than two-thirds of the Senate to bring any matter to a vote.

Failing an agreement Senate action tightening the rule—a step the Senate Republican leadership already is committed to—Barkley still has the power to strengthen the rule by interpretation.

Issue Tested Last August

An associate, who has worked with him in past parliamentary bouts, told newsmen he thought cloture procedure would be tightened "one way or the other."

The issues was last tested in the Senate on August 2, when 22 Senators, led by Acting Republican Leader Kenneth S. Wherry (Nebr.), signed a cloture petition.

Southern Senators, led by Senator Richard B. Russell (D., Ga.), had been filibustering a motion to call up the House-passed anti-poll tax bill.

Russell promptly made a point or order against the cloture petition. The Georgian argued that Rule 22 (cloture) was directed only at debate on a "pending measure." He contended a motion to call up a bill was not a measure within the meaning of the rule and "certainly it could not be a pending measure."

Barkley opposed the point of order. He argued a motion was a measure, within the meaning of the rule.

"I do believe that when the Senate adopted this rule it adopted it with the view and the intention and the conviction that it could bring any matter to a conclusion by the adoption of cloture," said Barkley.

"Since it was adopted, devices have been discovered and utilized by which the effectiveness of the rule is nullified . . . The object of the rule is to bring to a conclusion a discussion upon a pending matter and if we cannot bring it to a conclusion upon the prelminary motions which may be regarded as measures toward that end, then the effectiveness of the rule is completely destroyed and the object of those who wrote it and adopted it has been completely defeated."

Rules Meant to Help

Barkley went on to say that "in any parliamentary assembly the object of rules is to facilitate the transaction of business and not unduly to obstruct it."

He concluded:

"Having in mind the obvious intention of the framers of this rule and of the Senate when it adopted it, and the definition (Webster's) which is applicable, in my judgment, it seems to me that it is proper procedure to file the (cloture) petition at this time."

Associates said that if Barkley rules from the chair, as he thus argued on the floor, it will be possible to bring the President's "civil rights program to a vote with even the present loose cloture rule.

Under Vandenberg's interpretation of the rule, however, the attempt would be futile.

Ruled Vandenberg:

"From the debate on the question of the adoption of the rule it would clearly appear to the chair that it was a bill, a specific act, which was contemplated to be the 'pending measure' . . .

"No reference appears anywhere in the debate that it was the intention or purpose to bring within the scope of the rule a motion to proceed to the consideration of a bill . . ."

"The fact is," concluded Vandenberg, "that the existing Senate rules regarding cloture do not provide effective cloture. They still leave the Senate, rightly or wrongly, at the mercy of unlimited debate ad infinitum . . ."

ASKS RADIO TIME TO ANSWER SOUTHERNERS

NEW YORK, March 18—Radio time to answer the attack on civil rights by southern senators was requested today by Walter White, secretary of the NAACP, in a telegram to the Mutual Broadcasting Company.

Mutual has granted four one-half hour periods to a group of southern senators to express their views on the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. The report has been dramatized and broadcast over the Mutual network.

"The rules of the Federal Communications Commission requiring radio stations to give equivalent time to answer partisan political statements or attacks do not cover the granting of equivalent time to attack an official government document which Mutual has so ably presented on the Air," Mr. White contended The NAACP, he said, "assumes that statements by southern senators constitute a de novo political presentation for which equivalent time to answer should be allotted."

The NAACP secretary offered to submit a list of church, labor and civic organizations to be invited to participate in a program in opposition to lynching, disfranchisement and discrimination and in support of the President's program of civil rights.

Citizens Rally On Local Issues At Y.

A call has been issued by the Civil Rights Committee of the local NAACP to more than one hundred organizations and citizens to meet at the Pine Street YMCA July 16, at 8:00 p.m. The meeting will be to consider the Civil Rights Ordinance and the Slum Clearance Bond issue which will be voted on in the August primary.

According to Joseph W. B. Clark, chairman of the NAACP Civil Rights Committee, the purpose of the citizens meeting Friday is to ascertain the general opinion and relative position of the various groups and individuals on the important matters affecting public life in order to set up a plan of unified action.

The Civil Rights Ordinance instigated by Alderman Sidney R. Redmond and introduced into the Board of Aldermen by Redmond and Alderman Walter Lowe and Alderman Jasper C. Caston. It would make for $16,000,000 to clear the area roughly between 12th boulevard and Grand avenue and Olive street and Market street. It calls for a number of modern multiple dwelling buildings in sections of it is understood they white residents. Some groes compose about of the dwellers in the ed for the project.

The Slum Clearance Bond calls 98 per cent of the area marked for violations.

SPEAKS IN ATLANTA

Negro Editor Hits Race Superiority 'Fiction'

By BEM PRICE

ATLANTA, Feb. 28—(AP)—A Negro newspaper editor, speaking in the heart of the "white supremacy" belt, said last night the time has come to end the fiction of race superiority.

P. L. Prattis of the Pittsburgh Courier told a mixed, but predominantly Negro, audience of about 1,500, "it is the duty of the Negro to keep on fighting for his rights."

Pratts and editor Ralph McGill of the Atlanta Constitution appeared in an open forum on civil rights sponsored by the Southern Regional Council and the student-faculty conference on civil rights of Atlanta university.

While Prattis said passage of President Truman's recommendations on civil rights was necessary to implement the provisions of the Constitution, McGill raised the question "how?"

The forum last night was the climax of an all-day session by the southern council on the subject of civil rights.

At the day session, about 300 educators, church, labor and civic leaders forged a series of resolutions on President Truman's proposals.

These Southerners who came from 11 states and 72 towns set forth opposition to segregation in education and the proposed establishment of regional schools for Negroes by the various southern states.

The objection to the regional schools was on the ground that "it would perpetuate the present pattern of segregation."

Additionally, the resolution recommended instruction in tolerance beginning in grade schools, enactment of the FEPC, an end to "loyalty" investigations by the government, abolition of the poll tax and other vote barriers, jury service for all, and establishment of professional police forces to end police brutality.

McGill, Prattis Highlight Panel

By MARION E. JACKSON

Six widely diverse speakers tackled the highly controversial question of civil rights Friday evening at a forum held in Sisters Chapel Spelman College. The theme of the discussion was "New perspectives on Civil Rights" and the program highlighted the All-Atlanta Student-Faculty Conference on Civil Rights sponsored by the Regional Council and the Atlanta University Center Project.

Dr. Ira De A. Reid, presided over the forum which presented Ralph McGill, Atlanta Constitution. P. L. Prattis, Pittsburgh Courier A. Abbot Rosen, Civil Rights Section, Department of Justice. Boris Shiskin, American Federation of Labor, Mrs. M. E. Tilly, member, President's Committee on Civil Rights, and A. T. Walden, Legal Committee, NAACP.

Mrs. M. E. Tilly opened the discussion by telling of the work of the President's Committee on Civil Rights and how the Committee worked 10 months before perfecting the report. She emphasized how particular attention was paid to Section 51-52 of the U. S. Code.

DOUBTS PROCEDURE

Ralph McGill, Executive Editor of the Constitution told the audience that he was not there "to say what I think, but to try and interpret the political South and why it opposes the Federal legislation now proposed."

He told the forum "I seriously doubt some of the wisdom of the legislation proposed. Too few fail to realize that we are caught in a world revolution of thought and politics."

He insisted "that the same forces that set India free have induced bloodshed and violence of the most serious nature."

"The Core of the South's political mind," Editor McGill said, "is the theory that if segregation was abolished its institutions would be overrun."

Insisting that lynching was no longer a problem McGill cited that "of all the crimes in the past 20 years that of lynching is the only one that has materially decreased." He cited Walter White's testimony before a Congressional Committee in which White alleged "lynching has gone underground" Federal lynching laws according to McGill would transfer" trials from the county courts to the federal courts."

Blasting the President's civil rights measure McGill stated that "the core of opposition to the measure was not a Tobacco Road opposition but the substantial opposition."

"It is time for the South to forget its anger, its emotions and initiate some of the things advocated by a Southern Interracial organ."

"FEPC is unconstitutional. It violates employers civil rights. Federal legislation can not enforce laws in those fields. "The South should not give away to passions and irresponsible opinions, but should let its reforms come in the way they should, and not from above."

CIVIL RIGHTS BASIC

Editor Prattis told the audience "Civil rights are the human rights every man, woman and child is demanding. There are new attitudes in race relations everywhere but in South Africa and the South."

"There are new styles in race relations. New styles in human relations."

"The United States can no longer call for free elections in Bulgaria, when it can't guarantee free elections for South Carolinians and Georgians."

"President Truman's civil rights program is not a political gesture, but an answer to the world."

"The President is trying to put this nation on the side of Democracy rather than hypocrisy."

A. Abbott Rosen discussed the Department of Justice's effort to implement civil rights through legislation strengthening Section 51 and 52 of the U. S. Code.

Boris Shiskin Said "FEPC is a basic moral issue upon which our whole moral fibre depends."

Attorney A. T. Walden discussed the NAACP's attitude on civil rights legislation.

The Civil Rights Bugaboo

To the Editor of The News-Age-Herald:

Why is the matter of civil rights such a bugaboo to the South? Is it because the South wishes to continue to look the other way when the rights of the Negro as a human being are at stake or in the balance? We are forever talking about how we fought for democracy in practically every war, but when it comes to putting that for which we fought into practice the South will have none of it. A writer in this column just a few days ago said: "The South has been aroused by President Truman's speech to Congress, as "any sensible and thinking person would know." The South is aroused, but I fear from the tone of the remainder of the article that the writer would have the South aroused in the wrong manner.

Let us hope that the South is aroused to its true sense of error in doggedly holding to its outmoded traditions and customs of oppressing the Negro. The writer called these "cherished traditions." Evidently the writer's definition of this term is synonomous with Hitler's "cherished concentration camps."

Nowhere in the constitution can there be found provisions that are now valid which provide for oppression of any minority or other group for the self-aggrandizement of another, as some would have us believe. Even the spirit of the constitution does not imply this. The state is sovereign as long as it does not encroach upon the federal laws or the rights of the individual as guaranteed by the Bill of Rights. In 1215 the barons of England forced the king of England to sign the Magna Carta guaranteeing them certain rights, but in their lust for self-aggrandizement they completely forgot the common man or serfs and craftsmen, and as a result the last two groups were left out of this famous document. It was years later when the common was was included in this document. Some in the South would do the same with the constitution where the Negro and civil rights are concerned. Don't you think it is time they had an awakening? The Negro does not desire social integration of the races, as the Negro-hater would try to cram into the issue. He, the Negro, desires economic and political equality.

In the Revolutionary War it was a Negro, Crispus Attucks, who was the first to shed his blood in death on the Boston Common for the cause of liberty. We, the Negroes, have fought in every war from then. Among the heroes of Pearl Harbor you will find listed the name of Dorie Miller, a messman in a segregated Navy. And then some of us have the temerity to get the creeps merely because the pictures of two Negroes appeared with several whites as teachers of veterans.

From some of the articles that have appeared in this column, the Negro has been reassured in knowing that he has among the whites about him true friends who are not afraid to pay tribute as well as lend a helping hand to an oppressed race, while others grimly remind him that he is not out of the woods yet. It is time that we as people of America realize that it costs the Negro just as much to live a decent life and to be a good citizen as it does any other person, and that participation in government is a right that all must enjoy before we realize true democracy.

JAMES A. COX, JR.
America, Ala.

RALPH McGILL

An Imp Always Says, 'It's Duty'

A night ago I was on a forum program discussing civil liberties. It was an interracial forum.

The program had been arranged months ago, before President Truman's proposals lighted the present fires.

I go through a curious sort of experience in these things. In the first place, I don't know why I accept. I am, it seems, cursed with a certain sense of responsibility. I go to these highly controversial programs feeling like a sacrificial lamb. Sometimes I get my throat cut and am barbecued. At other times, I manage to come out of it intact.

But, there is no real profit in it. The critics on one side damn you as supporting the Claghorn type of congressman. The Ku Klux type mind hollers that you talk to audiences with Negroes in them. Your mail reflects both criticisms.

Wearily

I go wearily home, tiptoe in not to awaken the sleeping, and think it over while drinking a glass of milk or so in the kitchen to settle the jangling nerves.

Unfortunately, the good Lord gave me no share of omniscience. There are those who have it. In a way, I envy them. There are a lot of things which seem pretty clear to me. But I am usually able to understand why some other person's background makes it impossible for it to be clear to him. I understand, for example, why most of the persons who join the Klan do so. The only contempt I have is for the organizers and leaders, who do know better, all of whom are like a lot of birds of prey living off the sucker money they get from the new members. I am, I guess, omniscient about the Klan and similar organizations. I know them to be dis-

eases which no decent community can afford to have. Also, while believing without reservation in human and civil rights, I cannot bring myself to be intellectually dishonest enough to oversimplify it as awaiting only the panacea of another law added to many others.

Sun. 2-21-48

Story Well, to get back to the story: . . . I accept invitations to appear at these things because it seems to me someone ought to do so. There is a sense of duty, perhaps entirely unjustified, which seems to me to demand it. So I go, and later in the night, letting my wounds be soothed with milk, I resolve "never again." But, come another invitation to argue important issues, and the imp, which at least wears the disguise of righteousness, whispers in my ear: "It's your duty."

So, I accept. And begin to worry and fret.

The South On this night I was cast as I attempted to interpret the South's position, as the only person with a negative view of the proposed Federal legislation. Not a soul present was with me.

It is not that I personally am against anything which will better man's position or life. I have been saying for years that I think all qualified persons should have the right to vote. I long ago opposed the poll tax and made, I hope, some slight contribution to its demise in Georgia. And certainly I have urged that Negro workers with skills be given an opportunity to work, and have pointed out that for selfish reasons, if for no other, the South should be interested in a Negro citizen who could pay taxes and buy goods at stores. Also, I have joined in the fight for better schools and equal opportunity before the law.

Opposition But, I have said that most of the South believes it now harmful to pass the proposed civil rights laws. I have said that an FEPC of force was not believed constitutional and was impossible of enforcement because you cannot legislate in the field of morality. Also, employers have civil rights, too.

Here is what seems so plain to me:

In India there is warfare and death and a struggle against castes and between religions.

In Palestine an ignorant, fanatical Arab population is led to battle and civil war on the basis of religion and old customs and traditions. Constitution, Atlanta, Ga

Here in the South there are old customs, traditions and walls of thought built by warfare, religion, economics and the forces of history . . . as strong as those in far-off India; as fierce as those in Palestine.

We cannot remove them by a law. Nor can we change them by moving the juries from the courthouse to the Federal building. The answer is within us, and it can be answered only from within the Southern pattern. Sun. 2-29-48

So, I go and talk, and go home with my bruises, drink my milk and resolve "never again," as nerves jangle and sleep is delayed. But, always there seems another time, and also I share the South's feeling of guilt that we are not positive within our pattern or system, as we must be to justify our argument. It isn't too comfortable.

Spellman College. I had been asked to talk on the majority Southern viewpoint and did. This viewpoint is, of course, against Federal enactment of civil rights measures as proposed by the President.

When it was over two young Negro students came up to me, separately, and asked these questions:

1. "Mr. McGill, why is it the majority in the South do not want the Negro to have justice and a fair chance?"

2. "Will you tell me, sir, how a liberal viewpoint can oppose the Federal legislation?"

I had opposed the timing and the methods behind the Federal legislation as proposed, with an argument which can best be summed up as follows:

Argument "I want the South to do what is right. I do not want the Federal Government to compel it. . . . I want Georgia and Mississippi and South Carolina and all the others, whose chief problem it is, to do what is just and right because they want to do it, and not because they are made to do so. Until that is done, the Federal provisions will not be worth any more than the paper on which are written many, many already existing laws of the Constitution of the United States and legislation by the Congress implementing those guarantees. Divorced from ballots, that is what it must be.

"Federal law has got to stop somewhere. It cannot go on until it replaces all local law. The Constitution

"The proposed Federal legislation will not affect or change existing State laws . . . a fact largely overlooked.

"Juries still are selected from panels drawn in the respective communities. Atlanta, Ga. Mon.

"Changing a jury from the courthouse to the jury box in the Federal building will not change a state of mind." 3-1-48

Leadership I am fully aware of the philosophy of leadership, and of pulling for the long view. But, I happen to be alive as of now and the tools with which I must work are the tools of today. Mon 3-1-48

So, I want the South to do what is right and proper and I suffer because I am afraid the South may not want to . . . but I want the South to have the decision now that the issues are committed to battle.

Revolt Let the South not fail to overlook that, while the net result may be the crowning of pettiness, the revolt against President Truman reaches deeper than the best observers first believed it would. The Constitution

Too much of the thinking seems to be that the solution is to defeat Harry Truman . . . all that despite the fact the present Republican Congress may enact some, or all, of the measures Truman has proposed, well before the votes are cast in November.

It is disturbing to note that in the group which is crying on the crusade to solve everything by beating Truman, are all the old mob who fought REA, TVA, all the social legislation of the past 16 years. Their presence is not reassuring. Atlanta, Ga

The South is in a dilemma, and a very grave one.

It has outmaneuvered itself once more by pitting States' rights against civil rights. That is a terrifying error, because States' rights are supposed to mean civil and personal rights. Indeed, is the shore for which we steer more dimly seen than before.

So it seems to me. Therefore, I refuse, with what I conceive to be intellectual honesty, to hie on the abused and the disfranchised, saying: "This is the solution." Mon 3-1-48

This, I know, satisfies no one—not even me. But, not being beholden or in politics, I can say it.

RALPH McGILL

The Constitution

The Uncomfortable Southern Dilemma

Atlanta, Ga.

Mon. 3-1-48

This is a sort of second chapter on the bi racial forum held recently in the auditorium at

National Figures On 2-Day Program

Daily World Atlanta, Ga.

Fri. 2-27-48

A Civil Rights Conference, sponsored by the colleges of the Atlanta University Center, will open a two-day session here today.

A selected group of national figures will appear on the program

In addition to a long list of participants from the local colleges who will serve as discussion leaders and consultants, the Conference will present Dr. Will W. Alexander, vice president of the Julius Rosenwald Fund; Paul Webb, solicitor for Fulton County; Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution; P. L. Prattis, executive editor of the Pittsburgh Courier; A. Abbott Rosens, chief of the Civil Rights Section, U. S. Department of Justice; Boris Shiskin, research director, American Federation of Labor; Mrs. M. E. Tilly, a member of the President's Committee on Civil Rights; Attorney A. T. Walden of Atlanta; Dr. Avery Craven, professor of history, University of Chicago; Paul R. Williams of Richmond, Virginia, president of the Southern Regional Council; Dr. Mildred Mell, Dr. William Boyd, Fort Valley State College; Dr. Francis Coker, Dr. Cullen B. Gosnell; Frank McCallister, Georgia Workers Education Service and Paul Styles of the National Labor Relations Board.

1:30 REGISTRATION

Registration for the Conference will begin at 1:30 p. m. today in the Davage Auditorium, and the opening session will start at 2 p m., in the same place. Group discussions on civil rights, segregation, education and economic opportunity will be held at three o'clock through the University Center campuses. Daily World

At 8:00 tonight in Sisters Chapel, Spelman College, the Conference will sponsor a public forum with a panel of speakers discussing the topic: "New Perspective on Civil Rights." Serving on the panel will be Ralph McGill, P. L. Prattis A. Abott Rosens, Boris Shiskin, Mrs. M. E. Tilly and A. T. Walden Group discussions will be continued Saturday morning from 9:00-11:00 o'clock. Atlanta, Ga

The closing session, beginning at 11:15 o'clock in the Davage Auditorium will present reports and recommendations from a group of student leaders. A summary of the proceedings will be given by Dr. W. W. Alexander, Paul Williams, Dr. George Mitchell, Dr. Ira DeA Reid and Mrs. Tilly. 2-27-48

Civil Rights Parley Slated

Sun. Los Angeles Times

Between 250 and 300 white and Negro leaders will meet in Atlanta Feb. 27 to study Civil Rights and devise means of strengthening them throughout the South. The session is being sponsored by the Southern Regional Council.

The meeting, in the Schroeter Building of the Lutheran Church of the Redeemer, also will be sponsored by the United Council of Church Women, the Georgia Council of Church Women, the American Veterans Committee, the National Urban League, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the Georgia Workers Education Service, National Board of YWCA, AFL, CIO, and Southern Regional Association for Adult Education.

Abbot Rosens, Chief of the Civil Rights Section of the Department of Justice; Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Atlanta member of the President's Committee on Civil Rights; Boris Shiskin, AFL economist and others among the speakers.

A night session at Atlanta University will include as speakers Ralph McGill of The Constitution; P. L. Prattis, Editor of the Pittsburgh Courier, and A. T. Walden, Atlanta attorney. 2-27-48

Georgia

Tired, Aged Woman, Facing Gun, Refuses To Nurse Baby

10 Atlanta Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.
12-5-48
Sun. 12-5-48

LOCUST GROVE, Ga.—(SNS)—Sixty-year-old Mrs. Julia Johnson, living with her share-crooper daughter and son-in-law in Henry County, took her "civil rights" into to her own hands, it came to light recently through the Georgia Citizens Defense Committee, when farmer-saw mill owner W. W. Cleveland Jr., allegedly at gun point attempted to force her to nurse his baby against her will.

Sun. 12-5-48

Elderly Mrs. Johnson, living with her daughter's family in one of the isolated farm shacks that Wofford Cleveland Sr., provides for his share-croppers on the plantation located between McDonough and Locust Grove, perhaps never heard of President Truman's civil rights proposals, but she did know that when Cleveland Jr., came to the shanty and asked her to "come mind the baby while he and Mrs. Cleveland made a trip to Atlanta." she was already dead tired from helping daughter Clara and the children pick cotton all day.

The mother of fourteen grown children and grandmother of five, was free under $500.00 bond after spending a fearful night in the Henry County jail. Her daughter, Mary, of 355 Auburn Avenue, secured the service of an Atlanta attorney and an Atlanta bonding firm to effect her release, after she was arrested for "throwing a pot of boiling water into the face" of the farm owner's son and overseer.

BECOMES ANGRY

Sun 12-5-48

Mr. Cleveland became very angry at her request to be excused from the assignment, Mrs. Johnson told members of the Georgia Citizens Defense Committee, after a hectic but unsuccessful run for freedom, in which she was captured by Henry County authorities. He left the house but returned later and this time gruffly demanded that she accompany him back to his house. Mrs. Johnson stated that she refused a second time and Mr. Cleveland left in a huff.

When the farm overseer returned a third time, Mrs. Johnson was scaulding a pot out with boiling hot water. With the stove located between herself and the door, she declared she noticed that Mr. Cleveland was carrying both an axe and a gun. "He began cursing me and I threw the hot water into his face and ran as fast as I could across the field to the highway," she recalled. One three year old grandchild ran crying after her, and when Mrs. Johnson was captured in McDonough she was in stocking feet and held the three year old in her arms.

But for the help of Deputy Sheriff Ira Jones, Mary Johnson, the Atlanta daughter, believes her mother may have become the victim of mob violence. Deputy Jones, described as a man friendly towards the oppressed Negroes in the county, took it upon himself, she stated, to accept the bonding company's papers and released her mother just as darkness fell, after the sheriff, E. Q. Owen, apparently evaded her all day by not coming to the jail. After sitting on the jail steps all day, during which the sheriff entered once or twice, but found excuses, she related, each time for not accepting the release papers, she pleaded with the deputy.

WARNED AGAINST DARKNESS

Deputy Jones warned them "not to get in the dark but to stand in the light of the filling station until the Atlanta bus came along."

12-5-48

The daughter, after getting her mother to Atlanta, appealed to the Defense Committee headed by Rev. William Holmes Borders for assistance in getting her sister's family and belongings removed from the Cleveland farm.

The Georgia Citizens Defense Committee voted funds for Mrs. Johnson's temporary welfare and sent a representative with a transfer truck to remove her belingings—that is, all but five pigs, which Cleveland refused to allow the Defense representative to move, stating that he would keep them for an alleged $55.00 Mrs. Johnson owes him.

Mrs. Johnson and her family have been resettled in Stockbridge, Georgia.

Social Worker Loses Job For Anti-Bias Activities In Ind.

Sat. 1-10-48 (10)

Sat 1-10-48

INDIANAPOLIS (ANP) — Wilson Head, president of the Interracial Civil Rights Committee, lost his job as social worker in Flanner House here last Wednesday. His services were discontinued because of his crusading efforts to break down discriminatory policies directed against Negro citizens.

1-10-48

He and the committee were responsible for getting many downtown restaurants to extend their services to the Negro public. He was discharged without a hearing, though he, as well as the Association of Social Workers, Indiana and Indianapolis NAACP branches, repeatedly asked that an open hearing be held. It was reported that Mr. Head had issued a statement saying he had "resigned" from his job—a statement which he denied.

Social Worker Fired For Anti-Bias Drive

Chicago Defender Sat 1-10-48

INDIANAPOLIS--Wilson Head, president of the interracial Civil Rights Committee, lost his job as social worker in Flanner House here last week, allegedly because of his efforts to break down discrimination throughout the city. (10) 1-10-48

He and his committee had been largely responsible for getting many downtown restaurants to extend their services to the Negro public.

Head was discharged without a hearing despite his protests and those of the Association of Social Workers and the Indiana and Indianapolis NAACP organizations. Head denied that he has issued a statement in which he said he had "resigned."

The Park Controversy

The Courier-Journal, Ky.

There was an article in The Courier-Journal about some white and Negro college students calling on the Mayor and asking that segregation in the parks be lifted. I do not think it fair to leave such a matter to any elected official. Though the Negro vote in Louisville is something like 40,000, it would be enough to beat any man running for office. I believe it is up to the people to decide such questions. Why not put the proposition on the ballot in November and let the people say who may use the parks?

In the same way the question could be settled at the University of Louisville. Take a vote of all the people attending the school and if they want the Negroes to attend, let them attend. They have to live with them and that would be an easy way to get rid of the question. Louisville, Ky.

All this civil-rights matter should be up to the people and not to any elected official. Let the States decide for themselves at elections. Personally I have never been able to understand just why anyone wants to force himself on someone who doesn't want him

Louisville. Sat. 5-29-48 C. W. TOTTEN.

The suggestion has been made to do away with segregation in the parks. Why the parks only? If you are going to associate with Negroes in parks and on tennis courts, why not eat with them? In fact, invite them into your homes, and let the young Negro youth call on your daughter. If you are going to associate with colored people, do it on a 100 per cent basis, or not at all. No earthly good can come of mixing whites and Negroes in any public place.

If I were a colored person, dissatisfied with conditions as they are in Kentucky, I would move to a Northern State where there are no Jim Crow ideas. It is better to leave a condition you can't control than to remain and fret and stew your life away. 5-29-48

Louisville. GABRIEL W.

The Courier-Journal

A similar view to that of "Gabriel W." is contained in a letter signed, "Disgusted", of Buechel, Ky.

(Editor. Louisville, Ky.

NEGRO WINS $1,000 IN EXCLUSION CASE

Jury Finds Dancer Was Twice Denied Use of Tudor City Passenger Elevators

Damages of $1,000, the maximum permitted under the State Civil Rights Law, were awarded yesterday to a 24-year-old Negro dancer by a jury that found he had twice been denied the use of ordinary passenger elevators at Tudor City. The defendant, Fred F. French Management Company, Inc., denied the allegation of discrimination, and said an appeal would be taken.

Claude Marchant, an instructor at the Katherine Dunham School of Dance and Theatre, was the plaintiff in the suit. The trial was held in City Court, with Justice Francis E. Rivers presiding.

Mr. Marchant said that on March 25 and again on May 7, both 1947, he had been excluded from the passenger elevators at 25 Prospect Place, in the Tudor City development where he went to visit a friend, David Lown. Each time, he said, he was forced to ride in the service elevator, one of the uses of which is the transportation of garbage.

Witnesses for the defendant testified that Negroes normally are permitted the use of passenger elevators, but that Mr. Marchant was diverted to the service elevators on occasions when he was carrying packages and was thought by the elevator operators to be a messenger, since he seemed to be dressed with less than acceptable neatness. Mr. Marchant presented testimony contradictory to both defenses.

Mr. Lown, whom he visited, was asked to move soon after the incidents, because a dog he kept violated the rules of the house, Mr. Marchant said after the verdict. He declared that the jury's decision would be "hailed by minorities everywhere as a victory for liberty and justice and a defeat for intolerance."

Trial Ordered For Refusal to Serve Negroes

ECORSE, Mich., Sept. 12.—The first round in an anti-Jimcrow court fight was won here last week when Judge Miles N. Culahan ordered into court the owners of a drugstore accused under the Michigan Civil Rights Law of refusing to serve two Negroes. The hearing will be held Friday.

Donald and Burton Loveland, owners of Loveland's Drugstore, were accused by Mrs. Doris Lampley and Tom Neuson of repeatedly refusing to serve them at the store's soda fountain.

Judge Culahan's order is the first to be issued by a Michigan court in such a case. Another Ecorse Township judge, Alger Salliotte, dismissed a complaint, last spring, brought by Louis Jordan, aided by the NAACP. Later the fight was joined by the local chapter of Young Progressives of America, supported by State Senator Stanley Nowak and NAACP leaders. Attorney George Crockett was retained by the group.

Restaurant fined $600 for refusing service to Negroes

OAKLAND— It should be worth $600 to the Chicken Shack restaurant here to refuse to serve two Negros, Judge Oliver Youngs decided last week in awarding $300 damages each to Horace Hazzard and Miss Bobbie DeMeme.

The two were banned from the dining room of the Chicken Shack when they appeared with a party of 8, including six whites, last March.

Refused To Discuss Shoving Man Off Bus

NEW YORK, — Anthony Russo, 40, Newark bus driver, was charged with atrocious assault and denial of civil rights to a crippled Negro last week and paroled for Grand Jury action.

Michael Booker, 35, of the Bronx testified that he was shoved by Russo from a bus Russo was operating from Newark to Jersey City on April 25, when one of two white men who got on after he did, objected to his sitting in a front seat. Russo has offered no defense and refuses to testify.

The hotel, denying the discrimination, maintained that it was unable to accomodate Bell because a record of reservation could not be found, that Bell could have had accomodations had he returned later in the day.

The Biltmore was one of the several local hotels which allegedly refused rooms to Paul Robeson last Memorial day.

Jury finds for Ohio hotel in civil rights suit

DAYTON, O. — The Biltmore hotel here came off best last week when a jury returned a 7-5 verdict in its favor in a civil rights suit filed in July, 1946 by William Y. Bell, of Chicago, a field representative for the American Council of Race Relations, who charged the hotel with refusing to accomodate him because of his color.

Lawsuits

JUDGE THINGS PAPER CUPS ALL RIGHT FOR DRINKING; DISMISSES CIVIL RIGHTS SUIT

CINCINNATI (ANP)--Hamilton county kept its 62-year-old unbroken record of not having any one found guilty of violating the Ohio Civil Rights code when Judge Daniel C. Handley of police court ruled here Thursday that the Cumminsville F. W. Woolworth 5 and 10 cents store had not discriminated against a Negro patron by serving her a drink in a paper cup.

The suit was brought by Mrs. Ruth Anderson of Maderia, who charged that Herbert Grooms, assistant manager of the store, had told her paper cups were reserved for colored patrons. In dismissing the charge, Judge Handley asked:

"What is wrong with being served in paper cups?" Continuing, he said: "I would prefer for reasons of sanitation to be served in paper cups myself."

He then asked Mrs. Anderson whether she was familiar with medical findings in regard to drinking from glasses and paper cups. The woman replied she was familiar but that "If Grooms had been interested in my personal welfare for reasons of sanitation I would have accepted the paper cups. I was offered a paper cup simply because my skin is brown and not white."

Grooms told the court that when Mrs. Anderson had come into the store, the waiters were very busy and had run out of glasses.

L. P. Bailey, executive secretary of the local NAACP, and an observer at the trial, stated, "I am shooked at the manner in which Judge Handley passed judgment on this case. It seems that he did not consider the law as being involved. His decision to dismiss charges of an obvious violation was indeeda queer twist of justice. The prosecution was very weak, if it could be called such."

Court Awards Damages In Covenant Suit

First damages to be awarded in Chicago since the Supreme Court held racial restrictive covenants were illegal, was awarded Friday by Judge John H. Clayton, a county judge sitting in Circuit Court, to Lionel and Marguerite Piper, 7031 S. Wabash ave.

The Pipers filed a suggestion of damages after the injunction against their living in the Wabash ave. building was dissolved. The statute provided that where a temporary injunction has been issued, the defendant can claim damages.

Judge Clayton awarded the Pipers a total of $220 including $ for attorney's appearance fees, $ for court reporter fees; $50 for liquidated damages and $127 attorney fees.

The temporary injunction was issued March 19 and was dissolved May 10. The Pipers were represented by Atty. Elijah Kelley against the Park Manor association.

Other defendants in the suit did not collect damages as they have not as yet filed a suggestion of damages, as required by law.

WINS SUIT OVER THEATRE JIM CROW

PUEBLO, Colo.—(ANP)—A suit against the Westland theatres filed in 1944 by Atty. Thomas Campbell, claiming a violation of the anti-discrimination code of the State and asking $500 damages on behalf of Mrs. Florence Johnson, was decided in her favor, Judge Harry Leddy of the Pueblo District Court awarded the complainant $225 and costs.

Wins Jim Crow Case

NEW YORK—Claude Marchant, dancer and instructor in the Katherine Dunham school was awarded $1,000 damages by city court because he was twice refused admission to the passenger elevator of the Tudor City Apartment house.

Rights Suit $18,000 Civil Filed by Six in California

REDWOOD CITY, Calif.—Charging that they were refused service, three Negroes and three white persons last week filed an $18,000 civil rights suit in Superior Court against the 49 Club of this city.

Each plaintiff asks $3,000 damages for humiliation and distress. They specifically charge that they were refused service because their group, at the time of the alleged refusal of service, consisted of a mixed racial group. On May 20, it is stated in the suit, the six men went into the Club 49 seeking liquid refreshments. The bartender refused them, stating they were not above the legal age of 21, the suit reads.

Age range of the six plaintiffs is from 28 to 43.

Named as defendants in the action are: John Repetto, owner of the Club 49, and John Doe Gibson, bartender.

Plaintiffs are: Jonathan H. Rowell, 38, attorney of this city, and president of the Peninsula Council for Civic Unity; Emil Wactel, 43; William Thuman, 32; Robert Berkeley, 34; Lonzo Jones, 35, and Leon Terry, 28. Berkeley, Jones and Terry are Negroes.

Rowell sought the Congressional nomination on the Democratic slate during the past primaries, but lost.

Athletes Sue City Board for $500,000

(From Pittsburgh Courier Press Service)

BALTIMORE—The arrest of Negro and white youths engaged in interracial athletics at local public parks resulted in a half-million-dollar suit against Baltimore city officials last week.

Charging that their civil rights were denied them, eighteen persons filed suits against the Board of Recreation and Parks as well as other city officials in Federal court last week. Damages asked in the suits totaled $500,000. In addition, the plaintiffs asked an injunction restraining the board from barring interracial play at public parks and facilities.

EARLIER ARRESTS

The eighteen plaintiffs included those arrested several weeks ago when police broke up an interracial tennis match at municipal park. Those arrested were indicted by a grand jury on charges of violating a local segregation rule. They asked $200,000 damages charging that they were required to suffer irreparable damage to their standing in the community.

In other counts included in the joint action, the suit charged that a basketball team was barred from a city league because it included Negro players and that a white golfer was barred from playing golf on a city course during a day in which the facilities were open only to Negro players.

The suits are part of a determined movement to abolish jim crow in recreational activities on city facilities in Baltimore.

Man Asks $24,500 In Dayton Civil Rights Case

DAYTON.—The all-white jury which returned a verdict against Fred Hamlet on one count of his $24,500 civil rights suit against a bus company was branded last week as commiting an "inexcuseable injustice."

Judge Mason Douglass, attorney for Hamlet, said the action was "enough to destroy public confidence in jurors."

He made the assertion in a motion filed in U. S. District Court, asking for judgment against the Pennsylvania Greyhound Lines, Inc., for injuries allegedly suffered by Hamlet when he was put off a Greyhound bus in 1946.

THE JUDGMENT was requested "notwithstanding the verdict March 13 of the jury for the defendant and against the plaintiff on the second cause of action."

Douglass' motion was filed a few hours after Hugh Altick, bus company attorney, had filed a motion asking that the jury's verdict on the first cause of action (the alleged civil rights violation) be set aside.

Hamlet's attorney said he would not have filed his new motion if the bus company had not filed its motion regarding the first action.

The jury awarded Hamlet $500 judgment for violation of his civil rights. It awarded him nothing for the injuries he said he suffered. He had asked $24,500.

Douglass said damages should have been awarded Hamlet for his "humiliation, embarrassment, inconvenience, assault and battery and unlawful ejection" regardless of whether he was physically injured.

Both motions will be ruled on by Judge Robert R. Nevin, who presided at the six-day trial.

Joseph Rainey Institutes Suit In Arrest Case

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—(NNPA)—A $25,000 damage suit against three policemen has been filed in United States District Court by Magistrate Joseph H. Rainey.

The policemen arrested Magistrate July 16. His suit, filed Tuesday, Aug. 17, charges false arrest, assault and battery, and deprivation of civil liberties.

Rainey, who is the 4th District candidate for Congress on the Progressive Party ticket, also formally demanded that the Federal Government prosecute the three policemen on the charge that they violated Consitutional and civil rights.

THOSE NAMED

Named in both the suit and arrest demand were House Sergeant Norman L. Youngblood and Patrolmen Jeffe Strange and William Subers, all of the 39th street and Lancaster avenue station.

Rainey, who is president of the Philadelphia branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, states in his complaint that he went to the police station to intercede in behalf of Harry Jenkins, Progressive Party worker. Jenkins had been arrested while operating a sound truck advertising the party rally at Shibe Park, July 24.

$15,000 Damages Sought For Air Terminal Services Bias

ALEXANDRIA, Va.—(NNPA)—A member of President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights last Tuesday brought suit in the United States District Court here against the concessionaire at the Washington National Airport for violation of her civil rights.

Mrs. Sadie T. M. Alexander, of Philadelphia, wife of Raymond Pace Alexander, nationally known lawyer, seeks damages of $15,000 from Air Terminal Services, Inc., which operates under a concession from the Federal Government the dining room and soda fountain at the airport.

In her complaint, filed through James H. Raby, a local attorney, and Charles H. Houston and Joseph C. Waddy, Washington attorneys, Mrs. Alexander charges that on September 9, while she was an interstate passenger at the airport, she went to the soda fountain and sought to purchase a glass of milk. She alleges that Air Terminal Services refused to sell her the milk except on condition that she take it into the women's lavatory or the lobby and drink it.

As a result, Mrs. Alexander, who also is an outstanding lawyer, says she was publicly humiliated, distressed and embarrassed.

The Washington National Airport is owned and operated by the United States. It is situated at Gravelly Point, on the Virginia Side of the Potomac River, but counsel for Mrs. Alexander maintain that jurisdiction over the airport is vested exclusively in the Federal Government.

The United States criminal code makes Virginia statutes in force on February 1, 1940, applicable to offenses committed within the boundaries of the airport Virginia laws in effect on that date require racial segregation in public places of entertainment or assembly.

Counsel for Mrs. Alexander assert that Air Terminal Services erroneously claims that Virginia laws and customs prohibit it from serving colored persons in the public dining room and public coffee shop, Mrs. Alexander charges.

The public dining room and coffee shop are operated by the concessionaire under a contract with the Civil Aeronautics Administration which requires Air Terminal Services to operate a separate establishment for colored passengers. The refusal of Air Terminal Services to serve her at the soda fountain or in the public dining room or coffee shop, Mrs. Alexander states, "constitutes a present continuing controversy" between her and Air Terminal Services involving her constitutional and statutory rights.

She adds that it is against the public policy and treaty obligations of the United States for racial discrimination to be imposed or practiced on public lands by the Federal Government or its concessionaire.

If any law or the contract of February 19, 1941, between the Civil Aeronautics Administration and the concessionaire require her to be excluded from the dining room or coffee shop or prohibit her being served at the soda fountain, then the law and the

ACTION ON CIVIL RIGHTS DELAYED

The State-Times, Baton Rouge, La.
New Orleans, La.

(Special to The Times-Picayune)

Baton Rouge, La., May 18.—Louisiana's stand on the question of civil rights will have to wait another day.

Rep. William J. Cleveland, Acadia, who introduced a resolution in the House at the opening session calling for the state Legislature to take a stand, said today that he will allow his "anti-Communist civil rights" resolution to lie over "in the hope that we can show our people and the nation that we are united in the effort to put up a last ditch fight."

In a statement issued after the day's session of the House of Representatives, Cleveland said, "If those who want to appease and carry water on both shoulders still are not ready for a showdown on Wednesday morning, they are going to have to tell the people of this state who and what they are."

Under the rules of the House, Cleveland can move for final passage of the resolution during the Wednesday session. A similar resolution was introduced in the Senate last night by Sen. Reimer Calhoun, Mansfield.

Mob Invades Home Of Negro in Mich.

Daily Worker
New York, N.Y. Mar 4-5-48

By William Allan

NILES, Mich., April 4.—A lynch mob here broke down the door of the home of Thomas Graves, a Negro, and drove Graves and his wife and child into the streets without any clothing. Police here said no action would be taken against the mob "unless Graves prefers charges." The attack took place March 28.

Graves has not returned home but is staying under the protection of friends. Clearly local police sought to deliver Graves into the hands of the lynch mob when they made their announcement.

The attack on Graves and his home arose when two weeks ago the Northwestern University Glee Club, made up of Negro and white singers, after a performance in a high school sought service in a public place and were denied.

The owner was prosecuted under the State Civil Rights law, which declares no one will discriminate by refusing service. A local jury deadlocked on the case with a three to three vote. 4-5-48

Anti-Negro elements in town used the case to whip up incitement against Negroes. In the case of Thomas Graves, a white neighbor who could only be identified by the name of Frank picked a quarrel with Graves because Graves "had walked across his property."

The neighbor struck Graves several times. Graves then defended himself. The neighbor finally left with a threat to "bring back a gang." Daily Worker

At 3 a.m. the next morning the mob arrived at Graves home and began smashing in the front door. Graves, to protect his wife and child, was forced to flee through the back entrance. He has not been able to return since. New York, N.Y.

The Michigan Civil Rights Congress is investigating the matter and will lay the facts before Governor Kim Sigler, demanding a full examination by state authorities.

Michigan Forms Civil Rights Body

10 Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.

LANSING, Mich.—(ANP)—Delegates from various cities throughout Michigan met at Lansing Tuesday and organized a permanent state organization on civil rights. The meeting was called and sponsored by the Organizing Committee of the Michigan Committee on Civil rights (formerly Michigan Council for Fair Employment legislation). Sat. 3-6-48

Cities represented were Muskegon, Flint, Bay City, Adrian, Grand Rapids, Ann Arbor, Detroit, Pontiac, Jackson and Battle Creek. The organization will be composed of local chapters, cooperating organizations, and individual members, and promote the achievement of the recommendations of the President's Committee on Civil rights through an educational and legislative program.

The immediate objectives are:

1. Passage of federal FEPC bills and enactment of a Michigan state FEPC law;

2. Elimination of segregation in the Michigan National guard;

3. Cultivating of citizens' support for and adherence to civil rights laws in Michigan and combatting discrimination in hotels, restaurants, hospitals and other places of public accommodation;

PRACTICES ELIMINATION

-4. The elemination of discriminater institutions of education through out the state;

5. Investigation and evaluation of treatment of minorities by law enforcement officers throughout the state. Daily World

6. Support from Michigan for the proposals in the President's committee report to prevent abridgement of civil rights of any persons or groups because of race or ancestry and for legislation for prompt settlement of claims of war times evacuees; Atlanta, Ga.

7. Initiation of a study of status of civil rights of minorities such as Indians, Mexicans and migrant agricultural workers; Sat.

8. A project to end discrimination in sports. 3-6-48

Temporary officers are George Schermer, chairman; Mrs. Olive Beasley, secretary; Mrs. Phillip Gentile, treasurer. A second meeting will be held in February for the election of permanent officers.

10 1948

Minnesota

Civil Rights in Minnesota?

The Constitution

We have been listening intently for a shattering blast of righteous indignation from those who profess to be ardent champions of the civil rights of man. We have watched the great Eastern papers, whose editorial tongues frequently lash out in wrath when injustices, real or fancied, occur in the South. More particularly have we held an open ear toward the various presidential candidates, including the incumbent, hoping to catch even a hint of displeasure at one of the most cruel illustrations of disregard for human rights we have seen in many months.

Atlanta, Ga.

Thurs 5-20-48

All has been silence.

It seems to be the common view in Washington that the mob violence used by CIO meat packers last week is a matter for the State of Minnesota to deal with. But the fact is the State has done nothing to punish those who broke into a packing plant, wrecked the machinery, assaulted those who were working and kidnapped some 25 or 30 of their number. Yet, those in Congress and in the administration who are most vociferous in their clamor for the civil rights program, so-called, are conspicuous by their silence in the wave of anarchy that engulfed St. Paul. Not even Harold Stassen, Minnesota's former Governor, has had a word to say about this insurrection.

William Green and Philip Murray, both advocates of the "civil rights" program, have failed to condemn the use of mob violence by strikers. Their silence gives assent to the use of force which deprives citizens of their right to earn a livelihood.

In all the South last year there was a single lynching. This crime is the only crime which has been on the steady decline since the first World War. Mob violence by organized strikers—murder, arson, dynamiting and sabotage—have shown spectacular increases, particularly in the East and the Midwest, chief centers of indignation against the South.

The Constitution

Moreover, the right to work, recognized by law and custom as among the inalienable rights, is increasingly abused with impunity.

Atlanta, Ga.

The hypocrisy of a "civil rights" program which applies to one section of the country but not to others by now is obvious to voters everywhere. And the inconsistency of those who would punish the South, because of its political impotence, but give silent assent to equal injustices elsewhere is revolting.

Thurs 5-20-48

Mississippi

Farm Tenant Suffers Brutal Beating By Duo

The Lighthouse & Informer
Columbia, S.C.
Sun. 4-4-48

Civil Rights Issue Said Cause Of Incidents

LOUISE, Miss. — (ANP) — The violence being directed towards Negroes in Mississippi as a result of the bitter agitation of the civil rights issue, which has already been responsible for several incidents in the past few days, was evident in the brutal beating of Cleve Cotton, 43 year old Negro farm tenant here last week; the incident causing widespread increase in the terror slowly spreading over Negroes in the Mississippi Delta and throughout the state. Sun. 4-4-48

According to reports, Cotton, the 43 year old Negro farm tenant was beaten by Timmie Quinn and Sums Seward, two white men with whom he became involved while attempting to pay his water bill.

Cotton is reported as saying that he went into the office to pay his water bill and while there, sought to obtain permission from Quinn to stop a leak in the water pipe in front of his home which he agreed to fix himself without cost to the city. The Lighthouse & Informer

RECEIPT WITHELD

Quinn becoming enraged at this suggestion refused to give him a receipt for his water bill and when he requested a receipt, came from behind the counter and started hitting him across the head witn a stick. Seward, another white man in the office at the time, joined Quinn striking Cotton several blows across the head with a heavy stick.

Although bloodily beaten, with several gashes about the head and face, Cotton was able to escape and later made his way to the office of the mayor who called the sheriff and the doctor who administered treatment.

After receiving treatment, Mayor J. D. Upshaw and sheriff Jim Powell told Cotton that he and his family of five would have to leave town, that they could not live in the town any longer.

The Cotton family includes the wife, Mrs. Viola Cotton and five children, Leroy, 21; M. F., 17; Eloise, 6; Cleve Jr., 4 and Leonard Earl, a four month old baby

PROPERTY OWNER. The Lighthouse & Informer

Cleve Cotton, the beaten man, owns his own home, had another house under construction and is the owner of two other valuable city lots. Columbia, S.C.

The family left town over night after being advised to leave by the mayor and the sheriff. Sun.

Neither of the white men involved in the case were arrested. 4-4-48

In Jackson Tuesday Cotton is said to have reported the case to the Jackson office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation who is reported to have forward a report of the case to the Washington office of the department of justice.

VIOLENCE CONTINUES IN CIVIL RIGHTS FIGHT; MAYOR ORDERS FAMILY TO LEAVE TOWN AFTER CITY EMPLOYEE BRUTALLY BEATS FATHER OF 5

The State Dispatch
Sat 4-10-48
(10)
Oklahoma City, Okla.

F B I Otherwise Engaged in Rankin Un-American Probe of Reds

VICTIM OWNS HOME AND OTHER PROPERTY

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Sat 4-10-48

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'Sterilizing' Dangerous Laws Urged By State Chief Justice

Memphis Appeal
Sun 4-4-48
(10)

By KENNETH TOLER

From The Commercial Appeal Jackson, Mississippi, Bureau

JACKSON, Miss., Sept. 13.—A policy of using every "permissible state action" to "sterilize . . . dangerous political proposals" which become Federal laws, was advocated Monday by the chief justice of the Mississippi Supreme Court. Memphis Sun.

Chief Justice Virgil A. Griffith made the suggestion in an address at memorial services for lawyers who have died during the past year Ross aBrnett of Jackson was chairman of the committee in charge of the ceremonies which featured reconveninb of the court after the Summer recess.

The chief justice did not specify the proposals to be "sterilized," but his suggestion was obviously directed against President Truman's civil rights program as a threat to states rights.

Heretical Measures"

"Today we se movements gathering force, which, if not repelled, have been written."

Declaring that the lawyers must answer the call of their country and particularly of their state," Chief Justice Griffith said:

"If the dangerous political proposals now being agitated, or some of them, shall come to fruition by enactment into Federal statutes, as now seems likely, and if they shall be upheld by the Federal judiciary, as also seems likely, it will be our duty to ourselves to sterilize them so far as possible by resort to every practical expedient within the broad reach of permissible state action . . . this calls for a steadfastness of purpose and for a quality of statesmanship of the highest type in skill and ability."

"The pattern to meet and defeat these tendencies must be set in the political forum wherever the Chief Justice to by Justice W. G. Roberds. He said the long record of the late justice "is a combination of judicial service unequaled."

"One who accomplished so much necessarily possessed great talents and exalted traits of character," Justice Roberds said. "Judge Justice Sydney Smith.

Chief Justice Griffith asserted that "the uneducated, the unprepared and the unscrupulous are proposing all manner of heretical measures having their origin in some alien system, or, worse still, in the selfish purposes of minorities among ourselves."

"There are distinct trends with clamorous political support in numerous quarters which, if not suppressed, will convert our Nation into a centralized bureaucracy at the head of which will sit a political autocrat or dictator, and our representative democracy will join with the ruins of other great republics of the past,

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Sun 4-14-48

smith was not burdened with animosities or evil thoughts or bad habits. His religious convictions not only governed his private life, but guided him in his official acts."

Former Members There

Three former members of the court attending the ceremonies were J. Morgan Stevens, W. D. Anderson and George Ethridge. Governor Wright was present, as was Paul B. Johnson Jr., his 1947 gubernatorial opponent.

Two former United States representatives eulogized were W. W. Venable of Clarksdale, and T. Webber Wilson of Laurel, as well as two state judges, Chancellor Vernon Roe of Winona and S. F. Davis of Indianola.

A total of 36 members of the bar died during the past year.

Sidney Redmond, a negro member of the St. Louis Board of Aldermen and son of the late S. D. Redmond, negro attorney of Jackson, attended the ceremonies and sat in the section reserved for lawyers. He is a member of the Missouri bar.

Chief Justice Griffit said opinions would not be handed down for two weeks, although the court meets Tuesdayto hear arguments on appeals.

Deny That Negroes Are Happy In South

JACKSON, Miss.—One hundred Mississippi Negro leaders gathered here last week in a statewide meeting and boldly refuted propoganda that Negroes are satisfied with their present plight in Dixie.

They blasted the old saying that "outside meddlers" stir up racial trouble in the south by themselves asking for equality of opportunity for Negroes in Mississippi. At the same time they gave 100 per cent endorsement to President Truman's civil rights program.

Led by Percy Green, editor of the Jackson Advocate, and called after southern political leaders rebelled against Truman's civil rights program, the group also asked Mississippi Governor Fielding Wright to appoint an interracial committee to work toward equalization of opportunities for Negroes in that state.

Cites Negro Problem

Keynoting the meeting, Green said, "The greatest question in the nation today is the Negro question, and I will say now that this nation will not remain one-half one thing and one-half another. We must stand together as one to achieve democracy."

Green warned that "as long as states' rights exist as the paramount political philosophy in the south, the Negro will never have an opportunity for the true democracy." Efforts of Rankin and other white supremists to brand many Negro leaders as Communist were treated with derision by Green. He said:

"There are not more than three or four real Negro Communishts in the country today."

Telegram To Truman

A telegram sent by the Negro leaders to President Truman read:

"We, a mass meeting of Negro citizens of Mississippi, knowing that we express the opinion and sentiment of all the Negroes of the state who speak without duress and knowing that the prestige of this nation abroad is being challenged as to the true principles of democracy, not only for the Negroes of Mississippi and the south and the nation, but for the preservation of democracy in America, and the lasting goodwill and prestige of our country abroad, do hereby give one hundred per cent endorsement to your civil rights program."

At "Negro" Meeting

Ace N. Y. Writer Grilled by Cops

JACKSON, Miss.—(ANP)—Two plainclothes officers stopped John Popham, white, New York Times correspondent, just after he had attended a mass meeting of approximately 100 Negroes who had adopted a resolution endorsing President Truman's civil rights program. What they hoped to find out was not revealed, but Popham said the officers were not abusive.

Popham was accosted as he left the meeting by the two detectives who had been standing at the rear of the hall. They told him to "get in the car. We want to talk to you."

WHAT COLOR ARE YOU?

Popham got in the car, after they had shown their badges. "One of them took out a notebook and started asking questions. The first question they asked was 'What color are you'?", he said.

Popham said he told them "white," whereupon the officer said, "that's what we want to know."

Other questions included his name, reason for attending the meeting, name of his employer, where he was living in Jackson and his hometown address. When they finished, they told Popham, "You can go now. We're just doing our duty."

Mississippi Race Leaders Call For Civil Rights Opportunities

JACKSON, Miss.—Mississippi race leaders have called on Governor Fielding L. Wright and the state legislature to select an interracial committee to solve problems of providing equal opportunity and have declared they will resort to broad-scale court action if improvements are not made.

J. H. Young, president of the Jackson Negro Chamber of Commerce, said: "Let them know what we want. If we can't get it, we're going to get it the only way open—through the courts."

M. Jackson was speaking at a special meeting Feb. 11. The participants indorsed President Truman's civil rights program, while Southern governors were planning action to defeat it. Percy Green, Jackson newspaper editor, presided. Said he, opening the meeting:

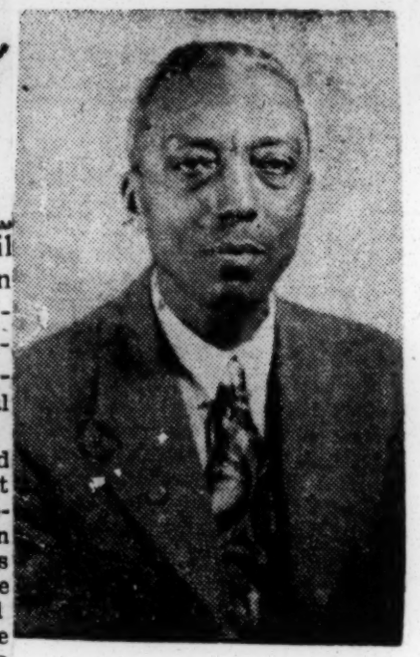
"The greatest question in the nation today is the Negro question. And I will say now that this nation will not remain one-half one thing and one-half another. We have all to stand together as one to achieve democracy."

While race leaders were thus seeking to implement the President's civil rights program, big shots among Mississippi's Democrats were holding their first meeting to plan ways of checking it.

Governor Wright said he would ask that his party refuse to support the Democratic party with electoral votes unless assurance is given that the Civil Rights legislation will be dropped.

PROVIDES A PENALTY FOR RACIAL BIAS

St. Louis Argus 1-30-48 (10) St. Louis Post



JEFFERSON CITY, Mo., Jan. 28.—(Special).—A civil rights bill was introduced in the State Legislature Tuesday by Representative William Massingale. The bill provides for punishment for racial discrimination in public places.

Representative Massingale told an Argus reporter that he felt Missouri is ready for such progressive legislature, which is in keeping with recommendations contained in the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. He expressed confidence that the measure will not be a dead issue from the start, as was the case with an FEPC measure offered by him in the 1947 session. 1-30-48

"The Republicans State organization has already committed itself to favor a program of fairness toward racial questions and I expect to get favorable support from members of my party," Massingale stated.

The measure, listed as House Bill No. 469 will be referred to the Committee on Rules. The author of the measure states that one of the most essential requirements for its success will be mass pressure to get the bill out of committee.

Modeled after the Pennsylvania Civil Rights act, the Massingale bill consists of four sections. It provides fines up to $100 to imprisonment up to 90 days or both.

The bill provides that all persons are entitled to full accommodation, facilities and privileges without segregation at any place of public accommodation, resort or amusement regardless of race, religion, creed, color or national origin, and violation of these rights would liable the guilty party or parties to fine or imprisonment under the law.

Among the places difined as effected by the bill are hotels, auto courts, rooming houses, restaurants, soda fountains, theaters, clinics, skating rinks, and parks.

Negro's Civil Right in Lincoln Is Not Too Much

The Courier

This is the twenty-fourth in a Pittsburgh Courier series dealing with State Capitals for the purpose of showing to what extent democracy is being practiced in the various States.

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER
(Courier Associate Editor)

LINCOLN, Neb. — If the Great Emancipator could return to this mortal coil and visit the State capital named after him, he would find little to praise and more to condemn. He would find his dictum that a nation cannot exist half slave and half free honored here too often in the breach.

If it be true that the right to work and advance on the job is a civil right, as President Truman's committee declared, then the Negro's civil right in Lincoln is not too much. The 1,500 Negroes here in a total population of more than 90,000 are all working, but they encounter the usual barriers.

Pittsburgh, Pa

Foundry Work

There is considerable difficulty in getting work in industrial plants such as the Western Electric, Elgin Watch Company and the Cushman Motor Works, although some Negroes do fundry work in the latter. During the late war Negroes were able to get much machine work, but with peace these jobs vanished. There are some Negroes employed as laborers and helpers in the Havelock Shops of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad. They are not unionized, it is said, but they can join if they wish.

Negroes are not hired as bellhops in any of the local hotels, but do work as maids, porters, cooks and waiters. There is dining car and chair car work in and out of the city.

Repair Boss

One colored man is head of furniture repair in the city's largest department store. There is one Negro electrician, but the union will not permit him to join up. It gives him a permit to work. However, Negroes are in both the plasterers and cement finishers unions. One man drives a truck for the supply department of the Lincoln Telephone Company. The municipally owned electric light company has a colored man in charge of supplies, but the gas company hires Negroes only as janitors. There is one colored stenographer in the Nebraska State Employment Service, and a stenographer and machine and index operator in the Department of Labor.

Hotels, Restaurants

The right to recreation and accommodation is not completely enjoyed by colored people. Only one local hotel, The Cornhusker, will take Negro guests if they are important personages. There is a civil rights law prescribing fines of from $25 to $100, and it has been invoked on several occasions recently, but nevertheless Negro hotel guests are a rarity.

However, Negroes have eaten frequently in the dining room of the Cornhusker Hotel and in the better restaurants of the city. But the cheap restaurants frequented by the white proletariat discourage Negro patronage. No civil rights suits have been brought against any of them as yet by the ninety-member NAACP branch or other liberal groups.

The Courier

Right to Swim

There is no discrimination against Negroes in the local theatres and the same is true of publicly owned recreational facilities. Negroes just recently won a fight to use the municipal swimming pool, but one privately owned pool still bars them. Colored patronage is also refused by privately owned roller skating rink and bowling alleys. Privately owned ball rooms are also not available to Negroes.

Colored people are members of both the YMCA and the YWCA. They can use the recreational facilities, but not engage rooms at the YMCA. There are colored members of the YWCA board, but not of the YMCA. However, it is possible for Negroes to use the swimming pools at both places.

Negro students were banned from the dormitories of the University of Nebraska until February of this year, and girls of color are still barred from dormitories. However, five colored girls stay at the YWCA International House, and this policy has been in operation for several years.

It is noteworthy that some of the University of Nebraska, Wesleyan University and Union College have removed the previous ban on Negro patronage.

Much of the change has been due to the activities of the NAACP and the Committee on Racial Equality (CORE). The summer camps of the YMCA welcome Negroes and they can avail themselves of all facilities, including swimming.

LINCOLN, NEB. . . . Familiar Pattern on the Prairie

Right to Education

Negroes in Lincoln enjoy full right to education. There are no separate schools as are found in neighboring Kansas. It is said that the city will not hire Negro teachers, but some Negroes say that there is no eagerness on the part of qualified Negroes to apply.

In any event, there are none, although it is reported that white applicants seem to find no difficulty in getting teaching berths. In sharp contrast to the public school system, not a single private school in the city will accept Negro pupils.

Of the five hospitals in the city only two will accept Negroes. There are no Negro nurses and no available facilities for training Negro nurses. It was impossible to ascertain how many applications had been made for such training. Negro physicians cannot interne at the University of Nebraska Hospital nor any other in town. It is reported that the Methodist Church Board warned the director of the Bryan Memorial Hospital that the institution was likely to have its funds curtailed if it persisted in barring Negro internes and residents. Nevertheless, there are none there.

Right to Vote

Politically the Lincoln Negroes have no complaint. All who want to vote can do so. There is one colored policeman, a man in charge of a comfort station and some Negroes working in minor positions in most departments. Local Negroes call this "token" employment.

When it comes to the right of residence, the Lincoln Negroes have none to speak about although the recent U. S. Supreme Court decision may make a difference. As it is, they can neither rent nor buy outside a prescribed area. The banks, the building and loan associations and the insurance companies all combine nefariously to maintain the ghetto policy. A proposed housing project for Negroes was killed by real estate interests. Interestingly enough some 80 per cent of the colored people own their own homes.

Interracial Work

It is a hopeful sign that there is some worthwhile interracial work being done to bring Lincoln closer to the ideals of the sainted Emancipator. The Lincoln Council of Church Women is active in trying to broaden employment opportunities for colored people. Working in the same direction is the Social Action Council consisting largely of college people and with which some of the unions are cooperating. The latter group is also campaigning against the barring of Negroes by some restaurants. Its members visited five restaurants in the community and were successful in getting them to change their anti-Negro policies.

Negro Members

St. Paul's Methodist Church, the Catholic Church and the University Episcopal Church all have Negro members. The Nebraska State Holders Association is a religious interracial group with a colored man on its board. The Holiness, Methodist, Evangical and other churches in the city have had Negro guest preachers.

Race relations generally are cordial within the set pattern. The Indians in the community identify themselves with the Negroes as has been hostorically the case almost everywhere in the country. The white people are chiefly of Russian and German extraction, and they compete for lowly jobs with the Negroes. As a result Negro employment in one of the big department stores declined from twenty-six to four in maid jobs.

Well-Paid Job

In contrast, one of the oddities of life on Lincoln's interracial front is the fact that George Randol, veteran New York actor, who starred in "Anna Lucasta," is director of the Circlet Theatre, a little theatre group which has a membership of white people. This is a well-paid job, and perhaps the one of its kind held by a Negro in the U. S.

'Created Equal?'

Montclair, N. J., sets an example for other communities by its 'audit' of civil rights.

By HERBERT MITGANG

MONTCLAIR, N. J.

IN a dozen American communities people are talking about the Montclair Audit. For this small New Jersey town has set an example for others in the touchy civil rights field. One section in Boston already is engaged in a similar audit, and cities west to Chicago, south to Richmond and north to Windsor, Ont., are talking it up.

It all began last fall when the President's Committee on Civil Rights stated that the "American ideal still awaits complete realization," meaning that minorities sometimes were treated as second-class citizens. Montclair took those words to heart.

Like many another American town, Montclair (pop. 45,000) has good intentions and some bad traditions. The geographical bounds are neatly delineated on a map ("Compliments of Montclair Trust Company") showing its contiguity to other towns in Northern New Jersey. And Montclair also has bold dividing lines that cannot be found on any map: color and racial lines that separate the minorities from the majority. Along Bloomfield Avenue, the main street, a five-and-ten manager says, "Montclair? A good town essentially, better than most."

MONTCLAIR'S decision to analyze itself supported its reputation as one of the most alert communities in the East.

They called their effort the Montclair Audit—a trial balance of the town's credits and debits in the civil-rights ledger. The Audit would show whether Negroes were denied the right to buy a house in the "better" part of town, if "gentlemen's agreements" existed.

Now, after months of work, they finally have the story of how their town adds up. A few weeks ago the final Audit report was deposited in the Montclair Public Library. Copies are in the hands of the town fathers for study and action. The Audit has been roundly approved. For this was more than an accumulation of facts; behind the raw figures was an adventure in community action for the benefit of minorities still seeking equality.

FROM the start the Montclair Audit was a joint undertaking. Leo Nejelski, a New York management counsel and general chairman of the Montclair Forum, initiated the idea. The local chapter of the American Veterans Committee, led by Curtis Campaigne Jr., spearheaded the Audit with a confidential investigation of the status of Negro doctors in Montclair and their relationship—or lack of it—to the three hospitals. Both sponsoring organizations were joined by the Montclair Intergroup Council, the local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the Intercultural Group of the New Jersey State Teachers College. No attempt was made at the outset to involve any groups holding illiberal opinions.

"Nobody who didn't participate felt offended at being left out," said AVC leader Campaigne, who acted as coordinator for the Audit.

Fact-finders on six subcommittees went into the field. The subcommittee studying public facilities made an experimental visit to eight fairly expensive restaurants, taking along mixed groups of white and Negro students. After briefing, drivers of delivery trucks engaged in unobtrusive conversations with customers about their feelings on mixed neighborhoods; that helped the housing subcommittee decide whether it was economics or prejudices that caused restrictive covenants.

objections as: "People are too indifferent" and "Why not let sleeping dogs lie?" Criticism came from real estate people, who felt that "property values would go down" if segregation ended. And the big American Legion post in town was not overjoyed at the idea of a civil rights survey.

A balance sheet of civil rights, recounting for the first time a town's assets and liabilities in this field, was presented soberly:

Employment

Assets: Department of Public Works, Bureaus of Public Nursing and Public Welfare

Chairman Curtis Campaigne, Jr.

do not discriminate. Many private utilities and companies (listed by name) fair in employment practices.

Liabilities: Four Negro policemen on a seventy-man force. No Negro firemen. Little opportunity for private employment other than manual labor. Certain other groups, including Jews, excluded from some commercial and clerical jobs.

Housing

Assets: In state temporary housing project for veterans allocation is solely on basis of need.

Liabilities: Real estate prices and rents in predominantly white areas higher for Negroes. Real estate operators have tacit agreement to bar certain races and religions from "better" neighborhoods.

Recreation

Assets: Public recreation facilities open to all. Scout groups mix in summer camps. One bowling alley does not discriminate.

Liabilities: Private roller skating rink bars Negroes. Pattern of segregation followed in some bowling alleys. Y. M. C. A. has separate branches for whites and Negroes.

Education

Assets: In elementary, junior and senior high schools students work and play together without discrimination. Some school personnel participate in human relations studies at universities.

Liabilities: Schools have only one regular full-time Negro teacher, one full-time Negro substitute and six part-time Negro substitutes among 257 classroom teachers.

Public Facilities

Assets: Seven of eight restaurants surveyed served everybody.

Liabilities: One of the eight restaurants refused to serve Negroes; four gave over-rapid service and restaurant employes showed annoyance.

Public Health

Assets: No apparent discrimination in tax-supported public health program or in clinics. All hospitals employ Negro nurses.

Liabilities: Negro physicians must turn patients over to white doctors in the town's three hospitals.

When the final report was deposited in the town library a few weeks ago the beneficial effects in Montclair already were visible. The Audit, first of all, had unusual results among the participating members. Some members originally in opposition were converted to the idea of an annual civil rights check-up. All the Audit organizations received applications from outsiders who wanted to sign up in civic betterment programs. No miracles were accomplished overnight. One prominent Negro in Montclair candidly said: "There is still discrimination in the better restaurants, and many of the hat and dress shops will not serve prospective Negro customers."

Yet there were some changes. "Probably some were due to take place anyway, which is fine. For our part we're glad whether improvements followed normally or as a result of the survey," says Mr. Campaigne.

ONE Negro policeman has been added to the staff and the head of the Fire Department says that his department does not discriminate. Negro doctors have received courtesy privileges at Mountainside Hospital, the biggest in town. A court judgment has been obtained against the roller-skating rink under the New Jersey Civil Rights Law and action has been taken by the town to suspend the skating rink's license. The State commission against discrimination in Newark has been called to the attention of employers and employes. Montclair's school committee on human relations has initiated negotiations with New York University and Rutgers for a fifteen-week intergroup course for teachers.

The hard task—making the American ideal of equality work on the community level—is still ahead. Knowing that at best it is a slow process, the Montclair groups nevertheless feel that they have made a start by assembling the facts. The total cash expenditure for the Montclair Audit was $27.35, all spent for meals in restaurants while testing willingness to serve Negroes. Around Montclair Center, in the heart of town, they figure the Audit was a bargain at that price.

CIVIL RIGHTS BILL FAILS IN N. J. SENATE

TRENTON, N. J.—(NNPA)— ate session, buttonholing senators militant lobby, assisted by church from their respective counties in women's civic groups, failed to search of pledges of support for the budge the Senate Republicans ca- necessary votes in caucus to as- cus last Wednesday and the omni- sure passage, but one senator said bus civil rights bill of Assemblyw- of the measure the opposition was the caucus was "considerably short" man Freeman of Essex died in t- who feared they would be forced of the majority eleven votes. led by the senators from the four to abandon their present policy of Senate last Wednesday night. main shore resort counties— Sen- barring" undesirable guests.

About 200 colored persons crowd- This source claimed that Senator ator Farley of Atlantic, Herbert of Littell of Sussex was also opposed Ocean and Mathis of Monmouth, to the bill and that Senators Young ed the Senate galleries and corrid- of Morris and Hand of Union "pas- ers throughout the concluding Se- sed" their vote.

There was no roll available of how

According to this tally the bill was only two short of the eleven

The Freeman bill would merge into one law the 1884 civil rights

bill and the 1945 statute banning discrimination in employment because of race, creed, color or national origin. It would vest jurisdiction over enforcement in the Division Against Discrimination in the State Department of Education.

While the 1884 act provides penalties for the denial of civil rights, criminal prosecution could stem only when an agrieved person filed a complaint. But colored persons and other minorities have generally been unable to obtain convictions. No enforcement official is required to institute action. 9-14-48

Under the 1945 act, setting up the anti-discrimination division, prosecution of employers denying employment to persons because of race, creed or color can be started by the assistant commissioner of education if negotiation and educational attempts fail to bring a halt to the illegal acts. Jus. 9-14-48

New power would have been vested in the commissioner under the Freeman mill to prosecute any denial of civil rights, provided negotiations failed.

Montclair Is Educating Itself To Broaden Its Civil Liberties

(10) Herald Tribune

Wed 10-20-48

The plan by which Montclair, N. J., is educating itself for the preservation and extension of civil liberties was described yesterday at the second session of the New York Herald Tribune's seventeenth annual Forum at the Waldorf-Astoria by Leo Nejelski, president of Nejelski & Company, Inc., management counsels.

New York N.Y.

Mr. Nejelski is a member of the board of directors of the National Citizens Council on Civil Rights and a founder of the recently completed Montclair Civil Rights Audit through which the community assayed its own shortcomings in the field of civil rights and set about to correct them.

Implicit in the reasoning which led to the Montclair Audit was Mr. Nejelski's warning that "our failure to solve the abuses of civil rights will make American democracy a hollow mockery in a world that is groping for hope, for examples that will generate courage to resolve the problems that abound in our era of transition."

How Audit Was Made

After denying that American democracy was decaying or that the people were afraid to face the truth about social issues, Mr. Nejelski outlined how the audit was made. Several groups interested in the issue designated a committee to read the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights and bring back a plan to fit Montclair.

This committee recommended that a chairman be appointed and that six subcommittees be established to study specific community problems — housing, employment, education, health, recreation and access to public facilities.

At the first meeting of all the committees, three main points were established: that the audit was to show favorable as well as unfavorable developments, that the audit was being made within a democratic framework with respect for every individual, and that the group making the study would decide what was true and how the facts should be presented.

"Need More Daring"

Wed 10-20-48

Restaurants were visited to find whether color discrimination was practiced, and housing and shopping facilities were also investigated. When the facts were gathered, the findings were presented to a public meeting. As a result of the information, hospitals, civic bodies and community organizations reconsidered their policies and practices, thereby giving new heart to minority groups.

"Now that scores of other communities are embarking on civil rights audits of their own," he said, "I am convinced that what we need in the United States is more social invention. We need more daring, more ways of conserving our human resources. In short, we need more ingenuity in seeking out methods for making democracy work. No great white father in Washingon can perform miracles unless you and I take initiative at the grass roots."

Civil Rights Act Held Inapplicable

Journal Guide

(10)

NEWARK, N. J.—(WDL) — The anti-discrimination provisions of the federal civil rights law do not apply to a private amusement park, ruled U. S. Judge William F. Smith in dismissing 20 counts of a 26-count damage suit charging the owners of Palisades Amusement park and the police chief of Fort Lee with conspiracy to violate the civil rights of 10 Negroes and whites from New York.

Plans for an appeal were promptly announced by Meyer Pesin and Hiram Elfenbein, Workers Defense League attorneys who handled the case. The 10 Negroes and whites were manhandled by police and park guards after being refused admission to the pool.

"The full and equal enjoyment of the accommodations and facilities of a private amusement park is not a right or privilege secured by the Constitution," Judge Smith ruled. "It necessarily follows that the Act, as heretofore construed, may not be invoked."

Six counts charging false arrest and police brutality were allowed to stand by Judge Smith. He stated he would in addition permit amendments to these charges.

New Jersey Forming Policy To Handle Racial Civil Rights Cases

(10) Daily World Atlanta, Ga.

TRENTON, N. J. —A new statewide policy relative to handling of all civil rights cases based on race, creed and color is now being formulated in New Jersey. Fri.

This was learned by the Workers Defense League in the course of its attempt to have the newly formed governor's civil rights committee investigate the denial of civil rights last summer to interracial groups attempting to end the ban on Negroe at Palisades Park's swimming pool. 1-2-48

J. Lindsay de Valliere, secretary to Governor Alfred E. Driscoll wrote the WDL that Walter Van Riper, state attorney general, and Joseph L. Bustard, director of the state's division against discrimination, will soon confer on the proposed new policy. "Only recently, Mr. Bustard had a conference with Attorney General Van Riper on the Palisdes case," de Valliere added.

Development of "an over-all policy on the question of civil liberties," is the objective of the newly formed civil rights committee as outlined by the governor at its first meeting. Before the 18-man committee held las second meeting, December 17 each member had received from the WDL a complete report of the Palisades case, with a request for action. Even before the meeting was held, several of the members acknowledgede the report and said they would bring it up on the agenda. 1-2-48

Let Every Man Speak His Piece, Stop Bias, Jersey Governor Urged

PM New York, N.Y.
Sun 4-25-48

TRENTON

Governor Driscoll's Committee on Civil Liberties proposed Friday that every New Jersey community metaphorically "hire a hall" where every "crank, fanatic, and zealot" would be freely allowed to blow off steam, with police protection if requested.

The Committee also proposed a law prohibiting "gentlemen's agreements," Jim Crowism, discrimination, or restrictive covenants on real estate and in public housing, recreation, and education. It urged establishment of a state medical school to check "widespread discriminatory practices in the hospitals . . . in admission of patients as well as in the appointment of doctors, internes, and nurses, particularly women and Negro physicians."

New York, N.Y.

The committee was appointed by Driscoll after a mob broke up a Communist meeting in Trenton. The committee's report makes New Jersey the first of the 48 states to carry out a study of civil rights as recommended by President Truman's national committee.

PM

The report urged creation of a Commission on Civil Rights, formed around the present State Council Against Discrimination, to police all civil liberties throughout the state.

Sun 4-25-48

On the free speech issue the committee wrote:

"The right of free speech will not long endure if exceptions to its enjoyment may be raised on the current unpopularity of a minority group. . . . The crank, the fanatic, the announced enemy of our system of government, is less dangerous when given opportunity for self-expression. The zealot who is not allowed to express his ideas in public becomes a martyr and draws adherents who otherwise would have laughed at him."

Sun 4-25-48

However, the committee suggested that publications and organizations be compelled to make public their origins and motives.

The committee opposed loyalty checks of state employes on the ground that New Jersey has few if any military or diplomatic secrets.

Negro Wins Ohio Civil Rights Suits

Daily Worker
Northern Ed.

DAYTON, O., March 25.—A judgment of $500 against the Pennsylvania Greyhound Bus Co. for violation of the Ohio Civil Rights Statute has been returned here in favor of Fred Hamlet of this city. The jury, however, refused to grant Hamlet's claim for $24,500 in damages as a result of his ejection from a bus at West Alexandria, Ohio.

Mrs. Esther Pitcher, of Dayton, a housewife, who is white, read about the trial in the local newspapers and volunteered to testify. She had been a passenger on the bus.

Mrs. Pitcher took the stand to assert that she had heard the driver, Iliff Brown, call Hamlet a "n---r," and added that Hamlet made no disturbance. 3-26-48

Civil Rights in Oklahoma County

The Black Dispatch

State Senator Robert Burns and several of the candidates on the county ticket have been attempting during recent weeks to remove Sam Huddleston, secretary of the county election board, from office, but they do not seem to have struck pay dirt in their efforts to show improper conduct in office.

It remained, however, for the editor of the Oklahoma County News, published at Jones, to bring the bacon home, although the Black Dispatch doubts much will be done about it because the issue the Jones editor raises surrounds two Negroes who attempted to get on the county ticket and were rejected. If some white candidate occupied an identical position we are quite sure the editorial published in the May 28 issue of the Jones publication would be effective.

There follows the article above referred to:

The federal civil rights program is causing a lot of discussion over the country and a lot of dissension among members of both political parties, but it seems we are forgetting civil rights here at home, in our own county, for instance.

During the period for filing for political offices in April, two Republicans, who happened to be Negroes, filed for commissioner of the first district of Oklahoma county. Later, after the filing period had ended, it was found that there was some irregularity about these filings, and they were rejected.

Oklahoma City, Okla.

Now, we want to ask a question. Suppose you take a deed or a mortgage to the county clerk's office for recording, what is the first thing they do? Do they not look over the papers to see if they are correctly made out, and if they are not do they not so inform you and give you a chance to make the necessary corrections? Yes, that is exactly what they do, and that is exactly what should have been done by the county election board, who are supposed to act fairly in all matters pertaining to their duties.

Sept. 6-5-48

Now, we want to ask you another question. Who do you think was expecting to benefit from the fact that there would be no Republican opposition for county commissioner?

There can be but one answer. That's right, you guessed it.

We prate about believing in equal civil rights for all citizens, whether they be white, black, red or yellow; whether they be of English, German, Polish, Russian, Japanese, Chinese, or of whatever other racial extraction but when it comes to practicing what we preach we

ALBANY GETS BILLS TO AID CIVIL RIGHTS

Seven Go Into Hopper Along With Three Affecting the Long Island Rail Road

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ALBANY, Jan. 9—A bill to outlaw restrictive covenants in real estate instruments, and seven other bills designed for the protection of civil liberties, were introduced today in the State Legislature by Assemblyman Bernard Austin, Democrat, of Brooklyn.

Three other bills that went into the legislative hopper today would affect the Long Island Rail Road. These would require full electrification of all operations and the fencing-in of railroad rights-of-way and freight yards within the City of New York.

The Austin bill relating to restrictive covenants in real estate instruments would negate rulings of the state courts which have validated discriminatory practices in property sales and leases.

Based on Court Finding

The bill is understood to have been prompted by the recent decision of the Appellate Division, Second Department, which unanimously sustained Supreme Court Justice Jacob H. Livingston in enjoining a Queens woman from selling a house to a Negro in violation of a covenant made with neighbors.

Assemblyman Austin, who last session was co-sponsor of the controversial Austin-Mahoney Bill to prevent discrimination in education, introduced a measure today to prohibit discrimination based on race, creed, religion or color in the admission of students at institutions for medical or nurse training. It also would outlaw discrimination in the admission of hospital patients.

Another Austin bill would require registration with the state of organizations that attempt to influence public opinion through propaganda. The bill would require the submission of membership lists and financial statements and is directed to bring about exposure of subversive organizations masking their purposes through anonymity. College fraternities and labor unions would be exempted.

The establishment of a Division of Civil Rights in the Executive Department, the outlawing of wiretapping without a warrant, and the barring of discrimination by housing and re-development companies are provided for in other bills put forward by Assemblyman Austin.

Dancer Wins $1,117 Judgment

A judgment of $1,117 was entered in City Court yesterday against the Fred F. French Management Company, Inc., operators of Tudor Hotel, 25 Prospect Place, in favor of Claude Marchant, Negro dancer, of 301 West Fifty-ninth Street, who charged that the company twice had violated the State Civil Rights Law by refusing him permission to ride in the passenger elevator. The judgment was returned by a jury of seven women and five men sitting before City Court Justice Francis E. Rivers.

DANCER WINS $1,000 IN CIVIL RIGHTS SUIT

NEW YORK — Claude Marchant, a dancer with the Katherine Dunham group, won $1,000 last week because he had twice been refused use of the regular passenger elevators at swanky Tudor City apartments.

Marchant told the court, over which Negro Judge Francis E. Rivers presided, that on Mar. 25 and again on May 7 of last year, he had been refused use of the elevator when visiting his friend, David Lown. He was forced to go up on the service elevator, used to transport garbage.

The management of Tudor City said the dancer was carrying packages and was therefore thought to be a messenger. The jury deliberated two hours and 15 minutes and voted 11-to-1 on each of the two counts.

7 Civil Rights Bills Filed In Albany, N.Y.

ALBANY, N. Y.—Seven bills for the protection of civil liberties have been introduced in the New York State Legislature by Assemblyman Bernard Austin, Democrat, Brooklyn.

One of the most significant of the seven is one seeking to negate rulings of state courts which have validated discriminatory policies in property transactions.

The bill was necessitated by the recent Appellate Division decision which sustained Supreme Court Justice Jacob H. Livingston in enjoining a Queens woman from selling a house to a Negro against a covenant with neighbors.

Assemblyman Austin also introduced a bill to prohibit discrimination based on race, creed, religion, or color in the admission of students for medical or nurse training. Discrimination in the admission or hospital patients would also be abolished by this measure.

Still another bill would require state registration of all organizations attempting to influence public opinion through propaganda. It would require the submission of membership lists and financial statements and is directed to expose subversive groups working in anonymity.

Other provisions submitted by the assemblyman include the establishment of a Division of Civil Rights in the Executive Department, the outlawing of wiretapping without a warrant, and the barring of discrimination by housing and re-development companies.

D.C. Group For Rights Report

Washington, D. C.

THE President's Civil Rights Committee report received the indorsement of a Washington citizens' group last week when the Connecticut Ave. Citizens Association voted 48 to 44 to support the document. 1-12-45

Speaking in favor of the report, CIO Secy.-Treas. James B. Carey, a member of the Civil Rights Committee, told the group that "America cannot assert its voice throughout the world for democracy until it can answer for many breaches committed within its frontiers."

The report, which vigorously scores racial discrimination in the District of Columbia, was denounced by Mrs. Horace Phelps of the District Federation of Women's Clubs, who charged that it would "incite biased groups found in all races."

Clifford Newell, former president of the Federation of Citizens Associations, joined with Mrs. Phelps in opposing the discrimination charges Newell denied claims of local discrimination with the argument that the Board of Education has allotted more than 47% of its building funds to Negroes in the last six years and that 99 additional Negro teachers—and no new white teachers—will be hired this year.

Newell's stand was challenged by Mrs. C. Leslie Glenn, member of the board of the Council of Church Women, who noted that no Negro senior high school has a regulation-size basketball court, and that Negro doctors cannot practice at Gallinger Hospital. Admitting that she belonged to a younger generation, she asserted that she possibly had developed "a different point of view."

The News of Radio

The Times New York N.Y.
Nov. 2-23-48

MBS Abandons Its Plan for Dramatization of Civil Rights Report Series

10

The Mutual Broadcasting System's original intention of employing the dramatic form for a documentary series on the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights will be abandoned in favor of straight readings, in the interests of "fairness" to the report, it became known yesterday. 2-23-48

The four-program series will be broadcast on consecutive Tuesdays at 10 P. M., beginning tomorrow, with WOR the local outlet.

In answer to an inquiry, Elsie Dick, head of Mutual's educational department, explained that the decision was based on the opinion that dramatization distorted the actual report. She also said that dramatic treatment did not permit coverage of the entire report. The result is, she continued, that five or six actors will be hired to read the complete report during the four weekly installments.

The disclosure came to light through Arnold Perl, who had been commissioned by Mutual to dramatize the report. It was learned from the writer he had been informed Friday night that his scripts would not be broadcast because the issue of the report had become " a political football." Mr. Perl said this had led him to believe the entire series would be canceled, and later yesterday he expressed surprise that the project would be carried through in a different form. The Times

Mr. Perl declared he believed protests from persons and interests in the South were a consideration in Mutual's decision. He added that after he had turned in his finished script he had been called on again and again to make revisions, each of which, in his opinion, further emasculated the original.

Mutual also had expressed the fear, he said, that presentation of the documentary series would be in violation of the Federal Communication Commission's "Mayflower" decision, which proscribes editorializing by a station licensee in its own name. Washington D.C.

Mr. Pearl said he had sold Mutual first rights to his scripts, and that the question of offering them elsewhere for presentation was a legal matter. However, he said he was not interested in other outlets, that he wanted Mutual to fulfill, what he considers, its obligation to broadcast the scripts. Mirror

EDUCATION VS. LAW

Prejudices on Wane In Dixie—Mrs. Tilly

The Constitution
Atlanta, Feb. 1-30-48

By M. L. ST. JOHN

The South—long-time home of hate organizations and leader in lynchings—is losing its prejudices.

That's the word from a member of President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights following a speaking tour over the South and into the East.

Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Atlanta church woman who served on the President's Committee, said the South did not want to end segregation—as recommended by the National Committee—but Southerners were showing extraordinary great interest in improving the education, health and job opportunities for the Negroes.

The little lady who has shuddered over man's inhumanity to man as she sat through the farce of the acquittal of confessed lynchers is bravely walking right into the heart of the Ku Klux Klan sections and challenging the people to "live like Christ." The response, she said, is amazing. Crowds have attended all of her talks, and she has received applause in all meetings. Fan letters are pouring in—"I have received only 12 letters opposing my work," she commented. The Constitution

While groups argue over whether President Truman should ask Congress to pass bills based on the Committee's report, Mrs. Tilly is centering her guns on education rather than law. Atlanta, Ga.

"Laws mean nothing unless the people want to abide by them," she commented. "The people must have in their hearts the will to treat their fellow man right. Then, and then only, will America really become a free nation for all of its citizens." Sun. 1-3-48

The churches over the South were taking the leading role in sponsoring the crusade to eliminate hate, Mrs. Tilly reported. Church organizations and colleges are sponsoring Mrs. Tilly's talks and are conducting study courses on the Committee's report.

"The churches must strengthen their home mission programs," Mrs. Tilly advised. "Neither religion, culture, nor education reaches the edge of Atlanta or any city or rural town. They are in the center of town while sin, ignorance and poverty can be found on the outskirts. Prejudices breed in conditions like these."

The South has been generally concerned with the Committee's recommendation that no Federal aid be granted States which have segregation, Mrs. Tully said. A minority group of the Committee opposed this recommendation.

Mrs. Tilly, herself, said the South's minority race would fare very well if the States would do what their own Constitutions commit them to do. That is, maintain separate but "equal" educational, health, transportation and other facilities for all races.

Creation of a Department of Civil Rights is the most important part of the report in Mrs. Tilly's opinion. This would strengthen the power of the Federal Government to act when local communities are unable to do so, or unwilling to do so, for the protection of a citizen's rights. The Constitution

The Atlanta church woman will resume her speaking tour Monday

STUDENTS SUPPORT CIVIL RIGHTS UNIT

The Times
New York, N.Y.

Youth Forum Discusses Report of President's Committee and Seeks to Curb Evils

Sun. 1-11-48

Public opinion and emphasis in education against prejudice toward minority groups were cited as important factors in support of civil rights throughout the nation by high school students who participated yesterday in the Youth Forum sponsored by THE NEW YORK TIMES and broadcast by WQXR.

Several hundred students and adults attended the session in Times Hall, 240 West Forty-fourth Street, at which six students from public and parochial schools joined in a panel discussion of the topic, "Why the President's Committee on Civil Rights?"

Referring to the recent report of the committee the students declared that "public opinion will force the enactment of the proposed bills." They favored its recommendation that separate schools for minority groups be merged, not only to avoid segregation but also to reduce expenses for the communities in which they are maintained.

Washington Conditions Noted

Anthony Leviero of the Washington Bureau of THE TIMES, as a guest participant in the forum, recalled that President Truman, in presenting the need for a Committee on Civil Rights, had stressed that in many parts of the country freedom from fear "had been gravely threatened." Sun.

"The report of the committee is a record of our transgressions on the Bill of Rights," Mr. Leviero said. "Many of its recommendations seem to be difficult to achieve, especially when it points out that Washington, a city which Thomas Jefferson designed, tolerates some of the worst infringements of his ideals." 1-11-48

Responding to questions by Miss Dorothy Gordon, moderator of the forums for THE TIMES, the students agreed that "most civil rights are principles of government" and have no power "to protect one individual from another."

One pupil asserted that "the principle attribute of democracy is the dignity of the individual," yet, it was noted, "after the war we see movements against individuals based upon prejudices because of race or religious convictions."

On Restrictive Covenants

The Times
Several references were made to restrictive covenants to prevent the occupancy of property or dwellings by various racial groups. Some relief from these conditions may be obtained from Congress, according to Mr. Leviero, but he said that certain "Senate blocs exist which are opposed to the change of existing customs, especially in the South."

The members of the panel were Herbert Chabot, 16 years old, Stuyvesant High School, Manhattan; Doal Hanson, 17, Morris High School, the Bronx; Angelo Alaggia, 16, Bayside High School, Queens; Lois Charles, 17, Fort Hamilton High School, Brooklyn; Carol Bauer, 15, Emerson High School, Union City, N. J.; and, Mary Ann Godfrey, 17, Dominican Academy, Manhattan. Mirror 1-11-48

Next week the Junior High School Forum will discuss, "Can We Stop Discrimination?" Sun. 1-11-48

Starving Children Grow Into Useful Citizens? Mirror 1-11-48

ERNST HAULS TRUMAN IN CIVIL RIGHTS FIGHT

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President Truman has "gone to town" on the subject of civil rights, Morris L. Ernst, attorney and member of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, declared yesterday. He spoke at a meeting served to be pitied," Mr. Ernst added that "any single hotel that would open its doors wide in New York would be closed over night, but if all hotels opened, there would be no trouble." 1-7-48

Mr. Ernst held that "not a single educational institute that has made an honest and

valid attempt to get a cross-section. They are all acting the same."

The President and Civil Rights

THREE months ago, when the President's committee of fifteen issued their comprehensive 175-page survey on the state of civil rights throughout the country, we wondered whether anything would be done about it. We are still wondering. Mr. Truman did, on February 2, brave the wrath of a number of his southern political supporters by asking Congress to enact a ten-point civil rights program based on the recommendations of his committee. He has moderated those recommendations considerably, particularly in the matter of restrictive covenants, but has outlined to Congress something genuinely substantial. So specific a presidential recommendation to the Congress will constitute a milestone in the direction of establishing basic rights to gainful employment and equality before the law to men of every race throughout the United States only if there is unrelenting public pressure to bring this legislation, and these equalities of opportunity, to pass. Thus far the general reaction has been lethargic. Only a brief flurry of protest from southern Democrats elected to Congress by a tiny minority of their constituents has ruffled the calm of Pennsylvania Avenue.

Even a friendly critic might point out that Mr. Truman's concern for the right to vote—the fourth of his ten points—might sound more convincing if he had insisted that things be thoroughly cleaned up in his own home district, where the ballot boxes for a fradulent primary election in 1946 have with impunity been clean spirited away. With Mr. Truman, as with other national leaders who advocate social justice quite eloquently, such proposals might also carry more conviction if in the city of Washington itself conditions did not constitute so flagrant a violation of American ideals.

It is a mistake, of course, to believe that practices in the South are all that stand in the way of achieving nationwide civil rights for all. There is that little matter of the Japanese-Americans on our West Coast. And there are preeminently the racial antipathies, the job discrimination and restrictive covenants that obtain in all sections of the country. To set up adequate guarantees of civil rights for men of every race and station is clearly a nationwide responsibility.

You're Another

With much backslapping, the Mutual Broadcasting System had announced that it would dramatize, in a four-part documentary, the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. To do the job, Mutual hired Arnold Perl as writer and Mitchell Grayson as director. Both were recognized not only for their ability but their adroit handling of social topics.

Then Mutual changed its mind. Four days before the broadcast of Section I last week, The Right to Safety and Security of the Person (Mutual, Tuesday, 10-10:30 p.m., EST), the network yanked Perl's script, explaining that his legitimate use of dramatic license was not the straight report which Mutual wanted. It would present a straight—if abridged—reading, nothing else.

Immediately Perl, backed by a leftish segment of the press and PCA, charged that the report had become a political football. Mutual, he said, was the victim of "poison-pen letters" from those opposing the anti-discriminatory part of the report, and was guilty of "censorship born of fear." Thrown on the defensive, Mutual was the talk of the trade.

But when tempers cooled after the broadcast, it appeared that both Perl and Mutual had fair arguments. The network boss, Edgar Kobak, admitted that Perl had written a superior script. And Perl agreed that the broadcast result was a "very effective job."

This week Perl, still slightly miffed, looked to an independent station to broadcast his script. And Mutual, its social-documentary halo back on—if slightly askew—went ahead with the remaining two scripts that would provide radio listeners with the fullest transcript of the controversial report.

NOTED WHITE WOMAN FIGHTS BIAS IN SOUTH

ATLANTA, Ga. (C) — Mrs. M. E. Tilly, noted white woman of this city who was a member of President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights is still pushing to the front in her battle against race prejudice. She fights as though she feels that at long last the walls of race prejudice are crumbling as she carries her fight right into the hearts of even K. K. K. Klansmen, as she speaks in meeting after meeting.

Nearly all other listeners agree with her as she pleads with white men and women to live like Christ. Of all the thousands of letters that constantly pour into her office only twelve have opposed her work. She is a strong advocate of a national department of Civil Rights.

Truman Praised for Rights Aid

NEW YORK — That President Truman has made a more forthright fight for civil liberties than the late President Roosevelt was the statement made here last Tuesday, by Morris L. Ernst, attorney, serving on the President's Committee on Civil Rights.

"President Truman has gone to town" on the subject of civil rights, Mr. Ernst declared in a speech before the social education department of the New York Section, National Council of Jewish Women.

No Roosevelt Detractor

Stating that "those who didn't love the late Franklin D. Roosevelt missed something so great they deserved to be pitied, Mr. Ednst contended nevertheless that Roosevelt "never went slugging on the question of civil rights."

He never came out strongly even on such questions as the anti-lynching bill, the speaker said, while Truman instructed the Civil Rights Committee to do everything in its power to help wipe out discrimination.

CIVIL RIGHTS REPORT NOT AIMED AT SOUTH'

10 Thu. 7-8-48

Member Of Commission Says Commercial Appeal Real Issue Obscured Memphis Tenn.

NASHVILLE, July 7.—(AP)—A Southern member of the President's Commission on Civil Rights told the Race Relations Institute Wednesday that the civil rights report was not directed at the South.

Mrs. M. E. Tilly of Atlanta, Methodist Church worker, said there is "no need for us to take on the sins of all the Nation and say that the program is aimed at us."

She charged in her speech that the use of "states' rights" as a basis of opposition to the Truman civil rights program in the so-called Southern revolt was a "false issue."

The real issue is "farm tenancy and cheap labor," Mrs. Tilly told the institute at Fisk University. She charged that powerful economic interests were using the civil rights question to divert public attention from the real issue.

Others who addressed the three-week race relations conference included Kennesaw Landis, Chicago Sun-Times columnist; Dr. Joseph Lohman, Chicago University sociologist; and Charles Houston, Washington, D. C., legal counsel for the National Association for the advancement of Colored People.

One hundred persons representing national and local groups in 33 states are attending the institute, which continues through July 16.

The Common Defense

VFW Deserves Praise For Civil Rights View

10 Ohio State News

By WILLIAM C. KERNAN

THE CIVIL RIGHTS Committee did not point to the basic principles of American democracy. This is the concluding sentence of an article isued by the Department of Americanism, Veterans of Foreign Wars, concerning the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights.

The position taken by the VFW rests on sound reasoning and is undeniably correct.

The article first cites some of the recommendations of the committee on civil rights—enactment of federal laws against lynching, the poll tax and . . . racial discrimination.

It also cites action by Congress and the state legislatures to outlaw segregation and discrimination based on race, color, creed or national origin on public transportation systems, in public schools, hospitals, theaters, restaurants, in the armed services and in private employment.

It further cites the necessity of guaranteeing the same rights to every person regardless of who he is, where he lives, or what his racial, religious or national origin may be.

5-1-48

THE VFW ARTICLE affirms that those views expressed by the civil rights committee in 1947 are identical to the principles of democracy which our forefathers wrote into the Declaration of Independence 170 years ago when they stated:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

Some Americans forget these principles in time of peace although as the VFW article observes, we don't forget them in time of war . . . when foreign enemies threaten our rights we call upon every citizen—regardless of his creed, color or racial background—to help defend the same privileges which the civil rights committee now suggests be guaranteed by law.

Sat. ** 5-1-48

WE HAVE SEEN no comment on civil rights which excels this for clarity, directness and sound patriotic expression. The VFW deserves praise for it.

When we, therefore, contend for human rights in accordance with traditional American principles, we have allies—among them the 2,000,000 Veterans of Foreign Wars.

City Okays 7 Additions to Rights Body

Seven new appointments to the Chicago Commission on Human Relations, selected by Mayor Kennelly, were approved by the City Council Judiciary Committee Wednesday. The committee, headed by Ald. Nicholas Bohlin (7) approved unanimously all of the appointments. They also approved the reappointment of eight former members. The new appointments are:

Frank Annunzio, legislative director, United Steel Workers of America, CIO, 205 W. Wacker Drive.

Morris Bialis, manager Joint Board International Ladies' Garment Workers, AFL, 222 W. Monroe.

Atty. Augustine J. Bowe(attorney, 7 S. Dearborn.

Mrs. Helen P. Bull, president, Chicago board, YWCA, 59 E. Monroe.

Atty. Jerome J. Friedman, past president of B'nai Brith, 111 W. Monroe.

Leon Glenicki, president, Chicago Coal Merchants Association, 5492 Northwest Highway.

Mrs. Wendell E. Green, Chicago Round Table of Christians and Jews, 5335 Maryland Ave.

The eight reappointments are:

Edward R. Embree, chairman, president of the Julius Rosenwald Fund, 4901 Ellis ave.

Dr. Preston Bradley, pastor, Peoples Church of Chicago, 2608 Lakeview ave.

Anton Johannsen, Chicago Federation of Labor, 666 N. Lake Shore Drive.

Dr. Julian H. Lewis, pathologist, Provident Hospital, 4750 S. Champlain.

Mrs. Ruth Moore Smith, civic leader, former secretary South Parkway branch, YWCA, 658 E. 50th place.

Miss Sara E. Southall, assistant personnel manager International Harvester Co., 180 N. Michigan.

Robert R. Taylor, manager, Boulevard Garden Apartments, 54 E. 47th St.

Willard S. Townsend, vice chairman of committee, International president, UTSEA-CIO, 3452 S. State St.

Bohling said that the city council would work in close cooperation with the commission and that they appreciated the time and energy spent by the members at the task.

Ald. Benjamin M. Becker (40) said that he had taken a special interest in the work of the commission and believed that it is one of the most effective of any agency in the city of Chicago.

There was no opposition from any member of the judiciary committee to these appointments.

The People Are For President Truman's Civil Rights Program

Daily World Atlanta, Ga.

On the basis of the hearty response and applause that the audience here Friday gave to proponents of President Truman's Civil Rights message to Congress, the people who will do the voting are very enthusiastic about the matter and will no doubt express that feeling in a tangible way at the ballot box next November. Sun 2-29-48

The meetings were sponsored by a group of civic and social-minded organizations of both racial groups totaling fifteen in number. The frist meeting was held at a white church but the meeting with the largest attendance was held Friday night at Spelman College.

Editor Ralph McGill of the Atlanta Constitution expressed what he believed was the sentiment of the average white southern mind. He said that "the core of the south's political mind is the theory that if segregation were abolished its institutions would be overrun." The President's program does not propose to break down segregation at any point but in inter-state travel.

The Supreme Court in 1946 already has ruled against this type of segregation. Mr. McGill also cited a steady decline in lynchings to prove an anti-lynching law is unnecessary. However, he called attention to a statement made recently by Walter White of the NAACP to the effect that lynchings have gone underground. We know of a recent instance where a substantial Negro farmer was lynched in the jail at Hamilton, Ga. and nothing has been done about it. We agree that lynching has gone underground and the federal government must be given authority to deal with this form of injustice. 2-9-48

P. L. Prattis, of the Pittsburgh Courier, made a strong plea for the Truman program. He told the large audience that "Civil Rights are the human rights every man, woman and child is demanding. There are new attitudes in race relations everywhere but in South Africa and the South."

Adding that the United States could not logically insist on free elections in other parts of the world until it saw that free elections were made possible in all the United States, Mr. Prattis, declared that he did not think President Truman's program was motivated by political consideration but rather by the necessity of meeting the world situation.

The speaker concluded by declaring "the President is trying to put this nation on the side of Democracy rather than Hypocrisy." Daily World Atlanta, Ga.

A. Abbott Rosen of the Department of Justice, Boris Shishkin of the A. F. of L. and attorney A. T. Walden, president of the Georgia Association of Citizens Democratic Clubs were the other speakers at the forum. Atty. Walden discussed the NAACP's attitude on the Civil Rights program. Sun 2-29-48

The conference also went on record as being opposed to the proposed regional school plan for higher education for Negroes.

The forum discussion climaxed an all-day session on Civil Rights which were participated in by white and Negro citizens from eleven southern states.

Proving A Point

The Record Columbia S.C. Wed 2-3-48

Representative L. Mendel Rivers, South Carolina Democrat, supplied the demonstration of what The Record has being saying when he appealed the other day in the House for Republican support to sidetrack the anti-lynching bill.

The House judiciary committee approved the bill, 18 to 8, as Rivers talked, telling them that it is "a sad commentary that Republicans in their eagerness to embarrass Truman are losing an opportunity to make friends with the South."

"You are burning down the house to get rid of the rats," Rivers declared. "You are shooting at the wrong bird. Truman's already a dead bird. We'll see to that in the South. Don't lose your first chance since 1864 to make friends with the South."

But because no politician in the South and no considerable movement in the South is suggesting that the South will vote anything but Democratic, even it doesn't vote for the regular Democratic nominee, should the nominee be Truman, the Rivers' plea fell on deaf ears.

It is to the interest of the Republicans to keep the Southern revolt alive until the campaign and there is only one way that appears certain to them to accomplish this purpose. For the first time in history therefore the Republicans have a compelling reason for the enactment of the so-called civil rights bills or some of them. In other years the threat of enactment, which didn't scare the South, was sufficient to attract the Negro votes in the North. Now the Republicans know that the bills will have to be passed if the Southern revolt is to be kept boiling and since they have no hope of winning any Southern votes but can only hope to deprive Truman of them they go ahead. The Record Columbia S.C.

The Southern Democrats have dug their own grave. The important thing to them is the enactment of the civil rights bills, but they have practically guaranteed their passage. Wed 2-3-48

Mississippi Terror

The News Birmingham Ala.

TRAGIC UNPUBLICIZED FACT about the president's civil rights message is that it's creating just what it was aimed to prevent—a new reign of terror against Negroes in some parts of the South. Mon 10 3-1-48

Especially in Mississippi, resentment against Truman has been taken out against Negroes. And while the visit of Southern governors to Washington has made headlines, the race incidents haven't. However, here is what has happened in Mississippi:

JACKSON, Miss., Feb. 21—J. V. Williams, a young Negro veteran, was arrested in a Negro cafe on a charge of drunkenness. Pushed out into the street by the arresting officer, the officer shot him in the hip on the pretext that Williams was trying to escape. After Williams was lying in the street, the arresting officer and several others beat him brutally. His pleas for mercy attracted a large crowd which blocked all traffic. A police car arrived, Williams was thrown in and driven off.

JACKSON, Miss., Feb. 13—Lerow McGowan, a one-arm Negro veteran, started to run when called by a police officer for drunkenness. Overtaken, he was beaten by several uniformed policemen until unconscious and lay for some time in a pool of blood at the corner of Amite and North Farish Streets.

KOSCIUSKO, Miss., Feb. 2—George Thomas, a young Negro, was shot to death by a policeman who reported that he arrested him for attempting to break into a white's home. The officer said that en route to the jail, Thomas tried to overpower him, and he shot him. The autopsy showed that Thomas was shot three times, once through the arm, once through the lower body and once through the heart. The News Birmingham Ala.

Incident No. 2 at Kosciusko occurred on the same day, when Lucey Futch, a young Negro veteran driving a truck for a Jackson wholesale firm, was reported the victim of a mob. On hearing this report, Futch's mother and wife went from Jackson to Kosciusko to find him, but were given the run-around by police. Four days later he escaped and was able to return home, bearing evidence of a brutal beating. Mon 2-16-48

SOUTHERNERS POISE TO BEARD M'GRATH

The Sunday Star

Governors Map Procedure on Eve of Talk to Democratic Chairman on Civil Rights

New York Times Mon 2-23-48

By CLAYTON KNOWLES

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 22—Southern Governors here to read the riot act to the Democratic National Committee on the civil right message President Truman sent to Congress Feb. 2, held a five-hour council-of-war today, then called in Southern members of Congress for further long discussions.

Tomorrow afternoon five of the Governors, representing the Conference of Southern Governors, will descend upon Senator J. Howard McGrath, the Democratic National Chairman, at party headquarters.

"We really mean business," declared Governor J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, as the governors were about to begin their first session today. That session ended shortly after 8 P. M., but the only statement made was that "several plans of action were discussed and agreement was reached on the presentation to be made tomorrow." Mon

There were six governors at the meeting, the others being W. Preston Lane Jr. of Maryland, the conference chairman; Ben T. Laney of Arkansas, Beauford H. Jester of Texas, R. Gregg Cherry of North Carolina and William M. Tuck of Virginia. 2-23-48

Meet With House Members

Their own session completed, the Governors communicated with Representative William M. Colmer of Mississippi, head of a committee of southerners in the House who plan an independent protest. A joint meeting of the two groups began a little after 8:30 P. M.

During the day Edward A. Ross, chairman of the national committee of the American Civil Liberties Union, made public a letter he had sent to leaders of the Congress urging that the two parties "forego attempts at partisan advantage" and push through the President's ten-point civil rights program.

Declaring that the leadership of both parties was pledged to "strengthening of civil liberties at this time," he asked a "coordinate bi-partisan drive" to achieve this objective. Mon 2-23-48

"As the President said," he wrote, "the leadership of this country as a world force for democracy is weakened by remaining limitations on freedom and opportunity in this country and will be immeasurably strengthened by a thorough-going and forthright campaign to close those gaps.

"The campaign for civil liberties at home is in effect a democratic way of life.

Challenge to Opposition

"We do not believe that the opposition to the President's program voiced by some members of Congress represents the true spirit of most Americans, even in their districts."

Joining Mr. Ross in signing the letter were John Haynes Holmes, chairman of the board of the Civil Liberties Union, and Roger N. Baldwin, its director.

Other developments today bearing on the civil rights program included the following:

Representative Clifford P. Case of New Jersey, who heads a House judiciary subcommittee, announced that hearings would start Wednesday on the anti-lynching bill that bears his name.

Senator Homer Ferguson of Michigan, a ranking member of the Senate Judiciary Committee, reported that the Senate version of anti-lynching legislation would be completed before the end of the week. The Sunday Star

Mr. Colmer announced that the Southern committee in the House, a political gesture but as assurance to people everywhere that the United States is truly united in seeking the complete realization of Marshall Plan to vitalize the forces of freedom as against the world-wide challenge to totalitarianism. Like the Marshall Plan, it deserves support not as a party program or

which organized Thursday and Friday, would hold its first formal meeting tomorrow morning.

Still a matter of conjecture after the day's meetings was the approach to be taken by the Southern Governors, in their talk with Mr. McGrath. The basic appeal for a "hands off" federal policy undoubtedly will be grounded on states' rights.

Lending greater importance to tomorrow's conference, in which the Governors will be dealing with a national chairman who has backed the President down the line on his civil rights proposals, is the growing realization in the South of the diminishing potential of the filibuster, hitherto the standby of the South in balking federal civil rights bills in the Senate. Herald, N.Y.

A filibuster can be stopped if two-thirds of the members of the upper House vote for closure. Up to now Southerners have been able to muster thirty-three votes to prevent closure. Repeated pollings of the Senate this year indicate that no more than twenty-five votes are assured at this session for an effort to stave off closure. Mem 2-23-48

Opposing A Bolt

The Record

"In ranks and squadrons and right forms of war
That drizzled blood upon the capitol...."

Columbia, S.C.

The gentleman who came out of Georgia's gubernatorial storm last year with the prize and its prequisites has no such heart as Fielding Wright's for the present southwide storm. But he has a heart for his state, as some of its politicians and publicists, who are looking only to the national audience, have not. I am proud to have him for guest today: Wed. 2-3-48

By M. E. THOMPSON
Governor of Georgia

That the recent recommendations of President Truman to the Congress for the passage of so-called civil rights legislation were unnecessary and unwise, I will agree. But, in my opinion, for the South to bolt the Democratic Party would be even more unwise.

Social change and social relationships cannot be legislated. They must come from within the people themselves. As for the poll tax, many southern states have already made federal laws completely unnecessary. In 1945, under sponsorship of leaders of both political factions in the Georgia Democratic party, the General Asembly abolished this restriction. As for the segregation of the races by inter-state carriers, federal courts have already acted. As for federal anti-lynching laws, the people of the South abhor lynchings as much as any people and because of their attitude, this has ceased to be a national problem. Only one lynching was recorded in 1947. Wed 2-3-48

Employment practices as related to minority groups have greatly improved in the South within recent years. Further improvement is in the offing. The passage of FEPC with its coercive powers would greatly interfere with the progress already made. 2-3-48

There is reason for resentment on the part of the southern Democratic leaders. That these measures, so completely designed to include only the South, should have been proposed without conferring with southern Democrats is a lack of consideration and it is time southern Democrats let their national leaders know in positive fashion that they are tired of being ignored in the advocacy of such controversial matters. Would the national leaders dare propose civil rights legislation banning "blue ribbon" juries without conferring with the New York Democrats? 2-3-48

It is also true that we in the South want to solve problems peculiar to our region with no outside dictation or coercion. We want to continue to make progress and at the same time preserve our customs and institutions that have proved their value through the years.

It must be remembered, however, that these measures were first advocated in 1944 by the Republican Party and that they are now advocating the same set of reforms. The Republican platform was more definite on these issues than the generalizations made by the Democratic leaders. The Record

We southerners are left four alternatives: 1. We can support the Democratic party, as we have done since its founding by the southern Democrat, Thomas Jefferson. 2. We can support the Republican party, our traditional and present political enemy. 3. We can support the party of Henry Wallace. 4. We can organize a fourth party, thereby losing for our Democratic senators and congressmen the power which goes with seniority.

I sincerely believe the only hope for the people of the South to protect and promote their interests and welfare is to return a Democratic Congress and administration to Washington. The South must work within the party and work for greater voice and recognition in the affairs of their national organization. Columbia, S.C.

There is little reason to feel that the Republican party, enhanced by bolting Democrats, will be more considerate of the South than in the past. That party largely speaks and acts for big business and entrenched interests centered mainly in the North and East. What consideration could the South, with an agriculture that has found prosperity and stabiliay under Democratic regimes, hope to have under Republican leadership? What would happen to our developing industries — the small business and manufacturing plants that are giving the South a wholesome, balanced economy—under the Republicans, interested only in helping eastern and northern big businesses? Should the Republicans win the national elections and organize the Congress, southern representatives in the national Congress would not have as much influence on legislation as would freshmen Republicans. Wed.

I cannot join in any movement which abondons the ideals and principles that have brought the South to its present progressive condition and seek refuge where it has been ignored up to now. Southern Democrats have more to gain from a stiffened attitude toward their national party than from turncoat tactics. 2-3-48

Dothan Poll Reveals Civil Rights Opposition

DOTHAN, ALA., Feb. 4.—(AP)—The Dothan Eagle Wednesday polled approximately 250 persons to determine their reaction to President Truman's recent civil rights message and a majority of them said they would not support the President for reelection if he continues his present policies toward the South. 2-5-48

Most of them said they were willing to support the Democratic nominee, however, if the party guarantees in its platform to protect Southern traditions and most of those polled favored a Southern political convention.

The questions asked, and the answers:

1. Do you plan to support Mr. Truman for President in view of his recent message on civil rights? Yes, 49; No, 152; no opinion, 43. Mobile Register

2. If Mr. Truman is nominated and the Democratic Party agrees to protect Southern traditions in its platform, will you support the party? Yes, 183; No, 33; no opinion, 28. Birmingham, Ala.

3. Do you favor a Southern convention? Yes, 155; No, 46; no opinion, 43. News 2-5-48

A few volunteered their choice of Senator Byrd, of Virginia, or Senator George, of Georgia, as a Southern nominee in the event a "Dixie convention" is held.

And It's Just One: Wallace's Party Adds To Headache

The News Age
Birmingham Ala.

BY D. HAROLD OLIVER

WASHINGTON, Feb. 21—(AP) Sun 2-22-48
Southern Democrats converged on Washington this week-end waving a "white supremacy" big stick.

They want no part of President Truman's civil rights program. They regard most of it "anti-Southern" and federal interference with Dixie "tradition."

This is only one worry for the Democratic Party as it approaches the 1948 election preliminaries.

Henry A. Wallace's "new party" forces got a big lift out of their victory over the Democrats in a New York special house election. They capitalized on it immediately by stepping up organization for Wallace's presidential bid in states from Maryland to California.

President Truman avoided a direct clash with both the Southern and Wallace elements in his Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner speech. If this meant appeasement, as Republicans claimed, it failed to appease.

* * *

THE SOUTHERNERS WENT AHEAD with plans to send a five-man governor's committee here to talk things over Monday with Chairman J. Howard McGrath of the Democratic Committee. 2-22-48

McGrath made no promises to the Southern conference committee. He did tell reporters that he would pass on their arguments to the president. Birmingham Ala.

The five governors, who have a 2:30 p.m., EST, appointment to see McGrath Monday are J. Strom Thurmond, South Carolina, chairman; Beauford Jester, Texas; Gregg Cherry, North Carolina; William Tuck, Virginia, and Ben Laney, Arkansas. The News Age - Herald

They were appointed in Florida to represent all Southern states.

* * *

BACKING THEM IN THEIR COMPLAINTS are Democratic congressmen from all 11 Southern states. They adopted a resolution Friday pledging "cooperation" with the governors opposing the president's program for anti-lynch, anti-poll tax, and anti-segregation legislation.

There have been no indications that the administration would back-track on its civil rights proposals. The Southerners say they were made in an election year to corral Northern Negro votes.

Four moves are open to the Southerners. As outlined by them to date, they include:

1. Demand that a Southerner be selected as the Democratic vice presidential candidate. Names suggested include Sens. Byrd of Virginia, and George of Georgia, and James F. Byrnes, of South Carolina. Sun 2-22-48

2. A fight against a "specific" civil rights plank in the national platform, and an accompanying drive to restore the two-thirds nominating rule at the national convention.

3. Withholding of funds from the campaign chest, such as those raised at Jefferson-Jackson Dinners.

4. Naming of anti-Truman electors for the November ballot.

* * *

IF PRESIDENT TRUMAN is unhappy over the buffetings from within his party, he did not show it when he took off for a two-weeks' trip to Florida and the Caribbean area. Sun. 2-22-48

He told reporters he was happy and unworried.

The night before he laid down the line of battle for the coming campaign. He saw it as a Democratic Party fighting for "progressive liberalism" against "a bunch of reactionaries" thinking only of the "privileged few."

Chairman Carroll Reece of the Republican National Committee said this should have been "set to music under the title 'Old Henry, Won't You Please Come Back?'"

Mobile Mechanic Admits Beating Negro To Death

The Advertiser Wed.
Montgomery, Ala.
3-10-48

MOBILE, ALA., March 9.—(AP)—A white mechanic said in a statement Tuesday he beat a Negro to death in an argument over President Truman's civil rights program, Detective Capt. Tally Rollings reported. 3-10-48

Dr. H. S. Walker, county coroner, said the Negro, Rayfield Davis, 53, had been "badly beaten." He returned a verdict of murder. Montgomery, Ala.

The mechanic, Horace M. Miller, 20, surrendered to Mobile police with his attorney. He signed a statement he beat the Negro with his fists and kicked him in the dispute, Rollings said. Wed.

Miller said the Negro told him, President Truman is our good friend and will give us our equal rights." The Advertiser

Following the publication of President Truman's 10-point message to Congress yesterday on Jimcrow discrimination and lynching in the United States, Daily Worker editor John Gates wired the President

challenging him to prove that he means what he says. The full text of the challenge to Truman follows: (10 Daily Worker

Dear Mr. President:

You have just urged that Congress enact a 10-point program to end Jimcrow discrimination in our country, to punish lynchers, to end polltaxes and other necessary measures. New York, N. Y.

If you mean what you say and are not merely playing with the sufferings of the Negro people to garner votes in November, you easily have it in your power to wipe out many of the Jimcrow crimes against the Negro people without waiting for problematical Congressional action. Tues 2 — 3 — 48

HERE IS HOW

Here is what you can do to prove in deeds that you are not engaging in cheap election oratory:

1. Issue an immediate order as Commander-in-Chief abolishing all segregation in the Army, Navy and Air Forces.

2. Issue an order dismissing the deportation of Claudia Jones, Negro woman leader, now being held for deportation.

3. Issue an executive order demanding that the University of Oklahoma carry out the decision of the U. S. Supreme Court in the case of Mrs. Ada Sipuel Fisher now being denied admission to study law.

4. Demand, as leader of the Democratic Party, that all Democratic Congressmen and Senators support your anti-lynch, anti-poll tax, and anti-Jimcrow recommendations. Daily Worker New York, N. Y.

5. Rebuke the House Un-American Committee for considering as "disloyal" all progressive Americans who have been active in the cause of Negro liberation. Urge the abolition of this pro-fascist Committee. Tues 2 — 3 — 48

These are but a few of the things you can do right now, Mr. President. Your failure to act will only strengthen the suspicion that you have no intention of ever defending the rights of the Negro people in any serious manner, and that you are cynically maneuvering for votes.

Respectfully yours,
John Gates,
Editor, Daily Worker

Southern Revolt

By Marquis Childs

The News Morning Star, Tues

WASHINGTON—The convivial days of old, when Democratic senators gathered in the inner sanctum of Leslie Biffle, staff director of the Democratic policy committee of the Senate, are no more. A brooding bitterness is too often the mood today and even the best stories get hardly a chuckle. Feb 2-13

The reason, of course, is the revolt of the Southerners, touched off by President Truman's civil-rights message. The same kind of flare-up has occurred in the past, only to die down after a pyrotechnical display of Southern oratory.

But this time party leaders are deeply pessimistic. They discount a lot of the Southern talk about establishing a Southern wing of the Democratic they been hated. The idea that the South has been chiefly occupied with holding the Negro down is a myth that ignores the immense progress that the Negroes have in fact made—and that nowhere else have they had the same sure sense of being "home."

It is just because the Negro has the effect of all this on the voters throughout the country. It feeds the impression of divisiveness and incapacity. And this time the flare-up seems likely to mean more than just oratory, even though it stops short of an actual split. Tue. 2-13-48

* * *

Resentments

THE SOUTHERNERS ARE THREATENING to hold up nominations made by the president whenever they can. Their first target is likely to be the president's nomination of Thomas B. McCabe of Philadelphia to be chairman of the Federal Reserve Board. For a variety of reasons, McCabe's nomination was deeply resented. New Republic

To begin with, McCabe would fill the vacancy caused by the death of Ronald Ranson of Georgia, who was the only Southerner on the seven-man board. Failure to give proper representation to the South would in itself explain antagonism to the appointment. On top of this is the wide popularity in the Senate of Marriner Eccles, who is being demoted to vice chairman so that McCabe may have the chairmanship.

The McCabe appointment comes before the Senate banking and currency committee next week. Four Southerners—Sens. Fulbright of Arkansas, Robertson of Virginia, Maybank of South Carolina and Sparkman of Alabama—are on that committee. They could certainly delay action and their votes might block it. Washington, D.C.

An even more practical threat which the Southerners say they will carry out concerns the Democratic war chest in this campaign year. There is nothing to compel the Democratic state organizations in the South to contribute to the National Committee as they have done in the past. Tue. 2-13-48

The Southern states have, in fact, been among the largest contributors. Because of the one-party system in the South, funds are not needed at home for a party battle. Consequently almost everything that was collected went to Washington. 2-12-48

* * *

Party Funds

EVEN THOUGH THEIR PER CAPITA wealth is much less than that of most Northern states, Texas, Florida, Arkansas and North Carolina were among the first 10 contributors in both 1940 and 1944. Their contributions were exceeded only by New York and the District of Columbia, and they all outranked Pennsylvania. But not this year, say the Southerners. If they hold to this determination, the Democratic National Committee will be hard pressed to find generous contributors to make up the difference.

The Southerners even talk of blocking essential legislation. Whether they will go this far is doubtful. Nevertheless, here is another possibility of stalemate in an election year, when the machinery of government creaks along slowly at best. Feb 13 48

The required number of votes to shut off debate and stop a filibuster are said to have been counted in advance in the Senate. With the flow of oratory thus dammed up, the frustration and the anger will grow. Washington Post

The suggestion which got into print that the president might modify his civil-rights stand, by later repeating his request and carefully omitting reference to abolishing segregation on trains and buses, drew a staunch denial from the White House. Mr. Truman is prepared to stand behind every demand in his 10-point-program, it was said.

The president's advisers are a little surprised at the violence of the Southern reaction. The 1944 Democratic platform said: "We believe that racial and religious minorities have the right to live, develop and vote equally with all citizens and share the rights that are guaranteed by our Constitution. Congress should exert its full constitutional powers to protect those rights." Mr. Truman in his message was merely translating that generality into specific demands, and he intends to back them up no matter what the cost.—© The News

MR. TRUMAN ON CIVIL LIBERTY

The News

The President's message to Congress on civil liberties outlines a broad program of legislation to which most of us can readily subscribe, at least in principle. Some items will induce controversy, especially in the Southern states, but even there the opposition will be chiefly against methods urged rather than the purposes to be achieved. New York P.M. Wed 2-11-48

Mr. Truman's recommendations follow in detail the proposals of his Committee on Civil Rights, headed by Charles E. Wilson of the General Electric Company. These recommendations favor federal legislation to outlaw lynching and race discrimination in interstate occupations, with new federal agencies to be created for enforcement. The most serious criticism of our democracy from abroad has emphasized the fact that our large Negro population does not now receive, in many cases, equal justice under the law. Even in the South the validity of this criticism is admitted. But it is maintained that such inequalities are gradually lessening over an extending liberal area and that the states themselves, on their own initiative, can do a more effective job of eradicating prejudice than can be achieved through federal compulsion. The Times

The President proposes a more direct approach to the problem, with every agency of the National Government enlisted in the effort. His complete program is unlikely to be adopted in such a busy session of Congress, but in the main it embodies praiseworthy and feasible objectives which must be kept steadily before the people. Though we know, as Mr. Truman says, that our democracy "offers a fuller, freer, happier life to our people than any totalitarian nation has ever offered," we also know that our democracy is not perfect. Great masses of our citizens cannot be deprived of their vote simply because of their color under any system that professes to be democratic. The President seeks to arouse the full force of public opinion to "correct the remaining imperfections" in our democratic way of life. 2-4-48

ORIGINAL VIEW

The Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.
Jan. 2 - 1948

That bland, genteel Washington correspondent, Marquis Childs, reports that President Truman was a "little surprised" at the explosive reaction in the South to his civil rights statement. This is entirely understandable in light of the 1944 Democratic platform:

> We believe that racial and religious minorities have the right to live, develop and vote equally with all citizens and share the rights that are guaranteed by our Constitution. Congress should exert its full constitutional powers to protect those rights.

What Truman did was simply to make the general specific. But a great difference was that the 1944 platform—for which the Solid South voted in a manner of the same name—had FDR standing upon it.

The platform of Mr. Truman has Mr. Truman standing upon it. The South has been prepared to like Truman very much; he is pleasant, brisk and a Democrat. It rejoiced to see his popularity ascend from that nadir where the scholarly Senator Fullbright of Arkansas suggested earnestly that Truman should resign. The polls showed Truman out-running all save Eisenhower and this tended to submerge recollections of Truman's ineptitude. We were ready to judge his performance dating from his conquest of John L. Lewis.

The Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.
Jan. 2 - 1948

But with Truman's inflammatory reform suggestions, the South ran growling and snarling back to its original conception of an unable haberdasher whose redeeming grace was that, like Warren Harding, he would have preferred to remain in the Senate. The South, on the rebound, is remembering what it thought of Truman in the first place. If the South had more respect for the abilities of Truman, it doubtless would be less inflamed over his civil rights indiscretion. 2-15-48 Sun.

G. O. P. PRIMARY IN ALABAMA?

The Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.
Jan. 2 - 1948

Editor, The Advertiser:

I have been reading of all the agitation of most of our Southern Democratic senators and congressmen over Truman's declaration of civil rights.

Thurs.

Now, the writer presumes that Southern Delegates to the National Democratic Convention will meekly cast their vote, as usual, for the ultimate party nominee by the Northern powers that be. 3-4-48

Frankly, what I have never been able to understand is why do we not have a Republican primary. One of the most healthy things for any state, in my opinion, in politics is to have a two-party system. Is it against the law in the South for the Republicans to have a primary in the South? Is it a law that the Republicans can only vote in the final election? If the Republicans wanted to hold a primary, would the Democrats in power allow them to use the ballot boxes, and the voting machines where they have voting machines? . . .

We have here in Montgomery without question thousands of voters who I am confident would vote the Republican ticket if there was a two-party system. I am also sure that the Republican party could put up just as good men as the Democratic party.

Thurs - 3-4-48

There are hundreds upon hundreds of business men in the city of Montgomery, as well as in all cities and towns in the South, who are the very tops in society and the business and civic world of their own; that is, in their towns, county and state, who would vote Republican. I have heard any number of business men state that they vote Republican in the general elections. What does it get them? Nothing. Why? Because the Republican candidates are never written up in the papers; the candidates are not advertised in the papers. Now I do not know whether this is the fault of the Republican party in not having Republican national committeemen; state committeemen, etc., like the Democrats do or not. The Advertiser

I believe that every true Southerner, whether he be Democrat or Republican is against President Truman's declaration on civil rights that he mentioned to Congress.

Regardless of what party went in power in each state in the South they would both be pulling for the same objective. I don't think there is any question about that, be he Republican or be he Democrat he would still be a Southerner and would vote for what the Southerners stand for. This is one of the things that I think that the papers and most Southerners overlook. I also believe that this would allow us to have an entering wedge in either party and I think that it would be a very healthy antidote for Southern politics to go on a two-party system and go on it in the very near future. Montgomery, Ala. J. P. MOYER.

Montgomery. 3 Thurs - 4-48

Civil Rights Again

BY JAMES MARLOW

The Birmingham News
Birmingham, Ala.
Feb. 4 - 1948

WASHINGTON, Feb. (AP)— President Truman has asked action from Congress to make sure all people get equal rights in this country.

Wed. 2-4-48

He did this in a message to Congress late Monday. He asked action on a number of points. For example, he asked for laws to:

Stop lynching; see that people are not kept out of jobs because of race, color or religion; kill the poll tax in seven Southern states; protect everyone's right to vote.

In short, he asked laws to stop discrimination against minority groups in this country.

Negroes would benefit most because the most discrimination against the most people is against Negroes, particularly in the South.

Jews would benefit, too. The president's commission on civil rights—made up of 15 prominent citizens—recently pointed out:

The Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.
Jan. 4 - 1948

There's a great deal of discrimination against Jews seeking jobs. But there's discrimination against Indians and Mexican-Americans also in looking for work.

In Mexico and Arizona Indians

In New Mexico and Arizona Indians can't vote. But in Washington, D. C., the nation's capital where there are 900,000 people, no one can vote.

* * *

MR. TRUMAN ASKED CONGRESS to pass a law so Washingtonians can vote. And he wants Alaska and Hawaii made states so the people there can vote. Wed

Will Congress do what the president asked? Probably not much of it, if any at all. It may let the people here in Washington vote.

And it may let Hawaii and Alaska become states. Don't bet on it. The Times

Suppose the Republican-controlled Congress tries to put through an anti-lynching law.

Members of Mr. Truman's own party, Southern Democrats, are sure to try to block it by a filibuster. The same with an anti-poll tax law. The same with any law to see a man isn't barred from a job because of color.

The Southerners argue that all these things should be left to the states themselves to handle.

Yet, this is a big political year, a presidential election year. Some congressmen, right after Mr. Truman's message reached them, accused him of playing politics for votes by issuing the message.

* * *

TO WIN THIS YEAR, the Democrats need the vote of the white Democrats in the South, where only a handful of Negroes vote.

And they'll hope for the vote of Northern Negroes who can vote but want to see Southern Negroes voting and treated equally with whites. The Times

To please the white Southern Democrats and the Northern Negroes will be quite a task for Mr. Truman's Democratic Party.

But the Republicans want the Northern Negroes' vote, too. How can they attract the Northern Negroes if they fail to put through the laws suggested by Mr. Truman to help Negroes generally, but particularly Southern Negroes? Birmingham, Ala.

The Republicans probaly can say the Southern Democratic congressmen would have blocked anything they tried to do. Wed. 2-4-48

So both parties will meet in convention in Philadelphia this June and draw up platforms. Those platforms are promises of what they'll try to do if they win.

* * *

AND IN THOSE PLATFORMS both parties probably will promise, if elected, to try to do in the next four years the things Mr. Truman suggested yesterday that Congress do this year.

What Mr. Truman did—the points he suggested—is not a brand-new story. Birmingham, Ala.

In 1944 the Republicans and Democrats met in Chicago and drew up platforms. In one way or another they talked of doing, between 1944 and 1948, the things Mr. Truman talked of Monday.

For example, the Republican platform of 1944 set up these goals:

An anti-lynching law; an anti-poll tax law; a law to see that people were not barred from jobs because of race, color or religion.

And the Republican platform, somewhat vaguely, talked of statehood for Hawaii and Alaska although it didn't say when.

The Democratic platform of 1944 among other things, set up these goals: The Times

Statehood for Alaska and Hawaii, sometime—the language was vague—and a vote for the people of Washington, D. C. Wed

That Democratic platform of 1944 didn't say anything, by name, about anti-lynching, anti-poll tax or equality in job-seeking. 2-4-48

It wrapped up the whole problem of racial-religious-color-discrimination in this one paragraph:

"We believe that racial and religious minorities have the right to live, develop and vote equally with all citizens and share the rights that are guaranteed by our constitution. Congress should exert its full constitutional powers to protect those rights."

Both Democrats and Republicans have had a chance since 1944 to do what they talked of doing on these points if they won. But neither has.

The Democrats controlled Congress the first two years since 1944. The Republicans have controlled it since 1946.

Not A North-South Squabble

The CIO News Washington D.C. Mon. 3-1-48

Civil Liberties Campaign Shouldn't Create A Regional Battle

By ALLAN L. SWIM

THE controversy over President Truman's civil rights program for all Americans should not be permitted to degenerate into another struggle between the "damn Yankees" of the North and the "rebels" of the South.

It could become just that unless our politicians and writers start shedding more light and less heat on the subject.

Our contribution, suh, will be an attempt to explain why the folks down in Dixie start squealing like stuck pigs when No'theners try to impose some more "outside interference" on them.

They're just plain opposed to too much "help" from the outside, and not entirely without justification.

MUCH of the industry in the South has been owned or controlled for years by Northern interests, which adopted the Southern policy of paying substandard wages and shipped their profits back to the North and East.

The region has long been burdened by the Southern freight rate differential, which gives the North and East a real advantage in the field of commerce.

The CIO News

It has been criticized often and ridiculed occasionally by Northern newspapers which write reams about bad conditions and bad habits in the South but ignore the filthy slums and protective property covenants of Northern cities.

Washington, D.C.

It can't understand why there should be such a furor for federal laws to handle unorganized mobs which infrequently lynch Negroes without there being a hue and cry for similar laws to handle organized Northern mobs which cut down members of minority groups with sub-machine guns.

Mon. 3-1-48

Political machines such as the one run by "Boss" Ed Crump in Memphis want Negroes to vote as long as they vote "right" and will pay their poll taxes to get them to do so.

All voting restrictions that can be used to manipulate or influence elections should be removed.

The nation's capital should set the example by giving its residents (you can hardly call them citizens) the right to vote.

The CIO News

It is impossible to legislate prejudice out of existence—but legislation can eliminate bad practices that result from prejudice.

So the job of those who seek to expand our civil liberties and make them secure is not one of merely designing the right kind of laws.

Washington, D.C.

Education—a lot of it, and the right kind—is needed.

Understanding and appreciation of our problem and the other fellow's viewpoint also is needed.

Any CIO representative who has attempted to set up unions below the Mason-Dixon Line can give you a good slant on abroagation of civil rights.

He'll tell you that the Northern owner of Southern plants will exploit race and religious prejudice just as quickly and as cleverly as the native Southern industrialist.

He can cite case after case involving Northerners who established plants in the South in an effort to get away from unions which demanded decent pay and equal treatment for all employes.

He can tell you, too, that it hurts no more to be beaten up in Gadsden, Ala., than in Akron, Ohio.

THIS is an effort to explain—not excuse—some of the Southern attitudes regarding civil liberties.

They must be understood and appreciated—not ridiculed—if we are to make nation-wide progress in the civil rights field.

We should regard a race riot as a damnable thing—whether it occurs in Detroit, Mich., or Columbia, Tenn.

The CIO News

We should recognize the evils of segregation wherever they exist—in Birmingham or Chicago, on street cars or in residential districts.

Washington, D.C.

We should not excuse one region because its civil rights violations are of one type and condemn another region because its violations are of another and perhaps more flagrant type. The current furor caused by politicians fighting the President's civil rights program is, of course, inexcusable.

Mon. 3-1-48

PAYMENT of poll taxes should not be spoken of merely as a device for disfranchizing Negroes. It should be known for what it really is—a device used to control elections.

BUT THE G.O.P. IS EVEN MORE EXTREME!

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

Mon. 2-4-48

Southerners are rattled and inflamed that the chieftain of the Democratic Party asks Congress for:

1. An anti-lynching law.
2. An anti-segregation law.
3. Nullification of state poll tax provisions.
4. An F.E.P.C. act to make it unlawful to refuse employment to a person on account of race or color.

There is wrath and there is bewilderment in the South at its reward for nearly a century of dog loyalty to the Democratic Party.

The air vibrates and crackles with talk of political secession from the party.

Wed. 2-4-48

There is a high-pitched chorus of talk about employing the Deep South's 127 electoral votes to defeat Truman and throw the election into the House of Representatives with a view of electing a Southern president as a compromise candidate.

There is a formidable impulse in the Deep South to seek vengeance upon Truman.

Some southern leaders are so inflamed that they are willing to help Henry Wallace defeat Truman.

In the first explosions of Southern resentment of Truman's opportunistic onslaught upon our social system, two fundamental things are being overlooked:

1. The Republican nominee for President and the Republican platform have not yet been heard from. But as surely as the sun rises tomorrow, the Republican candidate and the Republican Party's platform will go Truman one better. If there is an extreme beyond what Truman has called for, the Republican nominee and the Republican Party will sprint to embrace that extreme.

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

Wed. 2-4-48

2. Truman is in no way an author of the agitation for wreckage of our segregation system. He is merely a symptom of gathering pressures. Were it President Harry S. Jones or Harry S. Smith, it is quite likely that the same presidential message would have gone to Congress in this election year.

THE Republican Party ardently desires to receive credit for legislation such as that proposed by Truman. It wishes to regain the allegiance of the Negro element in New York, Pennsylvania and Illinois.

In times past, it has been possible for men such as Bibb Graves — to cite a random example — to induce Republican senators to pull their punches in the struggle over anti-lynch law legislation because if it were enacted in a Democratic administration, the G.O.P. would not receive credit therefor.

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

Wed. 2-4-48

The most likely candidate for the Republican nomination now appears to be Gov. Dewey. There is absolutely no question about Dewey's belief in an F.E.P.C. statute. For as Governor he sponsored New York State's F.E.P.C.

It is a jagged and obvious certainty that the Republican Party and its standard bearer will wage war with as shattering an onslaught upon our social system as it can devise.

There may be reason to suspect that Truman is but giving lip service to these measures. But there can be no doubt that the G.O.P. will mean business.

THERE is speculation that a movement towards secession will be initiated this week when Southern governors convene in Tallahassee. There is talk of a Dixie Convention which would nominate its own candidate.

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

Wed. 2-4-48

Presumably this candidate would carry the Southern States, and this would prevent either Truman or the G.O.P. candidate from getting the requisite majority of electoral votes.

In which case, the theory is, the House of Representatives would elect one of the candidates, as in the case of Hayes and Tilden. A deadlock between Truman and G.O.P. forces would result in the compromise election of the Southerner.

There are myriad slips betwixt cup and lip in any such scheme. Even should it succeed this time, we may be perfectly sure that it is but a stratagem that would never be permitted to succeed again. It is in no way a long-range solution of the problem.

Wed. 2-4-48

We of the South are in revolt against Truman's proposals. But we must, before settling upon a plan of action, take stock coolly.

Truman is the descendant of Confederate soldiers and comes from a border state. As former Gov. Sparks has brought out, Truman four years ago was opposed to Federal intervention in

...ce questions. Now he vigorously seeks the power of intervention. He is, then, yielding to formidable pressure to which

ne and all future candidates will be subject. The Advertiser

What Truman proposes is unbearable to the South.

But before action is formulated, we will do well to consider that the Republicans are certain to go Truman one better. Montgomery, Ala.

In the past, Southern congressmen with passive assistance from Republicans, have been able to defeat anti-lynch laws and the F.E.P.C. working inside the Democratic Party. That should be judiciously considered before we join forces in effect with Dewey and Henry Wallace to defeat Truman. Wed 2-4-48

Jennings Perry
PM New York, N.Y.
Feb. 2 - 1948

Home Missions

Nothing in the past week has so excited and delighted me as the magnificent impartiality of our President's strokes for democracy in all parts of the world. It is no simple coincidence, I am convinced, that the note to Romania, sharply reminding that distant state of its political sins against its people, in timing and essential subject matter, parallels the note to Congress upon the equally egregious shortcomings of various states in our own immediate circle.

Perry

True, there is a formal difference. In the note to Bucharest, our President declares:

"The United States Government considers it necessary to state that in its view the actions of the Romanian Government make it clear that there have not existed and do not now exist in Romania those human rights and fundamental freedoms which the Romanian Government is obligated by the treaty of peace to secure to all persons under its jurisdiction."

Let's Transpose The Proper Nouns

But we have only to transpose the proper nouns to perceive that the reference neatly fits the case of—say Mississippi. PM

One state is obligated by the treaty of peace following World War II, and the Yalta, Potsdam and Moscow agreements guaranteeing civil rights—the other by the articles of its readmittance into the Union following an earlier war, and by the guarantees of the Constitution of the United States. New York, N.Y.

This being said, however, and the object of both notes being to advance the great cause of democracy, the United States Government must consider it necessary to explore what *action* it may take—what action is feasible. 2-6-48

We must be practical about it. Obviously, our President is not going to send the Marines into Romania—much less into Mississippi or into the other western states which do not do right by their citizens. Additional notes of remonstrance would be just scraps of paper. . . . Is there no way, then? I think there is. PM

Leaving Romania out of it for the time being (without prejudice, of course), we note that besides Mississippi, the western states most in need of the democracy Mr. Truman bespeaks are Virginia, Tennessee, South Carolina, Alabama, Arkansas, and Texas. All of these states maintain poll-tax laws and other devices that exclude most of the persons under their jurisdiction from exercising the right to vote—the ultimate safeguard of all other rights and freedoms in a democracy. New York, N.Y.

How Four Could Be Returned to Fold

Of these seven states, at least four, in my opinion, can be returned to the blessings of democracy simply by the enactment of anti-poll tax legislation now pending in Congress. The three others—Mississippi, South Carolina and the platonic Republic of Virginia may be more difficult: the factions in power in them are as capable of ignoring new legislation as they have been of ignoring the Constitution. Yet it is "unthinkable" that three states should be permitted to continue to frustrate the national commitment to popular rule. Fri. 2-6-48

Proportional Representation

I am not suggesting that these three states be set apart as mandates until they are "ready for democracy" (though you could find precedents for that in the world) but rather that their delegations in Congress be whittled down in the proportion that these states impair the suffrage of their people—as specifically provided in the Constitution for just such cases. Fri. PM 2-6-48

These acts—all legal, and short of war—would allow the rest of the United States to go ahead as an unblushing democracy; and would have more effect than formal notes even on distant Romania, I dare say.

Challenge To South

Walter Wilbur
Mon. 2-1-48

To the Editor of The Record:

The direction taken by the protests against Mr. Truman's "civil rights" message points too many morals even to catalogue. I confess some bewilderment at the seriousness with which the message itself has been received. Our national political parties have long been "going on record" as "standing for" many things they had no intention of "standing by." Mr. Truman's place in history will surely never be confused with that of a champion of human rights. Personal estimates of course vary, but I tend to see him rather against the background of Potsdam, of the funnel-shaped clouds rising over Hiroshima and Nagasaki, of the appeal to Congress for power to club the railway Brotherhoods into unconditional surrender. None of the roles he has thus far played suggests the White Knight. I would more confidently cast him for the part of "The Nemesis of Mediocrity." Catonsville, S.C.

There is nothing new under the sun in the willingness of a presidential candidate to capitalize on domestic tensions to further political ambition. Nor is there anything surprising in Mr. Truman's disregard for the federal principle in the structure of our government. Of more immediate concern is our own neglect of tensions that could be ruinously exploited in the hands of a demagogue with sufficient skill, and our evasion of the responsibilities that the constitutional reservation of rights contemplated that the state would assume. The founders certainly were not exercised over the right of a state to be politically moribund. They were struggling with the problem of how authority could be allocated to ensure a maximum of freedom; they were not providing for the atrophy of authority by disuse. The dangerous fallacy that has spread in a society that inherited freedom without the hardship of obtaining it is that freedom is a commodity carrying the permanent guarantee of the producer. The result has been the steady erosion of freedom to the point where its complete disappearance is imminent.

The War Between the States and its punitive aftermath brought the South to the brink of collapse. It met the immediate challenge superbly, but the effort so drained it of vitality that it could not at once face the truth that its ultimate problem had not been solved but only held in suspension. Since that time we have had a long reprieve. It is now necessary to understand that the reprieve was not for eternity. Mon. 2-1-48

It is time also to acknowledge the part that the Negroes have had in extending that reprieve. They might have served as effective tools for the searing hates that focused on this section and that only the liquidation of the South would have satisfied. But whatever their predominant feeling, it has certainly not been hatred. Nor have been given the chance for development that the Negro problem of today is not the Negro problem of the Reconstruction Era. It is now a problem inherent in his character as a human being. He has reached a political maturity that a political democracy can not ignore. His capacity for evil is already provided with ample opportunities. His capacity for good needs new outlets and new incentives.

As individuals, Negroes have, of course, developed on varying levels, according to ability and also according to environment. Enlightened Negroes are aware of the hazard of extending an unconditioned right of suffrage to a mass bloc of irresponsible voters. Their political judgment in this respect is probably sounder than any precedent we have furnished them. Given the chance they would cooperate fully in working out a sane solution for a common problem.

Thus far, however, they have only been treated to a puzzling and uninspiring spectacle. Those who have held control of the electoral policies of the state have evidenced their bankruptcy of policies. Single-minded and futile resistance to any change in the status quo has been substituted for any effort to channel inevitable change toward constructive ends. It would be hard to devise a more effective method for alienating "the good opinion of mankind" or of transforming the problem of "the Negro voter" into the catastrophe of "the Negro vote." The individual is potentially susceptible to the influence of conscience and a sense of civic responsibility. The bloc vote is invariably cast with complete indifference to the public good. The South has an opportunity to give the Negroes their first chance to function as citizens rather than as venal pawns of organized corruption, for sale to the smoothest bidder. The Record

When science is warning us that the retarded development of a sense of mutuality is likely to bring the End of Man in this our day, truculent racial boasting sounds uncomfortably like a death rattle. Neither the solid South, nor the state of South Carolina, holds any grant of immunity from the penalties of rebellion against the ultimate conditions for survival in a moral order.

The universe for the most part retains its mysteries, but has not left us in doubt of the consistency of its laws. Of all times, the South is challenged now to stop reacting according to formula, and demonstrate some awareness of geography. We are a very small part of a very large world, and what identity we retain in it is to be attributed to the memories of men who have been dead for many years. It would not hurt us to recall that they were notable for their readiness to face a changing world and their ability to use the momentum of change for shaping the order of things to come. If we are to have any future at all, it will not be secured by walking backwards. The South is in desperate need of greatness; not greatness self-conferred by adopting resolutions, but the greatness of a living faith and the courage of dedication. In sober fact, it is later—much later—than we think.

Mon. 2-1-48 WALTER B. WILBUR
Charleston, S.C.

MRS. WEISENBURGH
Editor, The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

Once again the Solid South, train bearer for the Democratic Party, is stumbling over an economic fact and calling it a social custom. There is nothing either new or startling in President Truman's proposals on civil rights. There is something decidedly sinister in the frothing fear which appears on many mouths.

White supremacy, mongrel race, and outside interference, are the explosives most often thrown in defense of the citadel. Do we not already have a mongrel race, and who created it? Certainly not outside interference. White supremacy will survive or die according to the ability of the individual to live and let live. Mon. 2-3-48 ANNE S. WEISENBURGH

Montgomery

Dander Raised In Mississippi Over Truman's 10-Point Plan For Civil Rights Program

Threats Of Revolt In National Party Burn Higher; Speaker Of House Says It's Time For Action; Calls For Southern Democratic Convention

JACKSON, MISS., Feb. 2.—(AP)—An[illegible] [illegible]ts of revolt smouldered among Mississippi legislators a[illegible] [illegible]atic leaders Monday when they learned of President Tru[illegible] [illegible]posal for a 10-point civil rights program.

Gov. Fielding L. Wright con[illegible]

"I shall have further comment on this subject at the Southern Governor's Conference next [illegible]urday" in Tallahassee, Fla.

Walter Sillers, speaker of the House, called on Southern Democrats to hold their own party convention, independent of the national convention in Philadelphia, and nominate their own candidates for president and vice-president.

Wright, in his inaugural address, warned national leaders Mississippi Democrats may break with the party if they continue to sponsor "anti-Southern legislation."

In a written statement Monday, Wright said he could not comment fully nor intelligently in the absence of a copy of the President's message. He added:

"Obviously though from what I do have, the titular head of our Democratic Party has seen fit to recommend the passage of the type of legislation to which I made full reference in my inaugural address.

Attitude Plain

"My attitude on this subject has been made plain. I felt that the so-called Democratic Party would stab our section in the back with this type legislation and warned them that we would not stand for it.

"I feel that if my information is correct and Mr. Truman has made these recommendations, it is now time for action."

Sillers, in urging Southern Democrats to boycott the National Democratic Convention and [illegible] candidates, said he [illegible] such a move "even if [illegible] throwing the election of [illegible] into the House of Representatives and then we can let events take their course."

His suggestion came but a few days after the Legislature heard Senator James O. Eastland predict that if Southern Democrats would withhold their electoral votes from the Democratic Party

[illegible] [illegible]ding pointedly; and throw the election in the House of Representatives "a southern man would emerge as president."

Sillers Lambasts It

Sillers, speaking from his home in Rosedale just before leaving for Jackson, said:

"This is not a program to abolish discrimination.

"It is a program of discrimination against the majority of people in the United States and in favor of certain minority groups."

"If I were to try to formulate a program destructive of the South and more objectionable to the South, I don't believe I could possibly have formulated one as bad as this.

"I don't think the people of the South should stand for it and certainly we don't have any obligation to any party, candidate or president who would endorse any such program.

"It is destructive of the South and the entire nation.

"It is certainly unconstitutional and if we had a fair supreme court of the United States. . . . with judges of integrity. . . . they would so hold. But with the court as it is presently constituted I have long ago given up hope of the Supreme Court holding anything recommended by the New Deal crowd as being unconstitutional. They have stretched the constitution to fit the situation.

His Blood Boils

"It makes my blood boil," he said. "It does violence to the principles of the Democratic Party as announced by Thomas Jefferson and as they have been all down through the years.

"I wonder what Jefferson, Monroe, Madison, Grover Cleveland and Woodrow Wilson would say if they knew a Democratic administration was advocating such things.

"This action points to the positive need for every white Southern Democrat to follow Gov. Wright's program of standing independently and true to the principles of the Democratic Party and declining to be led away from the Democratic Party by the renegade politicians who are presently leading the party.

"I am only authorized to speak for myself but I am sure there are enough red blooded white Southern Democrats in a dozen states of the South who will stand firm on their principles and refuse to follow when the party is led away from those principles by forces from north of the Mason Dixon Line.

"Whoever the person is in Washington who said this is a lot of ballyhoo and that the South will again fall in line was never more mistaken in his life. There are a lot of people who are going to have their eyes opened."

Dixie's Last Defense Line Is Tottering

Secret Poll In Senate Gives Little Hope Of Blocking Legislation

Deserted By GOP

Civil Rights Program Is Accepted As Challenge By Republican Leaders

WASHINGTON, Feb. 21.—(AP)—A secret Senate poll has convinced some Southern Democratic leaders they have almost no hope of blocking approval of civil rights legislation in this session of Congress.

A veteran Dixie senator who helped count noses told a reporter the Southerners now appear to have lost the Republican support they need to prevent adoption of a gag rule on Senate debate.

He said President Truman's demand for anti-lynch, anti-poll tax, and anti-discrimination laws has been accepted as a political challenge by the GOP members. As a result, he said, few, if any, Republicans will vote against limiting debate.

This prospect arose as some 50 Democratic House members from the states of the old Confederacy broadened their drive against the Truman civil rights program.

They and five Southern governors will slam down their criticism of the program Monday before Senator J. Howard McGrath, of Rhode Island, the Democratic national chairman. Governors Laney, of Arkansas, Jester, of Texas, Tuck, of Virginia, Thurmond, of South Carolina, and Cherry, of North Carolina, were heading for the capital.

Just One Promise

The only promise McGrath has given is that he will pass their protests along to Mr. Truman. The President was en route Saturday night to the Virgin Islands, where he was to be given an official reception by William H. Hastie, Negro governor of that Caribbean outpost.

Southerners have found the Senate, rather than the House, their main line of defense in fighting similar race-relations legislation in past sessions. That is because of a difference in the rules of the two bodies. The general practice of unlimited debate in the Senate has enabled them to talk the bills to death.

But there is a chink in that defense—the cloture rule. Cloture is a device by which two-thirds of those voting can limit each senator to a single, one-hour speech on a bill and all amendments.

The Southerners were said to be able to tally at this time only 25 sure votes—eight short of the strehgth needed if all 96 senators voted—to ward off the cloture rule.

Traditionally the Southerners have been able to avoid adoption of the gag rule because of Republican help.

GOP Joined Them

In the last previous test, July 31, 1946, seven Republicans joined the Southerners to ward off cloture on a bill to outlaw state poll taxes. They were Senators Bridges, of New Hampshire, Gurney, of South Dakota, Hart, of Connecticut, Millikin, of Colorado, Moore, of Oklahoma, White, of Maine, and Young, of North Dakota. All except Hart now are members.

But the Southern say they have round several of this group unwilling to go along this year. They also have lost from the Senate two Democrats who came to their aid in 1946, Gossett, of Idaho, and Gerry, of Rhode Island.

Meanwhile, a committee of 12 House members was established to keep up the fight against the President's entire civil rights program.

Rep. Colmer (D), Mississippi, the chairman, said the committee has three purposes:

1. To plan strategy in case one or more of these "vicious and unconstitutional" bills come to the floor.
2. To cooperate with the governors.
3. To serve note on party leaders that inclusion of the president's proposals in the 1948 Democratic platform would "definitely jeopardize the party's success" in the South.

Hobbs On Group

Representative Harris, of Arkansas will serve as secretary of the new committee. Other members are Hobbs, of Alabama; Sikes, of Florida; Cox, of Georgia; Gregory, of Kentucky; Larcade, of Louisiana; Clark, of North Carolina; Richards, of South Carolina; Murray, of Tennessee; Gossett, of Texas; and Howard W. Smith, of Virginia.

Calling the first meeting of the new committee for Monday morning, Colmer said:

"It is my positive conviction that the boys from the South are in dead earnest and will fight to the finish this type of doctrine by its party leader. We love our party, but we love our country more, and the love of country should always transcend the loyalty to party."

The Republican majority in Congress was represented as determined to get at least one civil rights law passed this season. Their previous inclination has been to try the anti-lynching issue first.

Senator Taft, of Ohio, chairman of the Republican policy committee, told a reporter his group will talk the matter over soon. He said it will be up to the conference of all Republican senators to decide which bill to try first.

Threat of Filibuster

Because of the threat of a filibuster, the Republicans may find it necessary to attach any such proposal as a "rider" to some other bill, in most cases, and the Southerners often have used that avenue to talk at length. With about 20 members on tap, they have proved they can go on day and night for a long time.

The rebellious Southerners had some advice Saturday, from Senator Byrd (D), Virginia, who has opposed some similar legislation in the past.

He told them to hold their fire but keep their powder dry.

The Virginian explained to a reporter that he wants the South to be sure where it is going before it breaks any traditional political ties.

"We must make a calm, deliberate decision, on the basis of events as they happen, and then be prepared to go through with it to the end," he said.

Meanwhile, Clark Foreman, president of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, telegraphed the five governors that they appear to be calling upon the president to "ditch the Democratic party."

Anderson Is Backing Proposals Of Truman

LOUISVILLE, KY., Feb. 21.—(AP)—Secretary of Agriculture Anderson said Saturday night that the Democratic Party will "continue to ride the crest of the tide" only so long as it remains "the champion of human rights."

One of the Truman administration's top spokesmen, Anderson apparently had in mind the civil rights program involving Negro segregation which has aroused strong Southern opposition.

Anderson's remarks were made in a speech for a Jefferson-Jackson centennial dinner here of Kentucky Democrats. He declared:

"The party," he said, "will certainly succumb if you governors insist upon the denial of civil rights to that large part of our population which is colored.

"Thousands of members of the Southern Conference who live in your states oppose the announced purposes of your visit. You cannot speak for them," Foreman said.

"Today the Democratic Party under President Truman still continues in the progressive spirit of Jefferson, Jackson, Wilson and Roosevelt. And strangely that seems to trouble some people. They sometimes ask: 'Why doesn't the President coast along? Why does he raise troublesome issues?"

"Do you see why? Don't you see, it is because our party can never coast—can never straddle.

"We are a great party because we forever push ahead toward the ideals of Democracy. We are swept along on a great progressive tide and our strokes are with it—not against it."

Truman Plan Hit As 'Unworkable'

MOBILE, ALA., Feb. 21—(AP)—Gessner T. McCorvey, chairman of Alabama's State Democratic Executive Committee, said in a statement Saturday that unless the National Democratic Party "changes its attitude of hostility I hardly see how we Southerners can continue following the party's leadership."

"You can rest assured that we are making plans to combat this situation, and the National Democratic Party will either have to give a different sort of recognition to the South or we are going to have to part company," he said.

"I don't see how any Southerner could with self-respect follow the leadership of any party which undertakes to write into its platform the absolutely unworkable, impossible, and I might say unthinkable, theories advanced by President Truman in his message to Congress on civil rights," McCorvey declared.

Dixie's Blood Boiling Over; Rift Widens

Tennessean Pins Tag On Civil Rights Plan As 'Wicked One'

Party Fund Held

McGrath Asks Liberals For Help; Alabamian

Belittles Revolt Move

By The Associated Press

Southern resentment against President Truman's civil rights proposals continued to mount Saturday, with Senator Stewart (D), Tennessee, describing the program as "one of wickedness . . . aimed at the South."

George B. Hamilton, Georgia state treasurer, protested the program by resigning as director of finance of the Democratic national committee.

In Texas, Chairman Bob Calvert, of the state Democratic executive committee, said, "It may be necessary" for Texas to send an uninstructed delegation to the national party convention "in order to be in a position to fight for our rights." He counseled against an immediate revolt of Southern Democrats, suggesting instead that Southerners "hold our fire and keep our powder dry" pending developments.

In Virginia, State Senator Garland Gray, a co-chairman of a Jefferson-Jackson fund raising dinner, said he intends to withhold the profits from the national party for a while.

Several Georgians also changed their minds about their Jefferson-Jackson Day contributing going to the party. Jones County contributors sent their money to Gov. M. E. Thompson to fight against the proposals which call for anti-segregation, anti-lynch and anti-poll tax laws and an FEPC.

Stewart Blasts It

Senator Stewart, in his blast at Mr. Truman's program, called it "a chorus of discord to a hymn of hate, sung by a choir conglomerate set to a false tune and directed by the unseen hands of masters of phony symphony."

At the same time, Stewart said: "I glory in the courage of the citizens of Fayette County, who, yesterday, at a mass meeting, in Somerville, condemned the iniquitous civil rights program . . . demanded by the president.

"I will," Stewart said, "fight this Communistic civil rights program with all the vigor at my command. I know I stand on high ground because it threatens the welfare and safety of my people of Tennessee, the South and the nation."

The Fayette County meeting, Stewart referred to, adopted a resolution demanding rejection of President Truman as a candidate for another term. The resolution described Mr. Truman as "a deserter of the Democratic party, and, as a deserter of his party, he is a deserter of the South, one who no longer merits the respect, admiration, confidence and support of true Democrats."

Cannot Agree

Resigning his national party post, Hamilton wrote Senator McGrath (D), Rhode Island, chairman of the Democratic national committee, saying he had "arrived at this decision because of the fact that I cannot in any way agree with the civil rights program promulgated by the president and indorsed by you officially as chairman. He added there was nothing personal in his action.

McGrath, in Indianapolis, said he had "no comment" but indicated he might issue a statement when he returns to Washington, Sunday.

Appointed director of finance by the then National Committee Chairman Robert E. Hannegan in October, 1947, Hamilton said in his letter he arrived at the decision to resign because he believes the President's civil rights program "will effectuate untold damage to equitable solutions to the racial relations that should and must be ultimately arrived at."

Hangs Onto Funds

National Democratic officials in Washington said Hamilton had not been active in the finance job for some time, since his temporary position with the committee was restricted by the Hatch Act.

Virginia State Senator Gray said he intends to hang onto the party's Jefferson-Jackson dinner profits "until I am ordered by competent authority to send the money in to the national party." Earlier this week Governor William Tuck asked Virginia Democrats to stand by for possible party secession.

McGrath, who was in Indianapolis for a Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner, called on "all true Liberals" to unite behind President Truman in this election year.

Praising President Truman as "our leader for practical, progressive liberalism," Senator McGrath asserted that Henry A. Wallace's third party "has as much place in American politics as does a third party on a honeymoon."

Earlier, in an interview he expressed belief Wallace "will see his third party effort through," but added:

"We haven't made any effort to read anybody out of the party."

Sparkman Speaks Up

In Milwaukee, Senator John J. Sparkman (D), Alabama, declared no matter what threats have been hurled by party hotheads, secession by Dixie Democrats is a long way off.

"We face an unpleasant state of affairs," Sparkman said in an interview. "The South is more stirred up now than it has been since reconstruction days—worse, even than it was during the 1928 presidential campaign.

"Still, there is a lot of room for agreement. We wrote an acceptable civil rights plank for the party in 1944 and I think we can do it again," he declared.

Nomination of a Southerner as Mr. Truman's running mate would do much to ease the sting of the President's civil rights message, Sparkman said. He added that the South would not "sell out our principles for the office" but such action would "give the South some assurance that the party is not being sold out to a few Northern minority groups."

Sparkman ruled himself out as a vice-presidential candidate but said he would like to see his fellow Alabama senator, Lister Hill, in the race.

Putting On The Pressure?

This newspaper agrees with State Democratic Chairman McCorvey that it is well for voters to know just where candidates stand on important issues.

We agree that specific knowledge is desirable of how delegates stand on the civil rights proposals advanced by the president's special commission and later urged by the president himself.

We agree, further, that the proposals of the president, however sincere they may be, are unwise and dangerous, likely to retard rather than advance racial relations.

Nevertheless, we cannot go along with Mr. McCorvey's suggestion that it would be well for the State Democratic Executive Committee to meet after primary entries have closed March 1 in a special session to hear what the candidates think on civil rights issues.

The committee, having taken such a strong stand against the commission's recommendations, saying that a choice might be forced between the party and the South, obviously would not look with favor on candidates who might differ with its views in some respects.

There might be candidates, of course, who agree that President Truman's proposals are unsound, but who nevertheless would not desire to join altogether in the sentiments that have been expressed by the committee and by some other Democratic Party leaders in the South.

A form of pressure inevitably would be exerted, in our opinion, by operation of such a plan as Mr. McCorvey suggests. This would have the effect of tending to establish a "party line" and to discourage free expression and some candidacies.

* * *

It is all right for the committee to emphasize the importance of speaking out plainly on these issues. But that should work both ways. Those who see the situation somewhat differently from the committee, as well as those who see it in the same way, should be encouraged to speak out. This plan would not do that.

The voters are the people to hear from the candidates. The committee's intervention to put candidates on the spot is not needed and could be harmful.

They cannot afford to allow the Northern Democrats to accuse them of blocking the anti-lynching bill or any of the other measures.

It is a contest for the Negro votes in the crucial states and both parties want these votes, both want to be in a position to claim that they did everything possible to secure the enactment o these measures, calculated to attract Negro sup

A two-thirds vote and senator to speak for the pending bill. No opted by the Senate

the Southern Demoby some Republicans their efforts to de

A cloture motion requires a two its approval allows each Senato only one hour thereafter on the p cloture motion has been adopted since 1927.

But in their other fights the crats have been supported by some and Northern Democrats in their feat cloture motions.

And they fear that this year th Republican support than heretofo message on civil rights Presiden the Republicans on a spot which to try to tighten party lines and

Southern Fears

The one weapon the South has in the Senate is the filibuster. It has so far prevented the enactment of the anti-lynching bill and the anti-poll tax bill. It is counted upon to prevent the enactment of the whole list of President Truman's civil rights measures.

But Southern Senators are beginning to have their fears that the plan may not work this year. They may not be able, they are afraid, to scrape up enough votes to prevent the passage of the

inevitable cloture motion putting a limit on de bate in the Senate when the filibuster really gets going.

Some Truman's Civil Rights Get Citizens' Okeh Here

W. L. SIDDLE RUDY CLARK EDDIE AUGUST GEORGE WHITE C. C. LANGSTON MRS. L. K. HARRIS T. L. LOWE T. W. BROWN

BY JOHN B. ATKINS
News Staff Writer

"Not all Southerners are boiling mad over (President Truman's) civil rights program," said one man on the street. But he grinned, refused to let his name be published, and remarked: "No comment. My customers might not like it."

He was one of 10 interviewed on Birmingham's downtown streets yesterday afternoon.

The other nine talked freely. But President Truman's name was not mentioned. All expressed their views concerning the four points particularly applicable to the South in the president's 10-point program.

* * *

ALL EXPRESSED themselves as bitterly opposed to lynching, and all save one said they would approve of the federal government passing an anti-lynching law. The sole objector said he believed laws against lynching should be kept in the hands of the states.

Only one favored ending segregation of whites and Negroes in transportation. The other eight said the Jim Crow rules should be continued.

Five of the nine favored a permanent fair employment commission, which would give all, regardless of race, equal opportunity for employment. Four objected to the FEPC.

Four said they would be willing for the federal government to outlaw the poll tax. Five wanted the tax continued.

* * *

RUDY CLARK, of Huffman, commercial representative for a local radio station, doesn't want the poll tax outlawed, and he wants no change in the segregation laws.

He favors an anti-lynching law and the FEPC.

"I want the South to control the voting and the race question," he said.

W. L. Siddle, 1022 South 22nd Street, a structural engineer, is against lynching and would approve a federal law against it. He also approves the FEPC and abolition of poll taxes by the federal government. But he thinks that segregation ought to continue in the South.

* * *

MRS. MYRA S. DOUGHTY, 1326 North 25th Street, a home economist, favors a federal anti-lynching law, the FEPC and the abolishment of Jim Crow rules. But she thinks the poll tax should continue. "Any body ought to be able to pay $1.50 to vote," she said.

Eddie August, 207 Graymont Avenue, West, a photo studio manager, commented: "I think the people up North should keep their nose in their own business. Their way of living is different from ours."

But he expressed himself as being so strongly opposed to lynching that he is willing for the federal government to pass a law against it.

Emphasizing that he is a Navy veteran and doesn't have to pay poll tax, he said he wanted it to continue. He likewise wants no change in the segregation laws, and he is opposed to the FEPC.

* * *

GEORGE WHITE, 20, 4405 41st Way, North, a high school senior, favors a federal anti-lynching law. But he is opposed to the FEPC, abolition of Jim Crow rules and believes the poll tax should be continued. His coming of age next year made no difference in his stand on the poll tax.

C. C. Langston, 67, of Jemison Route 1, a retired cotton mill worker, is strongly in favor of a federal anti-lynching law. "I don't want to see lynching as it was 60 years ago," he said.

He's just as strongly against the FEPC. "If you bring that down here in the South, there'll be trouble," he said.

"The segregation laws should be kept in force," he said. "The white man should stay in his place and the Negro should stay in his."

He believes the poll tax is a good thing if it is used for educating children. Although he said the poll tax was a burden on many unable to pay it, he added, "I think it should be continued for the children."

* * *

MRS. L. K. HARRIS, 3400 Altamont Road, a housewife, approves of a federal anti-lynching law, and she believes the poll tax should be done away with, no matter how it is accomplished. "I don't think we should have to pay to vote," she said.

She said she believed the segregation laws should be continued in force and that "white people and Negroes should sit separately on streetcars, buses and trains."

She approves the FEPC, and commented, "I think everybody should have equal opportunity to work. They should get what they deserve and be able to obtain any job for which they can qualify."

T. W. BROWN, 5815 Fifth Avenue, South, retired city firefighter, disapproves of a federal anti-lynching law because he doesn't want the law taken out of local hands.

He is for the FEPC "because it takes as much for a Negro to live as it takes for a white person."

Mr. Brown said he favored retention of the Jim Crow rules because "there is a difference between the Negro here and up North. I believe in segregation because I was raised that way," he added.

But he doesn't want any poll taxes, despite the fact that he himself was exempt because he is a veteran of World War I. "I would approve of a federal law to abolish the poll tax because I think every citizen ought to have the right to vote."

T. L. Lowe, 1606 13th Way, South, a carpenter, is opposed to lynching and would approve of the federal government passing a law against it. He also thinks the poll tax should be done away with "no matter how."

He thinks Jim Crow rules should be continued and he is opposed to the FEPC.

Sparks Lays Turn-About To Truman

Civil Rights Proposals Called Bar To South's Solution Of Problems

Others Join Attack

Hot Session Is Predicted At Tallahassee Parley Of Southern Governors

Asserting that, in 1944, President Truman had agreed with him that the poll tax should be handled by the State, Former Gov. Chauncey Sparks Tuesday wired the Cheif Executive that "any party which makes declarations as you made Monday (on his civil rights program) is creating more and larger minority groups."

Sparks added: "Personally I, and I believe the people of the South, oppose any group, large or small, and whether called the Supreme Court or the Polit Bureau, determining the social customs of a people."

Thrashed Out

Sparks declared that all of Mr. Truman's proposals were "thrashed out" in the 1944 Democratic national convention and left out of the platform.

In another blast at the President's civil rights program, Gessner T. McCorvey, chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee, said that Truman's stand had cost him prestige and much of the esteem formerly held for him in the South.

"In my opinion," e said, "the President would never have made such suggestions as are contained in his message to Congress except as a result of some very unwise advice given him by radical minority groups within our own party."

The telegraph dispatched by Sparks said:

"Your message of yesterday to the Congress makes it always more difficult for the South to bring about a satisfactory solution of its local problems, which it is trying to do.

All Omitted

"All the suggestions made by you were thrashed out in the platform committee at Chicago in 1944, and none of them was placed in the platform. You subscribed to the platform and told me, in person, when we were trying to head off (Henry) Wallace, that you then believed the poll tax should be handled by the state.

"On the strength of that declaration the Alabama delegation, with the exception of two, voted for you for vice-president.

"Any party which makes such declarations as you made yesterday is creating more and larger minority groups.

"Personally I, and I believe the people of the South, oppose any group, large or small, and whether called the Supreme Court or Polit Bureau, determining the social customs of a people."

Similar expressions were voiced, earlier, by Senator Sparkman, Reps. Grant, Jarman, Manasco, Rains, Hobbs and Jones; by Col. Marion Rushton, Montgomery, Alabama national committeeman, and by Mrs. Lenpard Thomas, Montgomery, national committeewoman.

From elsewhere throughout the South, according to the Associated Press, Southerners lashed out at the President's civil right program as a move that merited extreme measures by the Solid South.

The Associated Press roundup follows:

"Distasteful, unthinkable and ridiculous," declared Governor Ben Laney, of Arkansas, of Mr. Truman's recommendations given Congress Monday.

Governors, senators, congressmen, and other official spokesmen for the section hit at the president's proposals for an anti-lynching law, a permanent fair employment practice commission, an end to Jim-Crow rules in transportation, and elimination of state poll taxes.

Gov. Laney said he did not know how the South could prevent imposition of such legislation but "I am ready to help, even to extreme measures."

Hot Session Looms

He predicted a hot session at the Southern Governors' Conference Friday in Tallahassee, Fla. Truman's civil rights proposals while the South was struggling with a Supreme Court ruling. Oklahoma stood front was the enrollment of a young Negro ex-GI as a law student at the University of Arkansas. He and others of his race who may enroll will receive instruction from regular faculty members but in a special classroom.

It was an appeal from refusal of the University of Oklahoma to admit Negro graduate students that brought the Supreme Court ruling.

The objective of such a convention would be to work out on this from Mr. Truman. part of the section's electoral votes for you for vice-president. Truman's votes from Fla. The conference was called to consider regional education matters. A Southern senator who asked that his name not be used, said in Washington the conference would be asked to call an all-Southern political convention.

One of the latest developments in the education opportunities for Negroes must be given equal date that Negro enrollment to whites.

Negro Enrolled

Some way to withhold at least Monday of

set up a separate law school for Negroes. So far, Negro students have boycotted the separate school. Montgomery, Ala

Texas, meanwhile, is spending $3,000,000 for a State University for Negroes. Other Southern states are making a two-front attack on the problem—using existing facilities to the best advantage and developing out-of-state scholarship plans to supplement these. Wed. 2-4-48

An over-all approach is a Southwide proposal to set up regional Negro universities to serve students from the various states.

A lurid, back-stage development was a Ku Klux Klan parade and cross burning Tuesday night at Swainsboro, Ga. The purpose of the demonstration by 189 sheet-shrouded men, said a leader, was to "rededicate" the hooded order to "the protection of white womanhood" and to racial segregation as a Southern tradition.

Only a few southerners came to the defense of the President. One of these, Governor Millard Caldwell of Florida, said he disagreed with the President's civil rights proposals but would support his nomination as president.

"Serious Mistake"

Caldwell said the South made a serious mistake years ago when it gave up the two-thirds rule for nominating a president. Under that rule the South wielded great influence in the Democratic National Convention.

Laney said he might agree to establishment of a southern party if one is proposed Montgomery, Ala.

"There is no question but that the people of the South are fed up," he said. "The South has its back to the wall but I don't think the South will take it lying down and I'm with that group."

Gov. M. E. Thompson of Georgia was brief in his comment. "I'll stick to my business if the President will tend to his," the Georgian said. The Advertiser

Herman Talmadge, Georgia governor until ousted by the State Supreme Court in favor of Thompson, said he was unalterably opposed to any program that would force an FEPC program on the South. Wed 2-4-48

An all Southern Democratic convention was called for by Walter Sillers, Mississippi House speaker. He advocated an independent convention for naming the South's candidate for president. Sillers said he favored this "even if it means throwing the election into the House of Representatives and then we can let events take their course."

Gov. Fielding L. Wright, of Mississippi, previously had called on Southern Democrats to secede from the national party unless Democratic leaders ceased spon-

soring anti-Southern legislation.

A few days after Wright spoke, the Alabama Democratic Executive Committee passed a resolution warning party leaders that further moves toward anti-Southern legislation might force the section to choose between party loyalty and Southern tradition.

Hodding Carter, Pulitzer prize winning editor of The Greenville (Miss.) Democrat-Times, said most liberal southerners question the sincerity of proposals such as President Truman's "when they come on the eve of an election."

Carter, visiting in Atlanta, said he was willing to string along with the anti-lynching part of the President's civil rights bill but added: Montgomery, Ala.

"It seems to me that the South is improving on this (lynching) without legislation. Statistics prove that lynching in the South has diminished greatly in the past 20 years. Actually there is no objective in the act since we Southerners have accomplished more by ourselves." Wed 2-4-48

Governors Set 40-Day Ultimatum

The Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.

Party Told To Reverse Civil Rights Stand Or Face Southern Revolt

Sun. 2-8-48

Wright Abstains

Another Parley Slated; Gov. Thurmond Calls Truman Plan 'Insult'

By JACK HARVEY
United Press Staff Correspondent

WAKULLA SPRINGS, FLA., Feb. 7.—(U.P.)—The Southern Governors Conference Saturday gave the National Democratic Party 40 days in which to reverse its stand on civil rights or face a threat of secessive by the traditionally Solid South.

Without a dissenting vote the conference adopted a resolution by Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, calling for the conference to meet again within 40 days specifically for "careful consideration of the problems of the southern states" arising from President Truman's civil rights recommendations.

Three of the nine governors abstained from voting. One of these was Gov. Fielding Wright of Mississippi, who proposed a convention of southern Democrats March 1 to take possible "secession." The Advertiser

The more conservative governors believed the Thurmond resolution would provide a "cooling-off" period, and although most regretted the civil rights program they believed the postponement would give both the national party and the south time to reconsider. The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. Sun 2-8-48

"Outrage—Insult"

Thurmond called the 10-point civil rights program advocated by President Truman in a congressional message "an outrage and an insult by Democratic party leaders who think Southern Democrats have no place to turn." 10 PMCR

He asked for 60 days in which to have a committee of the governors conference "make careful inquiry and investigation into such problems."

But the length of time was shortened by an amendment offered by Gov. Fielding Wright, of Mississippi, who urged the soonest possible action.

Gov. Beauford Jester, of Texas, said all the nine governors attending the meeting here were in accord with the preamble of three separate resolutions offered by the governors—each denouncing the president's stand.

Flat Warning

Jester agreed with Thurmond that action on the issue be postponed at this meeting and that a committee should go to national party chairman, J. Howard McGrath, with a flat warning of "drastic action" unless the party reversed its stand.

Jester said McGrath should be told in no uncertain terms that the South stood ready to withhold funds collected at the party's Jackson Day dinners and possibly to withhold electoral votes from the Democratic presidential candidate. The Advertiser

Jester said the committee, which would be appointed by Conference Chairman William Preston Lane, of Maryland, should inform McGrath and other party leaders that a decision was being withheld on the dinner fund disposition and on final instructions to convention delegates pending an about face by the national party on the civil rights issues.

Second Thought

"It is entirely possible that the chairman (McGrath) would then ask a second thought regarding Democratic policies on these civil rights proposals . . ."

Thurmond said: "We are shocked by the spectacle of parties bidding for the vote of small minorities by attacking customs of the South." Montgomery, Ala.

His resolution called for the Governors Conference to "frame some course of action" after the committee to be appointed by Lane reports. Lane will call the meeting. Sun. 2-8-48

Unanimous passage of the resolution, which in effect slows down the process of sudden secession urged by Wright, and may, with the passage of time, end it, was hailed by the governors.

Good Compromise

"I think it an excellent compromise plan," said Gov. M. E. Thompson, of Georgia, who, last night, reaffirmed his support of the national party, and said he believed a breakaway would be less wise than accepting the civil rights program. The Advertiser

Folsom, of Alabama, who earlier had proposed that Southern states send delegates committed to a favorite son from their own state or send delegates without commitments at all, said "I agree (with Thurmond's ideas). We should fight out our party differences within the party."

Folsom has offered himself as a favorite son candidate in Alabama for the presidential nomination. Montgomery, Ala.

Laney, of Arkansas, seconded Thurmond's motion, but pounding his desk, he declared . . . "If these civil rights proposals are imposed on the South I would prefer to support a Republican for president." Sun 2-8-48

Opposes Bolt

McCord, of Tennessee, said he was in sympathy with the feeling of the others but that he believed the South "can accomplish its purpose without leaving the Democratic Party." Montgomery, Ala.

Wright, of Mississippi, who had called for a convention of "pure Southern Democrats" at Jackson, Miss., on Mar. 1, offered the amendment to shorten the time before the next meeting and said he "hoped it would work out."

The conference received three separate resolutions, but those offered by Wright and Folsom died for lack of seconds. 2-8-48

The resolutions were offered only after debate was finished for the day on regional professional schools. The Advertiser

The governors voted to set up two committees to work out details tonight on the regional schools. One will draft an agreement between the states to implement to regional schools, and a second committee to study all phases of regional education to be included in the plan.

Asks Acceptance

In the regular conference session Gov. Millard F. Caldwell of Florida urged that Southern States move fast to take over the $10,000,000 Meharry Medical College for education of Negro doctors, dentists and nurses. 2-8-48

Caldwell, chairman of a special regional education committee, also urged that two other schools be jointly financed for specialized training of white students. Caldwell did not disclose what schools he had in mind.

The eight governors and their educational consultants heard Caldwell's report without comment, then went into executive session to work out "legal details" of the program. Advertiser

In his report, Caldwell stressed that today's meeting was being held primarily to consider the whole picture of education in the South. However, it was apparent that the governors are moving quickly to meet the "equal education facility" mandate of a recent Supreme Court decision which held that Negroes must be provided educational facilities equal to whites. Montgomery, Ala

Sparkman Unafraid

The Advertiser

GREENSBORO, N. C., Feb. 7.—(U.P.)—Sen. John Sparkman, (D), Alabama, said Saturday the south "will continue to support liberal candidates and liberal legislation" despite rumblings of a Southern Democratic revolt. Montgomery, Ala

He said "the south supports the Democratic Party because it is the party of progress. It need not be afraid of what may happen to it at the hands of its own party." Sun. 2-8-48

But in Washington, Rep. Thomas G. Abernethy, (D), Mississippi, said in a statement that President Truman's stand on civil rights amounts to a declaration of war on segregation.

"They (Mr. Truman and his advisers) have put the odorous issue squarely under the nose of every southern leader of the Democratic Party. We either live with the stench or we don't. The choice is ours.

Sparkman told a meeting of North Carolina young Democrats:

"In the past we have pretty well succeeded each time in settling our differences within the party and I feel confident this year will be no exception," he said.

"What would the south have to gain in bolting the Democratic Party" certainly we could expect little consideration from the Republicans.

Sparkman credited the administration of President Truman for the Marshall Plan.

"If the marshall Plan fails, we shall have lost Democracy as we know it." he said.

Disharmony

10 PMCR

President Harry Truman is reported planning to make a major bid for Democratic party harmony in his Jackson-Jefferson day dinner speech at Washington. The Record

The President, one Democratic source is quoted as saying, will soft-pedal his controversial civil rights program, which has provoked the South to talk of secession from the Democratic party. Wed 2-4-48

he has destroyed will accomplish nothing.
unity he will win over neither the Southerners, who
a united party in the November election. He will remember the civil rights message, nor the
He will instead make his address an appeal for Poor bungling Truman! His civil rights mes- of the left, who will accuse him of
sage was, of course, prompted by his fear of the Wallace candidacy and was an attempt to out- forgetting it. The Advertiser
Wallace Wallace. The message was aimed at the gentlemen
neo-liberals, who might be expected to be lea already for
astray by Henry Wallace. Columbia, S.C. That is the trouble with these political pro-
But Truman by making an appeal for that nouncements. They almost never work out as
planned. Wed. 2-4-48

Jennings Perry
PM Thurs 2-5-48 New York, N.Y.

Choir Practice

Now, before the conventional little storm touched off in Dixie by Mr. Truman's civil rights reminders blows out to sea, let us get into it and see what makes it go around.

Perry
Thurs 2-5-48

We will have noted that the reaction of "the South" to the President's proposals was instantaneous and sprightly. What we are used to thinking of as "the South" is a composite voice made up of the Southern press, Southern representatives in Congress, and the more loquacious governors of the Southern states. When these have been heard from, we say: "The South has spoken." As far as the South can, under the circumstances, make itself heard, this is true. PM New York, N.Y.

The Vocal South And the Silent South

But the South that is vocal is to the South that we never hear from, whose voice was squelched when the Populist movement was squelched, half a century ago, as the part of an iceberg we see is to the part that is under the sea. The great bulk is there, supports the part we see, but we do not apprehend it ordinarily. It has no vote, and hence we do not need to consider it politically.

I mention the circumstance because it is quaint (through quite understandable) that we think of the South in terms of its minority, and because it explains why the Southern press choruses against the Truman civil rights program, and Southern politicians run away from it as fast as they can. Since the majority is impotent, the press caters to the sovereign will of the few, and the politicians sing for their supper at the only windows from which handouts can be had.

The Rush to Get On the Record

I venture to say without fear (or doubt) of contradiction that, were there any assurance that the coming elections in the South would be the free elections Mr. Truman has called for, we should not have witnessed so pell-mell a rush of the Southern worthies to get on record against the civil rights protections Mr. Truman bespoke in his communication to Congress. Actually, many of the Southern Congressmen, particularly the younger ones, are very decent, reasonable fellows, who believe in democracy—and would say so out loud if their situation were not as I have described it. Similarly, many more Southern publishers and editors than do campaign against political and racial discrimination would speak up but for fear of losing their standing with the ruling minority entrenched under the poll-tax system.

Bow to Political Reality PM New York, N.Y. Thurs. 2-5-48

The clatter over the Truman proposals is a bow to political reality in the South—a cowardly and servile bow, you may say—and certainly there is enough of habit, and prejudice and self-seeking in it. But until the grip of the poll-tax system is broken, until the four out of five of the people of the South who never have voted in their lives get back the free suffrage, it is too much to expect that the politicians or, in general, the press will line up against discriminations which, however oppressive of the majority of the people, insure the special privileges of the minority that holds the political power.

Will States Rights Be Dusted Off? PM

It must be expected, instead, that the press will yes-but, as in the present instance, and shake out the moldy mask of states' rights, and the Congressmen will hasten to recant whatever democratic views they previously may have dared to express, for no less will be required of them. The vast bulk of the people, being voteless, can require nothing, and need not be considered. New York, N.Y.

Meanwhile, we say in the headlines: "The South has spoken." I merely wish to point out, again and again, that the other South, the far more populous South, but with no voice at the polls, has not been and cannot be heard. Thurs 2-5-48

A Contemptible Use of Power

The Constitution

There is posed for the South, in the President's message to Congress on human rights, a problem of such serious import that to approach it hastily or in anger, is not merely folly but a disservice to the South. Atlanta, Ga.

There is current talk of secession from the Democratic Party. Indeed, Southern Governors meeting in convention at Tallahassee, Fla., on Saturday and Sunday of the approaching weekend will be asked by some Southern Congressmen to establish a method whereby they may remove themselves, or the electoral vote, from the Democratic Party. Wed. 2-4-48

But, the thoughful person must immediately see that if the votes are withdrawn nothing tangible will be accomplished.

They cannot go to the Republican nominee for he will be committed to a program of human, or civil, rights which will certainly be as sharply drawn as Mr. Truman's, and perhaps more so.

They cannot go to Henry Wallace, for his position makes that of both the Democratic and Republican nominees seem somewhat reactionary.

If the South should produce its own nominee, it would certainly remove any chance of Mr. Truman's election, and there is not now too much chance of that. But, it would also put the South in the position of having withdrawn itself and we would most assuredly pay the bill for a generation or more to come. We would have again a sort of reconstruction period, 20th century fashion. The Constitution

What the South must do is to keep its shirt on as well as its thinking cap.

Some of the proposals do not apply to Georgia, the poll tax legislation being one. We do not have a poll tax.

It is in only three of the proposals that Southern opposition rises to angry heights. In all of them are to be found the problem which has frustrated every field of Southern thought and action for 80 years—the Negro problem. Atlanta, Ga.

The South has, we believe, produced leaders in the past 20 years who have made possible tremendous advances in all these fields. Wed. 2-4-48

We think the South has a right to ask to be allowed to go ahead, within the framework of its own laws, to solve the problems.

The Atlanta Constitution has opposed, and still opposes, Federal anti-lynching legislation. We believe it will have the effect of driving lynchings underground, so to speak; that it will increase violent deaths, but will so change the pattern that Federal legislation will not touch it. There still must be trial by jury, a fact the proponents of the legislation forget. It would, we believe, further stultify the jury system. Lynchings have about disappeared because of public opinion's pressure.

Wed. 2-4-48

The Atlanta Constitution has repeatedly said that it believes wholeheartedly in the objectives of fair employment practices, but opposes without reservation the creation of a Federal Fair Employment Practices Committee. We have noted, with growing cynicism, that it always is introduced and pushed in the off-year congressional election years and in the Presidential election years. We believe it an experiment in trying to regiment morality and human nature. We believe it would require a growing police force and would continue to fail of enforcement.

In a region where there never have been enough jobs, the impact of a FEPC would be the more bitterly resented and opposed and would harm more than it would help the problem before us.

There are Southern States which are ready to accept an end to segregation in interstate travel. Others are not. Here again, we seriously question the propriety of this action but we do seriously urge that the segregation laws be made to mean what they say—equal accommodations. For years we have pointed out the fiction of those laws. The Constitution

Finally, we believe both the anti-lynching legislation and the FEPC to be unconstitutional, and to insist on pushing them through Congress, for the sounding-

Let us work through law, not emotion.
Mr. Truman 2-6-48 Atl. Const.
To the Editor of The News:
Soon after President Truman delivered his state-of-the-union message to Congress, Republicans twitted Democratic colleagues with this question, "Who wrote the president's message? Was it Wallace? Whereupon one of the more alert Democrats, of good memory, dug up the Republican platform of 1944, the year the Republicans were on the outside looking in, and were striving with might and main to stage a comeback, but failed to do so

equally bad and from the same pattern.

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land. Both are until 1946.

The answer is not forthcom-

Demagogue Walter White any-

Demagogue Jim Eastland.

The results of this Democratic-congressman's finding are to be found, Page 597, in The Congressigonal Record, Jan. 26, under the heading, "The President's Message." In double columns, the message and the 1944 Republican platform are presented as each deals with "29 or more particulars" under headings that begin with "Human Rights" and end with another political "hot potato," taxation. In almost all of the 29 particulars the differences are mostly in the way they are worded.

Were they all put in a hat and well stirred up, the average American voter would be unable to identify the party sponsoring same.

If one thinks otherwise, let him read what follows regarding this vital matter of human rights:

"In times like these, when whole peoples have found themselves shackled by governments which denied the truth, or worse, dealt in half-truths or withheld the facts from the public, it is imperative to the maintenance of a free America that the press and radio be free and that full and complete information be available to Americans.

"We pledge the establishment by federal legislation of a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission. The payment of any poll tax should not be a condition of voting in federal elections, and we favor immediate submission of a constitutional amendment for its abolition.

"We favor legislation against lynching and pledge our sincere efforts in behalf of its early enactment."

The reverse side of the record follows:

"The United States has always had a deep concern for human rights. Religious freedom, free speech and freedom of thought are cherished realities in our land.

"Any denial of human rights is a denial of the basic beliefs of democracy and of our regard for the worth of each individual.

"Today, however, some of our citizens are still denied equal opportunity for education, for jobs and economic advancement, and for the expression of their views at the polls. Most serious of all, some are denied equal protection under our laws. Whether discrimination is based on race, or creed, or color, or land of origin, it is utterly contrary to American ideals of democracy."

About the only distinction between the two major party views is that one is positive, the other tentative.

It is against the latter that the State Democratic Executive Committee threatens to revolt, unless the national party agrees to keep this vital matter in abeyance, while by doing so the party would place itself in an untenable position impossible to defend now that there is to be a third party to be led by Mr. Wallace.

The committee might well ask itself, "Where do we go from here? Would it be, perchance, into a fourth party that abjures such principles, in times like these?"

Akron, Ala. BEN T. COUCHMAN

FORMULA

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER: I note that a recent editorial concerning the President's demand for an FEPC, for anti-segregation laws, and so forth, is headed: "But The GOP Is Even More Extreme!" It would be interesting to know what you could possibly consider to be more extreme!

The fact that this is patently a "ward heeler's" political trick makes it none the less dangerous to the South; an acceptance of this backhanded slap without protest will indicate tacit endorsement of the President's stand.

Your fears with regard to the treatment of the South if the Republicans win due to a split in the Democratic Party seem to me to be groundless. You, yourself, state that "in the past, Southern congressmen, with passive assistance from Republicans, have been able to defeat anti-lynch laws and the FEPC working inside the Democratic Party."

With some hope of influencing the South's vote, the Republican's passive assistance would certainly not be lessened, and would in all likelihood be strengthened. Likewise, Northern Democrats would have to tread lightly. The South's bargaining position would be excellent.

An attitude of laissez faire can only bring on us results similar to those achieved by Gandhi and Chamberlain—two outstanding examples of the "do-nothing" school of thought.

Ozark, Ala. FRED DUGGAR, III

THEN AND NOW

Editor, The Advertiser:

Speaking as a Democrat, one who has never known auy of his kindred to vote anything except a Democratic ticket, and as one who remembers well the days of Reconstruction, the writer thinks the time is overripe for the white people of the South to quit talking about what the Republicans did about 75 years ago and to contemplate the shackles which the Northern so-called Democrats deliberately are striving now to fasten on the South.

The real Democratic Party of the Jeffersonian type stood for states rights, that the government should be by the people of the states themselves, not manipulated by politicians of the largely foreign cities, now demanding for themselves powers which really belong to the states themselves.

For many years, by the two-thirds rule, the South had much power in the national conventions. Ruthlessly, with no protest allowed to the South, that has been snatched away by such organizations as Tammany Hall, of New York; the Hague machine of New Jersey; Kelly-Nash machine of Chicago, and now the Pendergast machine of St. Louis. A product of the last, in the White House, now is demanding more and more centralized power in Washington, and demanding things which would produce trouble in the South, for so many years the bulwark of the real Democratic Party.

Northern so-called Democrats seem to think the South will vote for just anybody they call a Democrat, but have they forgotten what happened in several Southern States in the case of Al Smith not long ago?

Now evidently in the hope of getting about 1,000,000 colored votes in the Northern States, the White House occupant is trying to trample underfoot some of the things for which the South has stood, for the best interest of both races and for real inter-racial harmony. He assails the poll taxes, which have aided in the education of both races in an impoverished South. He demands a so-called fair employment body which would harnass every employer of labor in the South with innumerable suits at law. He demands the commingling of the two races on every train; in every hotel and restaurant, in every school and as far as possible in every church in the land.

Must the South submit abjectly forever? J. M. GLENN.

Midway, Ala.

Equality Of Opportunity

In his state of the union message to Congress, President Truman stressed equality of opportunity for education, jobs and suffrage for all Americans, regardless of race, creed or color. It is a high goal that should be consistently and earnestly sought. Mr. Truman declared that he will make recommendations in behalf of this aim along the lines recommended by his special commission on civil rights. That commission urged certain compulsory and coercive measures. The majority favored making certain federal grants conditional upon doing away with segregation in schools. Such an approach to the problem would, we believe, do far more harm than good.

It is painfully true that educational opportunities are not equal in the South. As a matter of plain fact they are not equal in the country as a whole. Federal aid is one of the projected programs for lessening that national inequality. The argument for it—a strong and sound argument—is that such aid is in the interest of all the people. So are equality and improvement of educational opportunity in the South. Considerable progress has been made toward those objectives, though the situation is yet far from satisfactory and calls for continuation of persistent, far-reaching efforts and no tendency toward complacency.

* * *

Nothing is to be gained by failure to recognize the sincerity and the effectiveness of endeavors that have been made and are under way in behalf of such progress. On the contrary, such recognition should give encouragement and impetus to such efforts.

In a recent letter to *The New York Times*, Dr. Henry Noble MacCracken, president emeritus of Vassar, great Eastern college for women, recorded his own recognition of the progress of education in the South.

"I have the impression, after many years of almost annual visits at Southern centers of education," Dr. MacCracken wrote, "that the situation in the South is improving quite as rapidly as in the North, which I admit is far from satisfactory in many respects."

Dr. MacCracken also expressed himself as in agreement "with the opinions expressed by university heads of Southern institutions, published in *The New York Times* of Dec. 23, that the application of the principles of equality in admission to Southern colleges and schools must be worked out by the Southern people 'within the established patterns of social relationships in the South.'"

Compulsion and coercion are not the means for advancing equality of educational opportunity in the South. It is education itself, the development of the broad and enlightened spirit, that can do most to speed this advance. Such a program and such a spirit cannot simply be imposed. They must be the natural expression of our people.

Volley Rakes Truman's Plan On Civil Rights

Dixie Leaders Urged To Force Showdown With Chief Of Party

WASHINGTON, Feb. 3.—(AP)—Southern governors were urged Tuesday to force a party showdown on the racial issue as angry Dixie Democrats denounced President Truman's civil rights proposals.

While hot words of criticism were shouted in the House, talk spread of calling a convention to split away politically from the President.

A senator who asked not to be quoted by name said such a proposal would be laid before Southern governors when they met at Tallassee, Fla., Friday.

At Annapolis, Maryland's Gov. William Preston Lane Jr., chairman, said he knows of no such proposal. He said the conference was called to discuss the report of an educational committee.

But. Rep. Abernethy (D), Mississippi, proposed that southern governors ask for a "showdown" meeting in Washington with party leaders. Senator McGrath of Rhode Island, national chairman, was out of Washington and could not be reached immediately for his reaction.

Telegraphs Wright

Abernethy telegraphed his proposal to Gov. Fielding Wright of Mississippi, who has roundly criticized President Truman's policies.

"The time has arrived," Abernethy said, "for concerted action and for all true Southerners to stand up and be counted.

"If there is any doubt in the minds of Southern people that the present leaders of the Democratic Party are hell bent on bartering or destroying us, our southern institutions and traditions for the support of radical Negro minorities, then they need only examine the message which the President sent to Congress yesterday recommending, among other things, the immediate enactment of FEPC, anti-poll tax and anti-lynching bill and breaking down of segregation of races."

May Be Leader

Wright may be one of the leaders in any move to break away from President Truman that develops as a result of the present revolt. Some Southerners are talking of seeking to withhold electoral votes from the President by picking a third candidate.

Whether any such maneuver actually is attempted, Deep South representatives and senators let it be known that they don't like Mr. Truman's proposals.

Rep. Williams (D), Mississippi, told the House:

"I would rather see my party go down in honorable defeat . . . than win an empty victory by our so-called leaders."

Rep. Rankin (D), Mississippi, asked why this country should spend billions fighting Communism in Europe only to have "the President of the U. S., under some pressure wo do not undertand, try to ram the platform of the Communist Party down the people of the U. S."

stabbing its best friends in the back."

Rep. Rivers (D), South Carolina, summed up his views this way:

"One of these days the so-called leaders are going to find out the so-called solid South is not as solid as some of the heads of

CONCEDING THAT THIS IS THE SEASON WHEN politicians' hearts traditionally burn for minorities, we nevertheless find the President's special message on civil rights a genuine and highly admirable document. It follows almost in full the recommendations of his Committee on Civil Rights, which was appointed long before anyone thought of the coming election—and before there was any budding third party to bring pressure from the left. Neither can it be said that Mr. Truman is merely attempting to steal Republican thunder, the peals from that quarter being less than deafening. Senator Taft has already indicated that he will oppose the Fair Employment Practices bill reported out by his Labor committee; Republican Senator Donnell voted against sending the bill to the floor at all; and Republican Senator Ball offered an amendment to strike out all provisions for its enforcement. As though this were not enough, Representative Knutson, vacationing in Florida, offered his sympathies to the South, which he remarked "has shown greater patience than Job" with the conduct of Northern Democrats. Along with the Southerners, these Republicans may block adoption of the more controversial recommendations in the President's message, though there is a possibility now that the large bi-partisan bloc in favor of civil-rights legislation will at last eliminate the technique of the filibuster by clamping a closure rule on debate. One proposal urged by the President for the federal government should be speedily picked up by states and cities, namely, the establishment of civil-rights commissions as permanent agencies of government. Here there is no issue of states' rights to hide behind, nor any question of bureaucratic interference from Washington. The more state and local governments do for themselves on this score, the less will have to be done by the federal government.

POLITICS and PEOPLE

BY ROBERT BENDINER

Dixie's Fourth Party

IT HAS become a Southern custom since 1932 for the Claghorns to rise up early in an election year and serve notice, in the name of Robert E. Lee and white womanhood, that they are not to be taken for granted by the Democratic Party. They have their pride—and they also have their price. President Truman's special request for civil-rights legislation touched off this year's rising, but there is little doubt that it would have come in any case. It has been part of the election scene ever Democrats abolished the Southern veto at Presidential conventions by scrapping the two-thirds' vote requirement.

Mississippi's Senator Eastland set the pace last week with the proposal that the Southern states choose independent Presidential electors who would ignore the convention's nominee and cast their votes for a "distinguished Southerner"—presumably like Pappy O'Daniel. This maneuver would throw the election into the House of Representatives, with the happy solution that "a Southern man will emerge as President of the United States." Just how Eastland figures this last step in the process is a mystery, since each state delegation in the House would be allowed only one vote, and there are only eleven states in the solid South.

Nevertheless, the cry has been taken up, and Washington resounds with the threats of a party revolt that would make Chairman McGrath forget all about the Wallace walkout. Senator Overton of Louisiana urges "mass-meetings" throughout the South to protest against the President's tyrannical effort to impose civil rights on a free people. Mr. Truman has been denounced in the House for "stabbing his best friends in the back." And Ed Gossett, the Texas Representative who opposes all immigration except cheap Mexican labor, speaks darkly of "our archaic election system [which] has placed control of the two major parties in the hands of minorities in New York and Chicago."

There is nothing in the President's admirable ten-point program for civil rights that is so novel as to produce this wave of apoplexy. Almost all the proposals have been made before, by Truman and by Roosevelt, and they were no doubt fully expected. What appears to be behind the barrage is the cynical, yet naive, reasoning that if the President can cater to the liberals of the party in order to keep them from following the Wallace lead, he can be made to yield to the bourbons under threat of a similar break on the right. Specifically, the right-wing Southerners want more of a voice in the forming of party policy; they would like a restoration of the two-thirds' rule, though they know that's pretty hopeless; they want an end to party sponsorship of anti-poll-tax, anti-lynching, and Fair Employment Practices legislation; and, perhaps above all, they want the vice-presidential nomination for one of their own.

None of these demands are new, and neither is the Eastland threat to bolt the party by way of the Electoral College. Texas tried it in 1944, instructing its electors to by-pass the party's nominees unless its terms at the convention. The ultimatum was ignored, and the electors felt free to vote for the "distinguished Southerner" of their choice until the high court of the state decided that they would have to follow the election returns instead and vote for the distinguished New Yorker chosen at the polls.

Southern legal talent can probably devise ways of taking advantage of the archaic machinery of the Electoral College, and if not, there is always the theoretical possibility of creating a fourth party. But what the Southern politicians forget when they fancy themselves in the same tactical position as the Wallace rebels is that, unlike the latter, they have absolutely nothing to gain by a break. They have no objective, either immediate or remote. In the third-party crowd the Communists know exactly what they are after—the defeat of the Marshall Plan—while others, like Wallace himself, think in terms of a national party that may not amount to much in 1948 but will have the possibility of growth. The Southerners, on the other hand, can expect no quick benefits from electing a Republican, and in the long view a strictly Southern party is obviously too self-limiting ever to contemplate a national victory.

This is not the stuff of which political parties are made, and Mr. Truman will hardly be justified in making burnt offerings at a shrine so deliberately rigged up for no purpose other than to receive them. It is true that with each passing year of more or less progressive Democratic rule the conservative Southerners grow more restive, more choleric, and more incongruous in the party of Roosevelt, and the time will no doubt come when this anomalous arrangement will go into the dustbin. When it does, it will not be to clear the way for a regional party that makes no political sense nationally but to permit the breaking up of an artificial solidarity that now forces the Sparkmans, Arnalls, and Patmans of the South to share a political home with its Eastlands, Talmadges, and O'Daniels.

This Message Is No Ordinary Political Tract

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S State-of-the-Union message is a long document, but you will be repaid by reading it. His tax proposals get the headlines, of course. It may be said for them that, tax reduction being almost inevitable politically this year, Mr. TRUMAN has put his recommendations in a form which the Republicans will find hard to counter on the hustings. Whatever else may be said of his plan, it is, in effect, a plan to take a cost of living bonus for every taxpayer from the full tills of the corporations. The idea may not be unappealing to the masses.

But taxes occupy only a small section of the message, and that toward the end. Half or more of the document consists of a re-affirmation of the ideals of the New Deal. "In this nation," the President says, "the ideals of freedom and equality can be given specific meaning in terms of health, education, social security, and housing." Thus he proposes a Cabinet department for the administration of the programs, extension of public housing and an energetic attack on building, extension of social security costs, conservation of natural resources by land reclamation and the like, development of our great river

RANKLIN ROOSEVELT was driving at before the war.

The effect of all this is to deflate HENRY WALLACE somewhat. Apparently Mr. WALLACE anticipated that something of the kind was coming. He wrote in *The New Republic* only the other day: "Two years ago President TRUMAN'S State-of-the-Union message contained a magnificent New Deal program. The Democratic Party controlled Congress, yet no significant part of that program was enacted into law. I am sure that the program TRUMAN announces in this election year will meet the same fate." This is grossly unfair. The Democratic Party controlled Congress nominally two years ago, but the New Deal Democrats did not. They had been out of effective power in Congress since long before Mr. ROOSEVELT died. Mr. TRUMAN may not get his domestic program, or much of it, from a Republican Congress, but at least he has stated it, stated it well and set up a great yardstick for the measurement of that Congress' achievement or want of it.

Mr. TRUMAN defended his foreign policy spiritedly (also doubtless with a side glance at Mr. WALLACE). But the fact is the President covered so much territory that it is impossible to comment on all of it at one time. However, we can't help remarking here that we were particularly glad that he said: "Many thousands of displaced persons, still living in camps overseas, should be allowed entry into the United States. I again urge the Congress to pass suitable legislation at once so that this nation may do its share in caring for homeless and suffering refugees of all faiths. I believe that the admission of these persons will add to the strength of this nation." The President is entirely right about that.

Mr. TRUMAN is in a political position where he has to joust with the Republicans on one hand and HENRY WALLACE on the other. Doubtless that was in his mind when he wrote yesterday's message. But he produced at the same time a valuable public document, no ordinary political tract, basins on the T.V.A. model, raising of standards of living on the farms, expansion of rural electrification, and so on.

The core of the whole thing is this: "We must all advance together. One-fifth of our families now have average annual incomes of less than $850. We must see that our gains in national income are made more largely available to those with low incomes, whose need is greatest. This will benefit us all through providing a stable foundation of buying power to maintain prosperity." In short, a newcomer to this land could read Mr. TRUMAN'S message of yesterday and get a comprehensive idea of what

THE PRESIDENT found his civil rights proposals to Congress acclaimed in the predominantly Negro Virgin Islands, which bade him farewell yesterday with music by a calypso band. His visit occurred while Southern Democrats at home were taking measures to counter his civil rights program.

Reporters, aboard the seaplane tender Greenwich Bay, which is serving as an escort ship, were in contact with the Williamsburg by radio telephone. The news party included three Negro reporters making a presidential trip of this nature for the first time in history.

Civil Rights Proposal Attacked By Rushton

Speaking before the Montgomery Bar Association here Friday, Marion Rushton, local attorney and national Democratic committeeman from Alabama, stated his opinion that the Negro race is not yet ready for the civil rights that have been proposed by some groups.

Emphasizing the distinction between the rights of citizenship guaranteed by the individual states and those guaranteed by the Federal Government, Col. Rushton said that the proposed anti-discrimination laws would be an infringement on states' rights.

Alabamians In Capital Join Civil Rights Fight

WASHINGTON, Feb. 18.—(AP)—Alabama's Democratic congressmen unanimously agreed Wednesday to cooperate with the Southern Governor's Conference in opposing President Truman's civil rights program.

Rep. Hobbs (D), Alabama, said similar action is being taken by representatives by 14 other states.

The Alabama delegation said in a resolution "we will oppose to the finish" enactment of anti-poll tax, anti-lynching, anti-segregation and fair employment practices legislation.

The members "cautioned" Democratic leaders against putting into the party's platform "that which would assuredly jeopardize its success in the South where it has been nourished and sustained throughout its existence."

Boswell Urges State Parley, New Platform

Alabama Democrats Find Themselves In Dilemma Leader McCorvey Told

Suggests Feb. 24

He Says Governing Body Should Be Given Chance To Pass On Top Issues

By ATTICUS MULLIN

E. C. Boswell, author of the Boswell Amendment, has made another direct appeal by telegram to Chairman Gessner McCorvey, of the Alabama Democratic committee to call that body together in Montgomery, Feb. 24, and allow the whole committee to decide whether a state convention should be called to write a platform "upon which every Alabama Democrat can stand with confidence and pride."

"No Alabama Democrat knows where he stands," said Mr. Boswell, in talking about his telegram. "I certainly do not know where I stand, and I want to be a candidate for delegate. But I don't want to be chosen a delegate and have to stand upon a platform which denounces every tradition of the South. And I am not going to do it. It's high time we were deciding whether we are a part of the present Democratic party, or whether we believe a party in line with the South, would be more to our liking, if we can't live in this one.

Binding Platform

"A convention," said Mr. Boswell, "can write a platform that will be binding upon every candidate for every office. In a convention, we can re-state our belief in white supremacy and a white party. We can force electors to pledge themselves to that doctrine. If we go on without such a platform, I am afraid we are in the hole more than ever, if that could be possible. I, for one, am tired of being pushed about, insulted and ignored by the big crooked political machines of the North and East, which have taken over the Democratic party. They are not interested in the South. They are interested in their own perpetuation.

Quarter Century

It has been 26 years, Mr. Boswell points out, since Alabama Democrats have had a convention and enunciated their principles. It was in 1922 that the last convention was held by Alabama Democrats at the Grand Theater, here. The late Senator John H. Bankhead presided over that convention. It wrote a platform containing Democratic doctrine and that is the last time such doctrine has been enunciated. Now President Truman has come out with a new doctrine that would change the whole course of events in the South, alter the racial relationships, lead to racial intermingling and do things the South abhors.

Action Sought

"Citizens from every part of Alabama have assured me that they wanted the committee to meet before it is too late to do anything effective," said Mr. Boswell. "And I know many, many Democrats have wired Mr. McCorvey the same thing. I can see no reason why our state governing body, the Alabama Democratic Executive Committee, should be denied a chance to pass upon the very important new issues involved. The very fate of the party is at stake while we procrastinate.

Southern Parley

Mr. Boswell, like many Democrats, intends to attend the Southwide mass meeting that will be called in Mississippi. "And I think our state committee should send representatives to that meeting," he said. "Only by standing firmly together can the South get anywhere. I intend to attend the meeting and many other Democrats will do so.

The text of Mr. Boswell's telegram to Chairman McCorvey follows:

"Since our views are so different as to the time and purpose of calling a meeting of the Alabama Democratic Executive Committee in the present emergency, I suggest a call for Montgomery, Tuesday, Feb. 24. Then the whole committee can determine whether a state convention should be called to adopt a platform by delegates fresh from the people and upon which Alabama Democrats can stand with confidence and pride."

Merry-Go-Round

IT WAS MISSISSIPPI'S sharp-tongued Sen. Eastland, together with rootin', tootin' Congr. John Rankin, also of Mississippi, who organized the boycott of the president's recent reception for congressmen. They were sore over the president's civil rights message.

Meanwhile a committee is being organized in New York to put the civil rights program into effect. Those invited are Bing Crosby, Irving Berlin, Dr. James B. Conant, president of Harvard; Mike Cowles, publisher of Look magazine; Barry Bingham, publisher of Louisville Courier-Journal; Bernard Baruch, Herbert Bayard Swope, Gen. "Wild Bill" Donovan, Charles Taft, Sumner Welles and John D. Rockefeller.

BYRD SAYS 'RIGHTS' MEAN DICTATORSHIP

Truman Board Seeks Power of Kind Hitler and Stalin Got, He Tells Richmond Rally

RICHMOND, Va., Feb. 19 (AP)—Senator Harry F. Byrd declared tonight that some of President Truman's civil rights proposals "could very conceivably lead to dictatorship."

In bitter words, the Virginian criticized at a Democratic party dinner Mr. Truman's request for laws setting up a Fair Employment Practices Commission, and banning poll toxes and Jim Crowism.

He declared that the President's Civil Rights Commission wanted to give the Department of Justice the power to supervise primaries and elections of Federal officers.

"This opens up a possible field of Federal abuse of power which may be used to prevent the free discussion of the record of the party in power," he declared in a prepared manuscript, adding:

"Hitler and Stalin, in securing unanimous elections, did this very thing."

He said the President's FEPC poll tax and Jim Crow proposals involved "a mass invasion of the states' rights never before even suggested, much less recommended, by any previous President in the nation's history."

"We may lose the battle, Mr. Byrd said, "and if I know them rightly they do not intend to submit tamely to having their customs and traditions made a political football for the benefit of political aspirants."

Senator Hoey did not mention the civil rights issue in his prepared address. He said that President Truman had been confronted with graver domestic and international problems than any other Vice President who succeeded to the Presidency.

"When we appraise his record," Mr. Hoey said, "we must do so in the light of the problems with which he has had to deal and the difficulties he has had to overcome."

He added that every Southern Senator and Representative except Truman.

Senator Byrd said in introducing Senator Clyde R. Hoey of North Carolina, another speaker, that the South stood alone—abandoned by both parties—in its fight to keep the white and Negro races sepa- to a filibuster.

"The southern people have their pride," he continued, "and if I know them rightly they do not intend to submit tamely to having their customs and traditions made a political football for the benefit of political aspirants."

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10 1948 President's Message on Civil Rights

THOMAS L. STOKES (10) PMar K

Another Side to Civil Rights Issue

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga Thurs. 2-5-48

WASHINGTON—Some professional Southern politicians, here and in the South, are bellowing about President Truman's recommendations to Congress to protect civil rights, which include the rights of Negroes.

There is the usual threat of political revolt, a wolf cry heard periodically. But that can be dismissed.

It is easy merely to get disgusted with this performance and with the things that are said. But there is another side to all this, and it is more encouraging and constructive to call attention to that in a time like this, and shut our ears to the professional Southerners. 2-5-48

It is that there is an increasing number of people in the South who are working earnestly to achieve more economic and political equality for the Negro. They are found in all spheres—newspapers, schools, churches, civic organizations, labor organizations and the like.

Through their efforts more and more people in the South are waking up to a truth which many have known for a long time. It is that the racial issue is capitalized by the demagogic type of Southern politician for his own purposes and for the purposes of the interests which, in turn, use him.

It is a vicious sort of racket that is being exposed gradually. The South is learning that it is not to its interest.

The type of politician who promotes it—and unfortunately there are still some of him around—uses the racial issue to stir up prejudice and gather votes to get into office or to stay in office. He becomes useful to those who want to preserve the status quo for their own profit—a low-wage economy in factory and on the farm, exploitation of natural and human resources at the lowest possible cost and with as little interference as possible from regulation, State or National. The Constitution

Some such interests that use the professional Southern demagogue are absentee-owned, with direction by local overseers. It is surprising sometimes to see how highly placed in their communities are those who encourage the demagogues. Their performance, often appropriately shrouded in secrecy, is just as shameful as is his.

Atlanta, Ga

This sort of high-placed support was active behind the late "Gene" Talmadge in his final foray in Georgia in which he blatantly used the racial issue. Death kept him from another term as Governor. His son, Herman, who already has started his campaign for Governor, seems to be adopting the same tactics. Thurs 2-5-48

It is a familiar pattern of Southern demagogues.

It is they who scream when nobody urges improvement and equalization of the Negro's status. They appeal to the prejudices of many whites in the lower economic levels, because these unfortunate people fear encroachment in their limited field of opportunity. Racial prejudice is nurtured by economics.

Intelligent people in the South are seeking the answer in education to dispel ignorance upon which prejudice feeds, in raising the standards of living of both white and black, and in spreading the franchise, now denied many whites and Negroes through poll taxes and the "white" primary, so that these people can protect themselves. The Constitution

President Roosevelt did much to improve the economic status of many previously underprivileged in the South, for which he won the antagonism of vested interests. President Truman would carry this further to guarantee civil liberties, and he arouses come of the same interests which have maintained their political power through limitation of the franchise and "white supremacy." Atlanta, Ga.

It is an uphill battle for those who are trying to improve conditions, and they are to be commended and encouraged. They are fully aware of what is behind the current uproar over President Truman's recommendations, and the noise and clamor will not deter them. Thurs 2-5-48

Prohibition Philosophy

The Record Columbia, S. C. Feb 3-12-48

Irate as the Southern politicians are at President Truman for his proposal for federal anti-lynching, anti-poll tax and interstate transportation anti-segregation legislation—all of which issues seem to be settling themselves—it is his proposal to establish a federal fair employment practices commission that arouses most opposition.

The 1944 Democratic national platform, on which President Truman was elected vice president, included as one plank:

"We believe that racial and religious minorities have the right to live, develop, and vote equally with all citizens and share the rights that are guaranteed by our constitution. Congress should exert its full constitutional powers to protect those rights."

A motion was made at the convention for a roll-call on the whole platform, but did not command the necessary 20 per cent vote. Thereupon the platform was adopted by voice vote. The Mississippi, South Carolina and Tennessee delegations had previously indicated that they wanted to vote against it .

Apparently they interpreted it, as President Truman interpreted it, as pledging the party to the re-establishment of the F. E. P. C.

The F. E. P. C. was set up by executive order of President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1941 to function to prevent racial discrimination in employment by government agencies, by government contractors and by war industries. It accomplished both good and evil, both mostly outside the Southern states, since most of the war industries were also outside the South.

Some of its orders were downright silly, hurting rather than helping the war effort and even impeding the employment of Negroes. Most of the good accomplished could have been accomplished without it, since the war-created demand for labor was the most effective element in breaking down barriers, where they existed, to the employment of racial minorities. The Record

In 1944 Congress provided, in a move aimed at the F. E. P. C., that a government agency created only by executive order must be terminated unless Congress appropriated funds for it. Funds for the F. E. P. C. were voted in 1944 and 1945, but not in 1946 when Southerners prevented the passage of legislation to establish the F. E. P. C. on a permanent basis. Thereupon the temporary executive-created F. E. P. C. shut up shop with the customary lamentations accompanying the abolition of any federal agency in May, 1946, for lack of funds. Columbia, S. C.

The F. E. P. C. idea involves gross interference by the government in private business and in the most fundamental field of human relations. It attempts to set up government to supervise the hiring and firing of employes, a necessary fundamental of business management, and the old F. E. P. C. went even beyond this to intervene in such details as advertisements for employes and to abolish segregated toilets in industry.

Behind this was the prohibition philosophy, the idea that the power of government can effect a fundamental change in folkways, the idea that passing a law could abolish prejudice. And like prohibition it hurt the cause it was trying to foster, setting back in the South at least, the movement to accord the Negroes more recognition in job opportunities.

To re-establish it, even in diluted form, would do more harm now than good. But Truman and the Republicans, both seeking Negro votes in the crucial states, ignore these things. They do not ask that the F. E. P. C. actually work. They ask only that the Negroes and the other minorities

Vital Reasons Behind White Supremacy Cry

Morning Sun

BY JAMES MARLOW

WASHINGTON, Feb. 11—(AP)—"White supremacy" is the battle cry of Southerners in Congress. They're sore about President Truman's ideas on civil rights. He asked Congress last week to do these things, among others:

Pass laws killing the poll tax in seven Southern states and do other things to make Negroes more equal with whites.

By "white supremacy" the South

in the South: the tax has to be paid before voting and Negroes are poor.

this may be the year that the minorities vote for Henry Wallace. Sat. 2-14-48

Comparatively few Negroes vote in the South. In recent years more have voted than any time since right after the Civil War.

If the Negroes began voting in large numbers in the South, they'd elect some of their own race to office and fight for laws to help themselves.

THE AVERAGE Negro population in those 11 states—9,000,000 Negroes—is about 9,000,000 per cent in all the states, nor as high.

THE COUNTRY'S population is about 145,000,000, of which 13,000,000 are Negroes. Of those about 9,000,000 per cent are in these 11 Southern states—

The range is from 14 per cent in Texas to 42 per cent Negro population in South Carolina and 49 per cent in Mississippi.

In South Carolina and Mississippi, if all the eligible Negroes voted and the whites were a little inac-

tive or split their vote, the Negroes could win. Birmingham Ala
It's no accident that the white men of South Carolina and Mississippi are among the most vocal about keeping white supremacy.

* * *

IT'S REALLY a one-party section of the country. The Republicans there have no strength worth speaking of. It might not be a one-party place if the Negroes voted in large numbers.

In the 1944 presidential election this was the vote cast in two Southern states and in two non-Southern states: The Times

Mississippi — 180,080 votes, or 7 per cent of the total population which was 2,180,905. Of that total 1,106,327 were Negroes.

Nevada—54,234 votes, or 49 per cent of the total population of 110,247. Negroes: only 664. 2-11-48

South Carolina—103,375 votes, or 5 per cent of the population of 1,898,472, of which 814,164 were Negroes. Birmingham, Ala.

Ohio—3,153,056 votes, or 52 per cent of the population of 6,047,265, of which only 339,461 were Negroes.

* * *

THE PROBLEM of civil rights is not new to the South. After the Civil War it had 4,000,000 newly-freed, landless Negroes. White Southerners passed "black codes" to keep the Negroes apart.

Then the Republican Congress passed a number of civil rights laws to give the Negro equality and, by making sure Negroes voted, got them into Southern Legislatures. Wed. 2-11-48

Congress and the Supreme Court whittled away those civil rights laws. Since then the South has kept the Negro segregated and out of political office.

2-21-48 Sun

(10) Ala.

Daily Worker

CIVIL RIGHTS FORUM PARTICIPANTS — These national known leaders participated in the Civil Rights Forum held at Sister Chapel, Spelman College, Friday night. From left to right are Boris Shiskin, Public Relations representative of the American Federation of Labor; Atty. A. T. Walden, representative of the NAACP; Ralph McGill, Editor of the Atlanta Constitution; Dr. Ira De. A. Reid, professor of Sociology, Atlanta university, who presided at the forum; Mrs. M. E. Tilly, member of the President's Civil Rights Committee sits to Dr. Reid's left; P. L. Prattis, Executive Editor of the Pittsburgh Courier and A. Abbot Rosen, Chief, Civil Rights Section, U. S. Department of Justice.

Washington Merry-Go-Round

(10) By Drew Pearson

Civil Rights Friction

The Advertiser (10) Montgomery, Ala

Shortly before Truman's civil-rights message was sent to Congress, Democratic leaders got wind that some kind of message was coming. But what it was they couldn't find out.

Queried Massachusetts' John McCormack, minority leader of the House, of ex-Speaker Sam Rayburn: Sun. 2-5-48

"Sam, do you know what message this is?"

"I don't know," replied Rayburn, "and I don't care."

"I don't know," replied Rayburn, "and I don't care."

McCormack then telephoned the White House, asked one of Truman's secretaries what the message was about.

"I can't tell you anything about it," was the reply.

"But," argued McCormack, "I've got to get this bill passed. It's my job to rally enough votes to carry out the President's program. And how can I do it if I don't know what he is planning to send us?"

"All right," was the reply. "Don't tell anyone, but it's on civil rights." Sun. 2-5-48

Note—Failure to prepare Congress in advance was one reason for the sour reception given to Truman's stirring program. Incidentally, some of Truman's closest friends inside the White House—notably Assistant John R. Steelman and Secretary of the Treasury John Snyder—were quite unhappy about the message.

DEBATE ON 'REVOLT' GROWING IN SOUTH

The Times New York, N.Y.

Outcome of Anger Engendered Mon 2-23-48 by Truman Civil-Rights Plea Difficult to Predict

By JOHN N. POPHAM

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

CHATTANOOGA, Tenn., Feb. 22 —The threat of a Southern revolt against the Democratic party in the national election this year because of resentment against President Truman's civil-rights program is steadily becoming the most discussed subject in this region.

Virtually all discussants agree that no one can really predict just yet the likely outcome of the increasing irateness. This appears to be largely the result of the fact that the controversial matter still is developing on two levels.

The first level involves general comment and emotional reaction with a preponderance of sympathy developing for the view opposed to President Truman's program.

The second level is that of politics, with Southern Representatives building pressure against the national administration. Many observers here feel they have adopted a bold strategem to regain the two-thirds rule at the national convention. Mon 2-23-48

Hesitant to Bolt Party

At this stage comment on street corners, in filling stations and at public gatherings almost always ends with the remark, "If we don't go with the Democratic party, where can the South go?"

The Democratic party tradition is still the strongest fiber in the political warp-and-woof of Dixie, and strong party men as well as the minority supporters of President Truman's proposals are counting heavily on such sentiment to keep the South solid when the time comes to cast ballots.

Nevertheless, Southerners are not discounting the possibility of a serious party bolt. Some leading liberals have either endorsed general resentment against the civil-rights program or have sounded a warning to the national administration that prosecution of the program will spell real trouble. The Times

Southern newspapers editorially have stood by the idealistic principles involved in President Truman's message but have deplored a lack of realism and have insisted that recent progress in the civil-rights field warrants acceptance of a solution solely from the Southland. New York, N.Y.

Hodding Carter, widely known liberal editor in Mississippi, has endorsed Southern resentment against the civil-rights proposal but has argued that the South must accept greater responsibility for improving the status of the Negro. Mon 2-23-48

Threat to Segregation Seen

The strongest appeal against the President is being made on the basis of white supremacy and the threat that his program will destroy the segregation pattern of the South.

On the other hand, strongly worded support of the program has come from liberals like Clark Foreman, president of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and from a number of militant Negro leaders, although regionally the Negro political power is negligible. Mon 2-23-48

On the political level most Southerners have been closely watching their national Representatives and their Governors, as those officials have joined in bringing pressure on the national Administration to abandon President Truman's program.

Although there have been no grass-roots developments in which the man-in-the-street has sought to bring direct action in the controversy, most Southerners appear to be satisfied that public denunciations by their political representatives reflect general reaction.

Some observers, however, are mindful of the events attending the meeting of the Southern Governors Conference on Feb. 7 at Wakulla Springs, Fla., and place more emphasis on developments there than on the assertions and actions of political representatives elected in white-supremacy communities.

Conference Slated Today

They recall that the Governors brushed aside party "secession" proposals and adopted a resolution providing a forty-day cooling-off period and naming a five-member committee that is scheduled to discuss the matter today with J. Howard McGrath, Democratic National Committee chairman.

At the Governors' conference the most effective plea was made by Gov. Jim Nance McCord of Tennessee, whose political preceptor is Edward H. (Boss) Crump, regarded as one of the shrewdest machine politicians in the country.

Governor McCord urged that the South make its "voice of resentment" heard on the national convention floor at Philadelphia this

Fund Begun in Mississippi

JACKSON, Miss., Feb. 22 (AP)—

Byrd Lambasts Civil Rights Plan As Path To Dictatorship

Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.

RICHMOND, Feb. 19.—(AP)—Senator Byrd (D), Virginia, declared Thursday night that some of President Truman's civil rights proposals "could very conceivably lead to dictatorship."

In bitter words, the Virginian criticized at a Democratic Party dinner Mr. Truman's request for laws setting up a Fair Employment Practices Commission, and banning poll taxes and Jim Crowism.

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Byrd said in introducing Senator Hoey (D), North Carolina, another speaker, that the South stands alone—abandoned by both parties—in its fight to keep the white and Negro races separated.

He said the President's FEPC, poll tax and Jim Crow proposals involve "a mass invasion of states' rights never before even suggested, much less recommended, by any previous president of any party affiliation in the nation's history."

He added that every Southern senator and congressman, except one he did not name, "is prepared to oppose this legislation by every legislative device within our power." He obviously alluded to a filibuster.

"We may lose the battle," Byrd said, "and then it will be time enough to decide what action the Southern states should take."

Byrd thus differed from some of his colleagues who have been urging an immediate break away from President Truman.

He warned that the Southerners can expect no help from the Republicans. Both parties are bidding for the votes of "small pressure groups in Northern states," he said.

"The Southern people have their pride," he continued, "and if I know them rightly they do not intend to submit tamely to having their customs and traditions made a political football for the benefit of political aspirants."

Hoey did not mention the civil rights issue in his address.

Hoey said President Truman has been confronted with graver domestic and international problems than any other vice-president who succeeded to the presidency. Advertiser

"When we appraise his record," Hoey said "we must do so in the light of the problems with which he has had to deal and the difficulties he has had to overcome." Montgomery, Ala.

South Has No Reason To Support Democrats, Hodding Carter Says

Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.

ATHENS, GA., Feb. 19.—(AP)—The Georgia Press Institute heard a Mississippi editor say Thursday that the South no longer had a reason for clinging to one party.

Hodding Carter, editor of the Greenville Delta Democrat-Times, said that at one time the Democratic Party had been one to which the South could turn for refuge.

Now, with advocacy of the civil rights program by President Truman, things have changed, he said. Fri. 2-20-48

Carter said he was "suspicious" that the President had beamed the civil rights program toward attracting votes from Northern minority groups because a Democratic majority in the South is certain.

Ending of the certain Solid South vote for the Democratic Party would be a healthy thing for the nation, Carter said.

He spoke on a morning program which also included addresses by John C. Farrar, New York publisher, and Pierre J. Huss, International News Service writer.

The Institute, sponsored by the Georgia Press Association and the University of Georgia, will close Saturday.

Here's What Roused Southern Ire Over Civil Rights Program

News-Age Herald
Birmingham, Ala

BY BEM PRICE

ATLANTA, Feb. 21—(AP)—For weeks the South has been boiling about President Truman's civil rights program.

Five Southern governors plan to call on the Democratic Party's leaders in Washington Monday in an effort to get President Truman to soft pedal his support of the program, or maybe even back down.

Mississippi has called for a grass roots revolt against the party's leaders, including the president. Alabama wants delegates to the Democratic National Convention to state beforehand their stand on the program.

Democratic Gov. Ben Laney of Arkansas has said he would rather see a Republican in the White House than passage of the civil rights program.

WHAT'S ALL THE SHOUTING about?

To 15 persons, all Southerners, interviewed in an all-night hamburger house, the civil rights program means simply that President Truman wants Negroes to live like white men. None had heard of the civil rights committee upon which the president's recommendations were based.

What was that report and how did it come about?

On Dec. 5, 1946, President Truman named a committee to inquire "in what respect current law enforcement measures may be strengthened and improved to safeguard the civil rights of the people."

So the committee of representatives in the fields of labor, religion, business and education set to work. The result was the report by the Committee on Civil Rights which contained in its introduction:

"Everyone who wants equal opportunity himself must be willing to grant equal opportunity to everyone else."

The committee also said that in the international field we were in a poor position to cry "Shame" on the mistreatment of peoples in other lands until we had put our own house in order as one in which all men are free and equal.

And what does the committee have to say on the three points which have done most to rouse the South's ire—anti-segregation, a fair employment practices committee, and anti-lynch laws.

* * *

HERE ARE THE ANSWERS:

1. Segregation—"Literally enforced segregation has been largely limited to the South. But segregation is also widely prevalent in the North, particularly in house, hotel and restaurant accommodations . . . segregation has become the cornerstone of the elaborate structure of discrimination against some American citizens."

2. Fair Employment—"The loss of a huge potential market for goods is the direct result of the economic discrimination. . . . What we have lost in money, production, invention, citizenship and leadership as the price for damaged, thwarted personalities—these are beyond estimate. The United States can no longer afford this heavy drain upon its human wealth, its national competence."

3. Lynching—"Every time lynchers go unpunished, Negroes have learned to expect other forms of violence. Their knowledge that a misinterpreted word or action can lead to their death is a dreadful burden."

Birmingham Ala

WHAT REVOLT?

The Advertiser has been unimpressed by those who have been urging stomp-out desertion of the Democratic Party without a long-range, cautiously conceived plan of action.

He who hasn't been perplexed and confused by the existing circumstance is one who hasn't had any worthwhile thoughts on the subject. Certainly we avow our confusion. Advertiser

And we submit on the basis of yesterday's developments that our warrant for confusion is valid.

The air crackles and vibrates with talk of leaving the Democratic Party to its Truman devices. Montgomery Ala.

Democratic Party chieftains obviously have no notion of receding from the Truman civil rights proposals. They are conducting themselves as though they had something entirely unrelated on their minds. Fri. 2-20-48

They have—Henry Wallace, through his remarkable victory in a New York congressional race, has scared the daylights out of the Truman planners. Senator McGrath, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, has gotten on his knees and implored Henry to leave his Commie pards and get the hell back home before it's all over for Truman.

Wallace is offered amnesty if he will return. Wallace is more abhorrent to the South than Truman's civil rights program. His presence in the party would proclaim louder than ever a commitment to extirpate the South's (and the North's) segregation practices.

Chairman McGrath, of course, recognizes this full clear. But in the present extremity of the Democratic Party, he is proceeding with a first-things-first reflexes.

It might be assumed that this would incense the Southern rebels beyond the previous pitch. But the same front pages that relate McGrath's S. O. S. to Wallace carry a dispatch from Jackson, Miss., G. H. Q., for the highly advertised Southern revolt, saying that there is no idea of a bolt!

It is in Jackson that 5,000 Mississippians recently massed to protest the Truman declaration. The Mississippi Democratic Committee is preparing for a 48-state meeting of "true white" party members to protest.

But Chairman Herbert Holmes yesterday made this statement:

"We are not withdrawing from the Democratic Party, but seeking to purge it of leaders not in accord with the prin-

ples of Jeffersonian democracy.

"Some think that we are revolting or bolting the party.

"That is not true.

"We are fighting within the party. We are Democrats and will continue to be Democrats."

That, mind, is from the hottest hotbed and capital of the rebellion.

As we intimated, the picture is blurred.

Jennings Perry
New York, N. Y.

Ten-Strike

Any way you look at it, Mr. Truman's Decade of Recommendations for human-rights legislation is good politics. It is good politics for Mr. Truman, the candidate, for the Democratic Party he heads, for the Nation of us all. It would be good politics for the GOP majority in Congress to enact it.

Perry

These recommendations prove that Mr. Truman is (1) a conscientious democrat and (2) very foxy. It does not matter, really, whether he is the one or the other—or both. What matters is that Mr. Truman has taken various of our sins of omission, which have defied many attempts at reform, and set them up in the other alley. This is a business that must be continued unto complete success, if our political philosophy is not to be forever shamed by our actual shortcomings.

Stands to Gain Some Applause

It shall be said that Mr. Truman knows there is no chance that his recommendations will be made law, and that he has reason to believe that some of them will be made law, and that in either case he stands to gain some applause. It shall be said that he has courageously rebuffed the secession threats of bourbons in his own party, and that he is fully aware that the bourbons cannot withdraw from the party; that he has made a transparent play for the Negro vote, the Jewish vote, and the Nisei vote; that he has "called the hand" of the Republican Party, and "cut the ground" from under the Wallaceites. . . .

All of this may be true, but Mr. Truman has done us all a service. He has prodded us in the place where our hypocrisy lives, where our pretensions of "equality" do not square with the facts.

The sins at which he points are old sins, and the laws for which he asks would only remedy our long failure to secure human rights postulated in our basic social covenant. Lynch law violates the guaranteed right of trial by jury; discrimination violates the cornerstone assumption of the American charter, that all men are "created equal;" and suffrage disfranchisement not only robs the citizen of sovereignty, but starves the government itself, which has no proper fountain but the popular will.

Presented In Omnibus

If I had to pick a fault in the President's proposals, it would be that he has presented them in omnibus—and has urged them on the grounds of what other peoples may think of us. Primarily, it is a question of our own self-respect, of loyalty to our own ideals, of our own honesty and endurance. It is important that we should so live as to be a symbol of hope for "oppressed and subjugated" peoples; but it is vital to the United States that these gaps between the substance of our rights and the form of our government be healed.

The widest—and most dangerous—gap is the abridgement of the right to vote, and I am glad that Mr. Truman bore down vigorously on this head. I think it merited a separate message, and a pointed call for prompt enactment of legislation already readied by years of exhaustive debate and majority approval. For unless the right to vote is cleared of poll-tax hobbles, and other hindrances, where may we look, in the end, for protection of all the other rights the people cherish? Not laws, but the suffrage is the final warranty.

What Mr. Truman says may be "all politics," but politics may be all to the good. It is the way we try, and fail—and try again. And if the parties we now have fall down on this assignment for the commonweal, then, as I have said, the situation will make hay for those who say there's nothing left but to create another party for the precious job.

Truman Calls For Erased Color Line

Outlawing Of Jim Crow, And Return Of FEPC Asked In Message 'Against Lynching'

President Also Requests Congress To Abolish Poll Taxes For South

By ED CREAGH

WASHINGTON, Feb. 2.—(AP)—President Truman asked Congress Monday, to pass federal laws against lynching and against discrimination in voting or employment on grounds of race, creed or color.

In a 4,000-word message, the president outlined a 10-point program to correct what he called "flagrant" offenses against the American faith—that "all men are created equal and that they have the right to equal justice."

Mr. Truman replied in advance to the objection, frequently raised in the South, that this is a matter for state and local governments to deal with in keeping with local problems and traditions.

"The federal government has a clear duty," he said, "to see that constitutional guarantees of individual liberties and of equal protection under the laws are not denied or abridged anywhere in our Union."

Political Dynamite?

Taking a stand on two questions charged with political dynamite in the South, the president:

1. Called for anti-discrimination laws covering election of state as well as federal officers.

2. Asked Congress to end the requirement in some states that residents pay a poll tax before voting in federal elections.

Mr. Truman called for reestablishment of the wartime Fair Employment Practices Commission—a step certain to be fought by some Southern legislators to the point of filibuster if necessary.

He also proposed:

Establishment of a permanent commission to study civil rights questions, a joint committee of Congress for the same purpose and a civil rights division in the Department of Justice.

Home rule, and the right to vote in presidential elections, for residents of the District of Columbia—now voteless and governed by Congress and a commission appointed by the president.

Statehood for the territories of Hawaii and Alaska, and a larger degree of self-government for our island possessions.

An end to discrimination in interstate travel—"Jim Crow" separation of whites and Negroes.

Removal of racial or national barriers which prevent U. S. residents from becoming citizens.

The setting up of machinery to pay the damage claims of the more than 100,000 Japanese-Americans evacuated from Pacific coast states during the war.

'Equality for All'

Insuring equality for all our citizens, the President said, will make us "stronger in our leadership, stronger in our moral position" as we strive with the free nations of the world to create a lasting peace.

He declared that this country will not achieve the ideals on which it was founded "so long as any American suffers discrimination as a result of his race, or religion, or color, or the land of origin of his forefathers."

He said the recent report of his commission of civil rights shows that there is "a serious gap between our ideals and some of our practices."

Local voluntary organizations, the President said, can do much toward developing "practical, workable arrangements for achieving greater tolerance and brotherhood."

But he declared flatly that the problem is one for nation-wide legislation.

Mr. Truman told Congress that the executive branch already is taking "every possible action" against discrimination.

He said he had instructed Secretary of Defense Forrestal to have "remaining instances of discrimination" wiped out in the armed forces.

NAACP Head Calls Eastland 'Demagogue'

WASHINGTON, Feb. 2.—(AP)—Walter White, Negro leader, called Senator Eastland (D), Mississippi, a "demagogue" today at hearings on anti-lynch legislation, and Eastland shrugged it off as the talk of a "nigger."

White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, was a witness before a Senate judiciary subcommittee. He testified that both Eastland and Rep. Rankin (D), Mississippi, were demagogues and "destroyers of faith in the Democratic process."

Eastland, a committee member, arrived just as White concluded and asked what he had said. "He called you a demagogue," said Senator Stennis (D), Mississippi. Eastland replied:

"That's absolutely all right. I don't want any controversy with this witness or any other nigger."

SOMETHING QUICKLY

Editor, The Advertiser:

The President's message to the Congress this week has stirred up a hornet's nest down here in the South. It stirred up passions as nothing else could have done at any time since the dark days of Reconstruction. It was a surrender to the radical racial group in a few states north of the Potomac. It was an outright bid for the Negro vote. It out Wallace'd Wallace in bidding for the support of the lunatic fringe that helped swell the ranks of the Democratic Party during the lush days of the New Deal. It was a mortal blow to the time honored doctrine of state rights and local self government.

The fruits of this proposed legislation will do untold harm to the very minorities that inspired the message. It will create more minorities, promote strife and perhaps violence, give a rebirth to the Ku Klux Klan. The chief sufferers will be the poor Negro himself.

We have long since learned that morals cannot be legislated into people, neither can the convictions of millions be changed by an act of Congress.

We cannot go back to the days when Thad Stevens and his radical cohorts tried by every legal means to destroy white supremacy in the South. It ill becomes any man, be he President or wood chopper, to advocate the Stevens doctrine of non-segregation and the abolition of state rights. Somebody certainly gave the President some bad advice.

Now he must stand by his guns and witness the break up of his own party and get ready to ride down Pennsylvania Avenue next January sitting by the side of another man who will be inaugurated president of the United States in 1949. Then he can sit down at Independence, Mo., and reflect on the folly of having listened to a group of radicals who hate the South and her institutions, her traditions and her memories. A sad reflection indeed.

Let the convention take sensible measures to meet the coming crisis before the National Democratic Convention meets in Philadelphia in July. Even then it may be too late, but common duty demands that the effort be made.

E. P. SMITH.

Auburn, Ala.

Something must be done quickly to save

10 1948

President's Message on Civil Rights

RALPH McGILL

A Light, But Skillful Job

The Constitution

You will go far before you will find a more typical American document than the recent message on the state of the nation by President Harry S. Truman, the message now under debate by a furious Republican majority. Atlanta, Ga.

It was typical in that it was a very clever mixture as before—of fact and politics and of truisms so true that we are inclined to shake them off as trite or shopworn.

Mr. Truman certainly was correct when he said:

"The basic source of our strength is spiritual. For we are a people with a faith. We believe in the dignity of man. We believe he was created in the image of the Father of us all. . . . Let Congress concentrate not upon party, but upon the country; not upon the things which divide us, but upon those which bind us together." Wed. 1-14-48

It is worth mentioning that these words came from perhaps the only Government in the world which could, or would, utter them . . . and that this nation is, for the time being, the most powerful.

There is no way to escape the common sense of those words. But they rolled off the back of Congress as a Spring shower from the back of a mallard resting contentedly on some marshy pond far from hostile gunners. Indeed, it is doubtful if half a dozen citizens remembered him saying them.

Yet, wrapped up in those words, is much of the reason for our present chaos and confusion. And it is, to a large degree at least, inevitable.

Election Under our system of representative, party Government, the first obligation of a political party is to get elected to office.

No matter how high and statesmanlike its precepts and its intentions, a political party cannot give them wings or any sort of mobility out of office.

This is an election year and November is rushing toward us with jet-propelled speed. Wed. 1-14-48

Mr. Truman would like to be elected. (His chances, frankly, are bad. If Eisenhower runs the Truman chances are nil.)

The Republicans frantically seek to be elected, knowing full well that if they cannot make it this year then indeed is the wheel broken at the well and the evil days come when they shall say, "I find no pleasure in them."

Politics The Republicans, in their effort to be elected, are playing politics with the aid-to-Europe bill because they believe there is enough selfishness in the American people to make them want to take the road of least resistance. If someone will just tell them that they don't need to help Europe, then they will gleefully swing on that particular bandwagon. 1-14-48

So, we have, for example, Sen. Taft and Congressman Taber doing just that. This is a shocking example of politics, and nothing Harry Truman or the "Kansas gang" has done is any worse. The Republicans want to be elected and, to narrow it down, Mr. Taft wants to be elected. And Mr. Taber wants to help him.

Message Now, as to the message, certainly it was political. I was amused at some of the solemn editorial comment which attacked the speech as political. Of course it was. It had to be. It is no more political than the speeches made against it. It is no more political, and its $40 tax relief per person, is no more political, than was the Republican tax bill. I could not understand the editorialists who shouted "Politics!" Surely they must have had their tongues in their editorial cheeks.

Not only was it political, but it was rather skillfully political. (And it is well to note that not even the most bitter critic and loudest shouter of politics has raised his voice against a single item of it save the "bonus" tax relief item, which was its weakest point.) The Constitution

So was the build-up. Mr. Truman is getting better advice these days. Atlanta, Ga.

It had been widely advertised as a "slugging" speech. The expectation was that he would tear into the Republicans as did the late Franklin D. Roosevelt. This had the Republicans eager for the fray. They broke off their horns trying to do something with the late FDR, and they still smart from wounds and utter failure. They figured they could handle Harry S. Truman, who is no great orator. Franklin D. Roosevelt could knock over the Republicans with phrases like "relief for the needy, not for the greedy," but they were ready for Harry Truman. Wed. 1-14-48

Jabs So, he crossed them up with the lightest of left jabs. There was no slugging at all. He opened up by putting country first and urging that both parties put country, not party, first. He put our first strength as our spiritual strength and man's inherent dignity as an individual.

There was no sting, even, in the light left jab. Indeed, it hardly reached the Republican chin.

But it did throw them off balance, just the same. Perhaps the Republicans are not sure of their feet, remembering how many times FDR knocked them sprawling. It may have been they were leaning too far forward with their counter-punch. Whatever it was, they were put off balance by the speech.

Mr. Truman, of course, cannot get the votes to put through his plan. He knew that before he stated it. But it was a good political platform, and it will have its effect on the final Republican measure.

So, it is obvious that Mr. Truman did three things. First, he used the only method he had at hand to influence legislative action, he being in the minority in the legislative branches. Secondly, he let the people know his ideas for meeting present problems. And, thirdly, he provided himself with a platform for the Summer campaign. Wed. 1-14-48

It is well always to keep in mind that we are governed by a political system—and that politics is what we make it.

A Broad-Spirited Message

Birmingham News

President Truman's broad-spirited message to Congress should be considered, of course, in full realization of its political background. The President is dealing with a Republican congress. Obviously his influence is thereby severely limited. Mr. Truman, earnest, well-meaning and hard-working chief executive that he is, can hardly be expected to exercise great sway over the members of the majority. The responsibility for legislation is primarily theirs. The power is largely theirs. In a sense that situation opens the way for the President to give forthright expression to his own convictions. He can say just what he thinks, knowing the ultimate responsibility for legislation will largely rest with Congress. He does not have to be very much concerned about divisions of opinion in his own party. He has the opportunity to follow the highest dictates of conscientious leadership. It seems to us that that is just what Mr. Truman has done, even though many of his recommendations are highly controversial. 10

If it be recalled that, after all, this is a presidential election year and Mr. Truman will stand before the bar of public judgment, it can also be said that devotion to honest conviction and the public welfare can often be good politics. Ala.

In any case, Mr. Truman seems to have surveyed the state of the union and of the world and to have expressed his consequent thoughts with sincerity, courage and straightforwardness.

* * *

There are many things in the message, some having to do with immediate situations, others more of a long-range nature. Taxes, inflation, aid to Europe are outstanding current concerns. 1-8-48

Mr. Truman insists that sound practice calls for maintenance of the present level of government revenue. That is surely desirable if it is consistent with other major considerations. There is the need for relief of taxpayers in the lower brackets who are having a hard struggle with high prices. Mr. Truman would meet that need by a $40 tax credit for each taxpayer and for each dependent. He would maintain revenue by making up the loss through increased corporation taxes. He points to large corporation profits. hat would be the effect of such a business initiative—and therefore —inasmuch as the uncertainties, costs, hazards and high taxes already faced by business enterprise are in a measure holding back enterprise?

It is an ingenious and in some respects appealing plan the President proposes, but it has weaknesses and in any case seemsnat, if the situation continued to hardly likely to get far with the Republicans orate. 1-4-48

* * *

As for the menace of inflation, the Presi- The administration has yielded in dent reiterates his plea for the 10-point sisting on authorization of an over-all a program he urged upon the special session for the long-range Marshall Plan, b These include standby authority for ration Truman stands fast in favor of h ing and wage-price control. ommendation of $6.800,000,000 for

Whether production can move ahead rap months following April 1. The Preside idly enough to check prices soon is the great forceful, convincing, in this suppor inflation question. The Republicans are dis great undertaking in behalf of the posed to wait a while longer to see. The and the peace of the world.

* * *

public demand for extensive controls is not Mr. Truman urged action to assure yet sufficient to change them. But it might opportunities in education, jobs and quickly become much stronger, even domi- for persons of every race, creed and color. protests, their threats to walk out of the Demo-

Defeating Themselves

The Southern politicians have mishandled this

cratic party and their deliberately conspicuous boycotting of the Jackson-Jefferson day dinners have practically guaranteed their own defeat.

The proper course was to soft-pedal any direct attack on the program as proposed. The only appropriate defense was a positive defense, the championship of the doctrine of state rights, with which many of the President's proposals conflict. They might have won support for state rights when they can win none for lynching or poll taxes or discrimination.

And there was no need for any hullabaloo about them, until they were brought up in House or Senate. The South wasn't seriously hurt by any statement and could not be hurt by mere words. It is action that counts and hurts.

The South's protest has consolidated the opposition and the South's threat to secede from the party has had exactly the opposite result of that expected. Instead of discouraging the enactment of the President's civil rights program it has encouraged it. The Republicans see a chance to widen the Democratic split by taking up the Truman suggestions, writing them into law and getting the credit with the Negroes for so doing while Truman gets the blame with the Southern Democrats. If they can actually lead the South into secession the Republican party's chances are increased. And without any real danger that the splinter party formed by the Southern Democrats could hope to get anywhere any more than Henry Wallace's third party could.

The Record, Columbia, S.C. 2-23-48

Eastland Says Congress Spurns War Peril To Pass Civil Rights

The Advertiser, Montgomery, Ala. Wed. 3-10-48

WASHINGTON, March 9.—(AP)—The country "is on the verge of war," Senator Eastland (D), Mississippi, said Tuesday, yet Congress is "asked to drop important things" to take up civil rights legislation.

This, Eastland told the Senate judiciary committee, is a "terrible condition." The committee is considering a Federal anti-lynching bill such as President Truman has urged as a part of a civil rights program.

Without naming Mr. Truman, the Mississippian said the country needs as a president "a man who can unite this country against a common foe"—namely, Russia.

"What the people of this country want more than anything else is a man . . . who will not sacrifice the good of the country for the sake of personal gain from organized pressure groups," Eastland said.

In the House, Rep. Williams (D), Mississippi, suggested that Mr. Truman "quit now while he is still just 20,000,000 votes behind."

Williams said in a brief speech that the President "wants the civil rights program passed, he wants the South throttled, and most of all he wants to be president again."

Southern Democrats, Williams declared, "are going to play fair with the President and tell him that he is not going to get a thing that he asked for." 3-11-48

Eastland, bitter critic of the Truman civil rights stand, spoke out in offering four amendments to the anti-lynching bill.

He proposed that picket line violence be included in the list of "mob" actions the bill would make a federal offense.

He moved to make a city or county liable for deaths at the hands of gangsters or racketeers as well as for deaths in a lynching as the bill now would do.

He would penalize peace officers who do not use "diligent efforts" to solve felonies. The bill does this in lynching cases.

He proposed that communities be liable for damages up to $10,000 for injuries or deaths in race riots. The bill would apply such a provision in lynchings.

Return Trooper Killer To Defy Lynch-Mongers

Constitution, Atlanta, Ga. 3-6-48 Sat.

Acting Gov. Thompson took steps Friday to forestall possible criticism of Georgia justice for the method of handling prisoners in the slaying of a State Trooper, and then denounced the Ku Klux Klan for aiding proponents of Federal antilynch legislation.

Thompson ordered two desperadoes and their women companions returned to the scene of the slaying of the State Trooper in order to prevent possible criticism of Georgia justice. He asked Sheriff P. L. Youmans to return the quartet to Swainsboro from Tattnall State Prison at 10 a. m. today. He said news stories had indicated mob violence was feared, so the men were not jailed at Swainsboro.

Held on charges of slaying Garland Fields, Georgia Bureau of Investigation Agent in Swainsboro Wednesday night, are: Alfred and Spence Edwards, Spence's 18-year-old wife, Marie, and a cousin of the brothers, Evelyn Lax, all of Murfreesboro, Tenn.

The Acting Governor issued the following statement Friday:

"While patriotic Georgians strive to prevent the needless and harmful imposition of Federal antilynch law and other forms of legislation inimical to the best interests of the people of the South, the Ku Klux Klan, and its associates, fight on the other side and make difficult a winning fight by the South.

"While our Senators and Congressmen in Washington tell the world that we have enough laws and that we will enforce them without Federal coercion, the Ku Klux Klan, by meetings such as those held recently at Swainsboro and Wrightsville, cut the ground from beneath their feet.

"Never before has the Ku Klux Klan and the Klan type of mind been revealed so dramatically as anti-Southern and as actually giving aid to the Communists, the race baiters and the radical organizations which are pushing the legislation we declare unwise and unnecessary.

"The Klan, and others who use their methods, practically nullify the work of decent people in the South and deliver us into the hands of our enemies.

"I hereby ask every thoughtful and patriotic Georgian and Southerner to resist the Klan's meetings of intimidation by making it plain they are not wanted. I call upon the ministers and the good people of our State to see to it that the Legislature gives us laws which will permit our courts to prevent such harmful actions and deeds. I hope that all persons who may have been misguided into participating in these demonstrations which are so harmful to the real interests of the South, will remove themselves from further participation, so that the South may present its best face to the nation and demonstrate that we do not need the proposed laws, duplicating our own."

Sat. 3-6-48

'Civil Rights'

The Constitution

Editor Constitution: Present discussions of President Truman's civil-rights program recall a similar furor which, forty years ago, followed the occasion when President Theodore Roosevelt invited Booker T. Washington to lunch with him in the White House.

A Southern writer of that period quoted a Negro "mammy" as saying: "Dat colored man ought to be 'shamed of heself for eatin' wid white folks." Fri. 3-26-48

Following the death of Booker T. Washington, Mr. Roosevelt (then ex-President) was one of the speakers during memorial services held at the Institute. On that occasion he gave the reason for his friendliness to Tuskegee's founder when he said:

"I turned to him as I turned to only a limited number of men for advice and help when I was President, because I knew that never would he give me one word of advice with any selfish purpose of benefit to himself. He never gave me any advice save what in the exercise of his best judgment he deemed would be best, not only for the people of his race, but for the people of all races."

The intemperate language used in some of the discussions of civil rights leaves the impression that in addition to its political implications, a very real concern is the ineffectiveness—more and more apparent—of those Southern customs and devices designed primarily to keep the Negro awed and timid and the increasing difficulties encountered, under world scrutiny, in justifying adopted practices which defeat the principles of democracy so ardently advocated by our country.

ALBON L. HOLSEY.

Tuskegee Institute, Alabama. Fri. 3-26-48

Equal Rights

Editor Constitution: I read the letter to the Editor from Alvin M. Jones in today's Constitution and I find that he, like a lot of my friends, misconstrued the sentence in my letter relating to the Negro and education. I said that the white folks contrive to keep him ignorant and then CALL him inferior. I meant by that that it is wellnigh impossible for Negroes to get equal education to whites within the framework of the South. If the student in the Negro school does not measure up to the student in the white school, he (the Negro) is called inferior. "After all, I would look silly calling a man my inferior when he measures up to me on all counts. So I will segregate him and give him equal educational facilities; then I can shout about my superiority."

Nor did I mean that the Negro loses his inferiority when he acquires education. One cannot lose what one never had.

The politicians and professional white supremacists, who influence people like reader Jones, are but the tools of Northern money men. They play the white man against the Negro, holding both groups—and thereby the South—in a poor economic condition. They are the real traitors in the South.

I have heard every liberal editor in America (including Editor McGill) called a Communist by these persons. Any thoughtful person knows that the first organization that a Communist would support would be some organization like the Klan.

JOSEPH GODBYE, JR.

Atlanta. Mon. 3-22-48

Negro History

Mon. 3-22-48

Editor Constitution: Alvin M. Jones asks a historical question about the Negro and then attempts to answer it with half facts.

The Spanish and Portuguese slave traders fastened the word Negro on the black slaves. The first slaves were sold at Jamestown, Va., in 1619, but black men had been coming to these shores for 127 years before that time as free men.

The world's first civilized countries were in North Africa—Egypt, Ethiopia, Carthage, Numidia and Mauretania were all centers of black culture long before people knew how to read or write in England, France, Germany or the Scandinavian countries.

In the Eleventh Century black men out of Mauretania (Moors), conquered Morrocco, crossed over the channel, conquered Spain and Portugal. and ruled them for 400 years. It was descendants of these black men who came to America with the early explorers. Black men have been here just as long as anybody. They have helped to build America, helped to defend it in all wars, and now they rightfully ask to enjoy its rights and privileges.

JOHN WESLEY DOBBS.

Atlanta.

Agriculture Appointment As Sop For South

Columbia Record

President Harry Truman is reported to have turned down the suggestion that a Southerner be appointed to succeed Clinton Anderson, secretary of agriculture, who is resigning to run for the United States Senate in New Mexico.

Some administration lieutenants suggested to the President that the appointment of an outstanding Southern agricultural leader to the cabinet might serve as a sop to placate the rebellious Southerners, angered by his so-called civil rights program. Truman, however, wisely rejected the idea, since he has no intention of abandoning his civil rights program. It would have been an "obvious" gesture to the South and therefore, he felt, probably "ineffective."

Wed. 3-17-48

The department of agriculture has nothing to do with the civil rights program and the President, if the Washington reports have him correctly quoted, is right in assuming that the appointment of a Southerner to his cabinet would not affect in the least the Southern opposition to the anti-lynching bill, the anti-poll tax bill, the anti-segregation bill, the F. E. P. C. The presence in the cabinet of Attorney General Tom Clark did not prevent the Southern outbreak. And the Southerners who object to these bills and to President Truman for his advocacy of them cannot be placated by a half year's appointment for one Southerner to the cabinet. After inauguration day, of course, Truman will be making no more cabinet appointments, which may be the reason that Secretary Anderson is resigning to run for the Senate.

Columbia, S. C.

The Southern protest has, Truman's decision makes clear, been so far definitely ineffective. A Southerner appointed to the cabinet now, the President explained, might "boomerang" outside the South and hurt his chances, which are nil, of course, of getting the leftist and minority votes which he has been courting.

Wed. 3-17-48

It will continue to be ineffective until the South makes up its mind to build up two parties in the South and make the South the doubtful section it should be in the presidential elections. For the South is not of one mind on the issues that divide the two parties.

God.

No sooner was the war over than the United States put an end to the caste system in Japan. We gave the Japanese the right to vote. And it was only seven years ago that we went to war with Japan, and millions of Negroes were in the war to defend our country. Now the Negroes ask so little. They just want the same chance as the other fellow. With the opposition of the Southern Governors to the civil rights bill, however, I am afraid that the men who gave their lives for a just cause have died in vain.

Fort Knox, Ky. Cpl. ROBERT A. JOHNSON.

'The Trouble With the South'

This is in answer to the letter of W. B. Chilton of recent date:

In the first chapter of Genesis we are told that God made one man and one woman, and from these you are here today, don't forget! Everyone should have civil rights, regardless of race, creed, or color. We should work, worship God as we please, or go anywhere our American money will take us. If this is not the case, we had as well take down the Statue of Liberty and put up that of Hitler instead.

It is ignorance of God that is the trouble with the South. The Bible tells us that a house divided against itself cannot stand. So, America should take heed before it is too late. The motto of Kentucky is, "United We Stand, Divided We Fall." So, instead of fighting the things that are right, let's get together and fight lynching, Jim Crowism, unfair labor practices and hate. *Sun 3-21-48*

One of the reasons for Communism is beliefs such as yours. Let's stand for the right, and not the wrong! Remember, do unto others as you would have others do unto you.

A. L. SWAFFORD.

Louisville.

The Negro and States' Rights

The Courier-Journal

As an individual, I can truly say that the writer of the letter headed, "In Defense of the South," is misinformed. I, also, would venture to say that if he will survey the annals of history, he will find that the Negro did work to attain suffrage. *3-21-48*

It goes without saying that Negroes are as well qualified to fill the seats of Congress as any other persons, regardless of race. Anyone who fails to see this must have Fascist tendencies. There is no doubt about States' rights, but, with the Federal Government over the States, it has authority and is stepping in the right direction, at the right moment. *Sun*

If the writer of that letter would consider world politics in its present state, he would realize what the Federal Government is fighting for, and he would know that we must have liberty at home before we can give it to others. And we don't give it to others, unless we have it ourselves.

ANDREW BRYANT.

Frankfort, Ky. *Louisville, Ky*

PRESIDENT TRUMAN AND JOHN GARFIELD IN "BODY AND SOUL"

Montgomery Advertiser

President Truman would possibly have been somewhat confused had he gone to see "Body and Soul" at the Clover Theater Sunday night.

The newsreel showed President Truman as he spoke to the Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner (and to the empty table) in Washington. The South has never been so rebellious since its statesmen saw it the firebrands' way and seceded here in Montgomery. *Montgomery, Ala.*

But Truman, the man who touched off the rebellion with his proposal to end segregation of the races, would have been surprised in the Clover to see that his presence on the screen evoked neither Bronx cheer nor Rebel yell. The patrons sat coldly silent as they looked at him.

Then came John Garfield in the prize fight movie, "Body and Soul." Garfield's buddy in the movie is an ebony Negro prize fighter who becomes Garfield's sparring partner. He spars with Garfield, is his confidante and addresses him as "Charlie." *Tues. 3-2-48*

In other words, Garfield practices the social equality that Truman recommends to Congress. Truman's name becomes a slur, but Garfield, near the end of the movie as he goes straight and pummels the pug before whom he is bribed to take a dive, moves patrons in the Clover Theater—in the Cradle of the Confederacy—to whistle and applaud!

"There are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamt of in our philosophy, Horatio."

Inconsistency Stamps A "States' Rights" Plea

The Courier-Journal 3-25-48

As A congressional committee approves an anti-lynching law, a group of Southern members raise voices a-tremble with shock and indignation. They shout that it is the Constitution itself that is being lynched by a proposal so inequitous. States' Rights, they protest with Eighteenth Century passion, are being ravished, and it's fightin' time.

All this may be seen as arrant *Claghorn* bombast, to defend a sensitive, jealous and stubborn refusal to be guided by a national policy of protection. It is a denial that Federal statutes and legal institutions already exist which reach within State lines to punish or rebuke local violations of the laws of human freedom. *Louisville, Ky.*

A classic example is the Federal law against peonage. Many a bigwig of turpentine camps and feudal plantations has served his time in a Federal prison for holding men in labor bondage on pretext of a debt to be absolved or on no pretext at all. The right of freedom to come and go is violated by the forced labor of peonage. The anti-lynching law may be seen as a simple extension of this principle to cover the highest of rights, that of legal judgment and of life itself. It would establish the principle of security as a means of preventing the act.

Or, as often happens, the United States Supreme Court tells a State that it must set free a man convicted in a local court. This commonly occurs when the man is found to have been convicted by dint of unfair or unrepresentative methods. Or the F.B.I. moves into a local scene, or a Federal grand jury indicts, when a citizen, however humble, is the victim of a conspiracy (group action) to intimidate him against voting, testifying in court, or indulging any natural American right. These things happen too often, and are accepted as a reasonable exercise of authority under the Constitution, to give any ground for pseudo-legalistic protest against the principle of an anti-lynching law. *Thurs 3-25-48*

The Federal anti-kidnaping law, the MANN Act, the slaughter of disease-infected cattle, the confiscation of contaminated food—all these are familiar applications of national policy affecting local doings. True, some of them are based on an interstate element. But it is also true that they contemplate possible ineffectiveness or leniency of local authority, for one thing; the fact that the actions are guaranteed by the national Constitution, for another, and that responsibility is involved. *The Courier-Journal*

The cry of States' Rights has a hollow sound when it is lifted for obstruction of rights that are commonly shared by all. *Louisville, Ky.*

Eisenhower and Segregation

Atlanta Constitution, Atlanta, Ga.

Editor Constitution: It kind of makes me sick in the stomach when I read about these people who are against President Truman because of his civil rights program and who are advocating Eisenhower instead.

It so happens that I was one of the boys who spent months in England before the invasion. Over there Eisenhower decreed that there would be no segregation of American troops because of color. *Atlanta Ga. Thu. 4-1-48*

I was born and reared in Georgia. Because of Eisenhower's decree, I, along with other white boys from North, South, East and West, lived for weeks with a Negro battalion in charge of an ordnance depot, sleeping in the same room with Negroes, eating at the same tables, using the same bathing facilities, etc. Our group was not an isolated case. It happened all over England.

But here is the reason people will not hear much about it from Southern whites who were over there. After my discharge, I began telling a few friends and relatives about Eisenhower's decree and how I had to live with Negroes in the ETO. I was invariably condemned and embarrassed because they seemed to think that I could have done something about it, which indicates how ignorant a civilian can be of military life, especially when overseas and during a war. (Have the people forgot how the Army mixed the whites and colored at the Infantry School at Fort Benning right here in Georgia. I was there, too.)

This letter is not written in a spirit of antagonism toward the Negroes. Neither is it written in defense of Truman. Even before he advocated his civil rights program I had no admiration for him. It is written because I kind of get fed up with these people who turn against him be-

Civil Rights Debate Incites Comment Among Readers

The Courier-Journal, Louisville, Ky. Sun. 3-21-48

To the Editor of The Courier-Journal:

As a Negro soldier in World War II, I would like to express myself regarding the civil rights bill. I am from Pittsburgh where there are State laws against discrimination. However, I have found that there is still much discrimination. Regardless of where a man may be, there is always some discrimination. But refusing to give a minority group civil rights because of color is to my mind a sin against man and

cause of what he stands for and advocates another who, if given the authority, would do more toward tearing down segregation than Truman would ever think of doing. Ga. 7-1-48

WILLIAM A. JOHNSON

JOSEPH AND STEWART ALSOP

The Constitution

What a Southern Revolt May Mean

Atlanta, Ga.

WASHINGTON—For the first time, practical Southern politicians are talking seriously about the end of the one-party system in the South. This is, of course, the result of the Southern rebellion against President Truman, and more particularly the rebellion's by-product, the Virginia bill allowing the State's representatives in the Electoral College to cast their ballots as they choose.

The resurrection of this antiquated constitutional device will allow Southerners to express both sides of their politically split personalities. They will be able to continue to vote as Democrats, yet to avoid assisting in the election of the Democratic Party's national candidates.

The trick is simple, and it is already appealing to conservative Southerners outside Virginia. South Carolina and Mississippi are definitely expected to pass bills of their own on the Virginia model. This holds out the pretty definite likelihood that Truman will lose the 28 Electoral College votes represented by Virginia. The number is not great, compared to the 531-vote total of the Electoral College. Yet it is quite enough to decide a close election. And it is also possible that other Southern States will follow the Virginian road. Mon. 3-1-48

Furthermore, even if the present movement is headed off, and the Southern electoral votes are in the end all racked up for Truman, there are still other dangers to overcome. It has already been published that Sen. Harry F. Byrd, after first expressing distaste, has now become inclined to let his name be presented as a presidential candidate. Besides Byrd, moreover, there is Sen. Walter F. George, who would command even wider Southern support. He is also giving signs of willingness to let himself be proposed to the Democratic Convention.

As far as the Convention is concerned, the Southern strategy will be to send uncommitted delegations, and to fight initially for a weasel-worded civil rights plank. The President's political representatives were at first inclined to concede such a plank in order to pacify the Southern rebels. But Truman balked at swallowing every word he had said on the subject of civil rights. The Southern Governors were turned away empty-handed when they called on the Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, Sen. J. Howard McGrath. Now, therefore, the Southerners are more likely to be driven to the second stage of their convention plan, which is to nominate George or Byrd or both as rivals to Truman.

Events are almost certain to intensify the South's itch to make trouble at the Convention, and to go through, thereafter, with the Virginia scheme for depriving Truman of Southern electoral votes. The Fair Employment Practices, Anti-Lynching and Anti-Poll Tax Bills will all shortly come up for Senate votes. They will pass if the Senate applies cloture to halt filibusters. The Constitution

This year, the election and the temptation to make trouble for Truman are powerful persuaders to induce these anti-cloture Republican Senators to change their votes. Enough switches are expected among them to pass at least the Anti-Poll Tax Bill, probably the FEPC, and possibly the Anti-Lynching Bill. Passage of these three pieces of legislation will drive the Southern white supremacy shouters to extremes of every kind, both of oratory and of action. Mon.

As to the long-range significance of the Southern rebellion, that is also pretty obvious. The new violence of the white supremacy shouters has in it a note of fear. Industrialization, agricultural diversification and the mechanical cotton picker are, in fact, already threatening the old Southern order which produced the Georges and McKellars, Byrds and Overtons. In the House, especially, a sprinkling of progressive Southerners has already appeared. 3-1-48

The Virginia bill returning to the State's presidential electors the right of free choice which the Constitution originally intended for them may simply hurt Truman at first. But it will also have the long-range effect of separating the forward-looking and backward-looking Southerners into two different political parties. This is really now almost inevitable at last.

$1,500 Pledged To Fight 'Rights'

Atlanta Constitution Mon. 2-23-48

JACKSON, Miss., Feb. 22—(AP)—Mississippi Democratic leaders, aided by some out-of-State representatives, began raising funds Sunday to fight the Truman leadership of the National Party.

Approximately 250 of them at a meeting here pledged $61,500 toward an initial goal of $100,000.

It is to be spent not only in Mississippi but in other States to "advise" the people and gain their support in combatting the National Party's sponsorship of "anti-Southern" legislation.

Gov. Fielding L. Wright, of Mississippi, spearhead of the movement to purge the party of leaders he says are not in accord with the "principles of true white Jeffersonian Democrats," asserted:

"We want to kick out these birds who stole the party from us. We want to see the South revive the Conservative Democratic Party." Mon. 2-23-48

States represented at Sunday's meeting, in addition to Mississippi, included Texas, Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina.

In South Carolina Democrats began to act on their protests against President Truman's Civil Rights program. Mon. 2-23-48

Greenwood County Democrats voted Saturday for sending an unpledged delegation to the National Party convention, keeping the fight within party ranks.

Jasper County Democrats meet Monday at Ridgeland to consider withdrawing from the National Party.

The Dorchester County Executive Committee was called to meet Monday at St. George to consider the "anti-Southern program of President Truman, sponsored by the National Democratic Party."

Support For George Is Expected

Atlanta Constitution Atlanta, Ga. Wed. 2-25-48

By M. L. ST. JOHN

The Herman Talmadge-controlled State Democratic Convention is expected to send a delegation to the Democratic National Convention in July pledged to support Georgia's Sen. George, Virginia's Sen. Byrd, or some other "favorite son" candidate for President.

They definitely will not support President Truman "or any candidate supporting such a civil-rights program as Mr. Truman has proposed."

The delegation also will vote to unseat Georgia's Democratic National Committeeman E. D. Rivers and National Committeewoman Virginia Polhill Price, who, with Acting Gov. Thompson, called the illegal State Convention which attempted to purge Talmadge leaders. Wed. 2-25-48

Talmadge, himself, may be urged for Committeeman. Sen. Iris Blitch, of Homerville, is mentioned for Committeewoman.

Talmadge said Tuesday that "Ed Rivers' job as National Committeeman is over the day the National Convention opens."

An early State primary is indicated again this Summer.

That was the talk among Talmadge leaders and others here Tuesday, as State Chairman James S. Peters made plans to call a Convention. Peters still was reluctant to discuss what action the State Party might take on President Truman's civil-rights program. He did say, however, that most members of his Committee opposed the proposals.

Peters delayed calling a State Convention until he can find out whether the Soldier Vote Law—which requires the primary to be held at least 90 days prior to the Nov. 3 General Election—is still in effect. He asked Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook for an opinion, and Cook has promised one will be forthcoming.

Some observers believe Cook will hold that the law is still in effect in view of a recent ruling by the United States Supreme Court. The High Court two weeks ago extended the Rent Control Law on the grounds that the war is not yet over.

At the National Convention, the Georgia delegation recommends candidates for National Committeeman and Committeewoman. The Convention generally automatically approves them; however, the Convention could disapprove them, if it so desired, observers said.

Indications are that the Georgia Jackson-Jefferson Day Dinner will be carried out under the present auspices of a group friendly to Thompson. Democratic officials in Washington said the plans would not be changed.

Chairman Peters said he planned to take no steps toward sponsoring the dinner. Dinner Chairman W. T. Dean said requests for seats at the table were greater than the space allowed.

In Washington, National Democratic Committee officials were reluctant to discuss the Georgia situation, preferring not to anticipate "anything until the necessity arises." Wed. 2-25-48

Thompson, who formally announced his candidacy for Governor immediately after the Supreme Court ruled, 6 to 0, in favor of the Talmadge-aligned State Democratic Committee, said the issue in the gubernatorial campaign would be "whether or not I have done a good job. If so, I should be elected. If not, I should be kicked out."

PRISONERS SHIFTED, GEORGIA CROWD SILENT

SWAINSBORO, Ga., March 6 (UP)—Gov. M. E. Thompson scored a point in his argument against anti-lynch laws today when a prisoner accused of murder was returned to the scene of the crime in view of hundreds of citizens.

Three nights ago, an agent of the Georgia Bureau of Investigation, Garland Field, was slain here when he tried to question two brothers who turned out to be fugitives from Tennessee. Today, one of the brothers, Alfred Edwards, 26 years old was returned to this community openly on Thompson's orders from the state prison at Reidsville.

Heavy forces of highway patrolmen took Edwards to the penitentiary after his arrest, fearing the temper of local citizens. A routine guard of four men escorted him here and lodged him in the small, red-brick Emanuel County jail. New York, N. Y.

Returned with Edwards were his cousin, Evalyn Lax, 16, and his sister-in-law, Mrs. Spenee Edwards, 18. His brother, Spence, remained at Reidsville to recover from a bullett wound suffered in the chase that led to their capture in a swamp. Sun 3-7-48

Mr. Thompson proclaimed in advance, the hour and the route of Edwards, return, to demonstrate to the nation and the world, "that law and order prevail in Georgia."

4 Negro Leaders Here Cold to Draft Boycott

Say They're Shocked By Unionist's Threat To Advise His Race to Defy Conscription

Louisville Negroes apparently are cold to the idea of defying a federal draft as a gesture against segregation.

A nationally known Negro leader, A. Philip Randolph, told Congress yesterday that millions of Negroes will refuse to be drafted into "a Jim Crow" Army. Randolph is president of the A.F.L.-Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

Senator Lodge proposed yesterday that the United States let 50,000 Europeans join the Army and get citizenship later. Story is on Page 2.

He said before the Senate Armed Services Committee that he would advise his race not to bear arms, and thus drew a warning that treason charges might result if he does. Randolph retorted that "Negroes never will win civil rights" unless a drastic step is taken.

Believes Randolph Is Wrong.

Four leading Louisville Negroes were "shocked" at the proposal.

While the Louisvillians were emphatically opposed to segregation in the services or anywhere else, they believed a man should serve his country regardless of the injustices he has suffered because of internal issues.

"I believe he (Randolph) is wrong," said Dennis Henderson, a representative in the State Legislature. "The idea of refusing to serve your country for any reason is shocking. After all, it is our country right or wrong—and I do think it is wrong in its attitude on segregation. But that wouldn't keep me from fighting for it or serving in any way I can."

'Couldn't Go Along.'

"That's an attitude (Randolph's) I can't comprehend," said Earle Pruitt, director of Beecher Terrace. He served 14 months overseas as finance officer with the U.N.R.R.A.

"From the days of the Revolution the Negro has always been loyal to his country. True, he hasn't received all the rights and privileges guaranteed him by the Constitution.

"He has the right to continue to demand and fight for the things that are his only as long as he proves a worthy citizen—and the worthy citizen is ready to fight for his country. No sane person would turn his back on his country in time of crisis."

An indefatigable fighter against segregation, Lyman T. Johnson, teacher at Central High School, "couldn't go along" with Randolph in the threat to refuse to serve in the armed forces because of segregation. Johnson recently applied for admission to the University of Kentucky. His application was denied by the registrar and Johnson has referred it to the board of regents.

Vet Would Fight.

"I was in the service two years—and I know all about segregation in the services and elsewhere," Johnson said. "I think I have a bigger complaint to register than I would have if I hadn't been in service. But I would fight for my country. I would go ahead and serve under protest if segregation continues—which is better than protesting and not serving. It would be foolish to allow the house to burn down and protest over the ashes."

"No matter what comes up every Negro should take a firm stand in being true to his country and fighting for it if necessary," said Mrs. Emma Clement, who was selected American Mother for 1946. "Of course I'm against segregation and discrimination—but we can continue to fight that out."

In Washington Randolph had said, "I personally will advise Negroes to refuse to fight as slaves for a democracy they cannot possess and cannot enjoy."

Told He's Making Error.

His proposal for a civil-disobedience protest against the draft brought advice from Senators Morse (R., Ore.) and Baldwin (R., Conn.) that he is making a mistake and harming the civil-rights cause.

But Randolph, who recently told President Truman that Negroes would hesitate to shoulder arms unless segregation were abolished, declared, "We've got to face this thing sooner or later and we might as well face it right now."

"Negroes," he said, "are just sick and tired of being pushed around and we just don't propose to take it, and we do not care what happens."

Randolph appeared along with other members of a "Committee Against Jim Crow in Military Service and Training." He said he spoke only for himself and was not sure other members of the committee would support a civil-disobedience campaign.

Chaplain Backs Randolph.

But Grant Reynolds, chairman of the committee and also New York State commissioner of corrections, said he would go along with any program Randolph proposed, "including civil disobedience."

Reynolds, an Army chaplain during the war, said the Negroes could only fight with "the weapons of truth and non-co-operation in any form or variety of compulsory Jim Crow."

During the war, he asserted, Negro soldiers were humiliated, beaten, and otherwise mistreated.

Besides the U.M.T. and draft amendments, his committee also asked no Jim Crow in interstate travel for trainees in uniform, a federal penalty for attacking or lynching a trainee, no poll tax for trainees voting in federal elections, and civil-rights guarantees.

Protests Southern Training.

Another witness, Albert Black, chairman of the committee's Washington chapter, also protested against what he called an Army policy of sending Negro soldiers to the South for training.

Black, an Army veteran, said Negroes "do not like the South; do not like Georgia; do not like to serve on a post as viciously segregated as exists in the typical Southern camp.

Randolph was urged by Senator Morse to reconsider his disobedience plans. The senator, an advocate of civil-rights legislation, told the witness that this is not the way to gain full civil rights.

He asked Randolph if he were saying that he would tell Negroes not to shoulder arms "in protection of your country."

Time to Change, He Says.

"That is correct," Randolph said. "I would be doing my country a great service. If it does not develop the democratic processes at home then it is not the type of country worth fighting for."

And if the country goes to war?

Randolph replied slowly that there is time to change the laws, but if it were not done, he "would recommend that Negroes take no part in the Army."

If such a nation-wide protest of Negroes developed, the witness conceded, it probably would "cause terrorism" among them. He said he thinks that is "a price we have to pay to get our democratic rights."

Morse warned: "Then the doctrine of treason would be applied to those participating in that civil disobedience."

Sen. Russell To Lead Fight On Civil Rights

WASHINGTON—(SNS)—Yeilding to a request by 21 protesting southern senators, Mutual Broadcasting Company Sunday granted permission for time to present the southern point of view on the current civil rights program, advocated by the Truman's administration.

Senator Richard B. Russell of Georgia was chosen by the southerners to secure the radio time and was also named Chairman of the protesting group.

At an hour-long strategy meeting held last Friday, the southern senators drafted not only a message to Mutual Broadcasting Co., but named Mr. Russell to lead the fight against the Civil Rights measure in the forthcoming Congressional battle. All southern senators signed the telegram except Senator Claude Pepper, who was reported at his home in Florida.

The telegram to Mutual president, Edgar Kobar, referred specifically to the series of broadcasts by Mutual entitled "To Secure These Rights" now being carried over the Mutual Broadcasting Co.

In asking equal time for presentation of the Southern view, the 21 senators obviously had in mind the Federal Communication Commission's decision in the well-known Mayflower Broadcasting Corp. case, of 1940. In that case the FCC ruled that broadcasters may not "editorialize."

HEARING IN PROGRESS

Currently, the FCC is holding hearings in Washington to determine whether the Mayflower decision should be revised. Its 1940 language read, in part, as follows:

"Under the American system of broadcasting it is clear that responsibility for the conduct of broadcast station must rest initially with the broadcaster. It is equally clear that with the limitations in frequencies inherent in the nature of radio, the public interest can never be served by a dedication of any broadcast facility to the support of his own partisan ends. Radio can serve as an instrument of democracy only when devoted to the communication of information and the exchange of ideas fairly and objectively presented."

Civil Rights' House Chance Georgia Ogre

WASHINGTON—Georgia Democrats, contending that President Truman's sidestepping of his civil rights bill in his Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner address held no peace overture to the South, appeared to be more concerned at a rally of Southerners over prospects of the legislation passing the House this session than over the possibility of the measure's being written into the party platform.

Rep. Sid Camp, of Newnan, pointed out that the civil rights proposal presents "one of the most serious crises the people of our State have faced since Reconstruction days."

"This meeting of Southern Democrats has resolved to fight to the utmost to prevent passage of any part of this legislation," Camp declared.

Camp said the fight cannot wait until the Democratic National Committee writes its platform in July because the legislation has been proposed now, and as Rep. James C. Davis pointed out, "Truman is pushing for it this session." Both congressmen agreed that the immediate chances of the anti-lynching, anti-poll tax, FEPC and Civil Rights Commission Bills passing the House were excellent.

Freshman Rep. Don Wheeler, of Alma, said he was glad to see some positive action being taken to fight the Truman proposals.

Georgians who spoke at the executive meetings included Reps. Steve Pace, of Americus; Paul Brown, of Elberton; Eugene Cox, of Camilla; Camp and Davis. The entire Peach State House delegation attended the rally, with the exception of Rep. Henderson Lanham, of Rome, who was in his district Friday.

Negroes As Citizens

To the Editor of The News:

It is interesting to note the cross-section of opinion stated in letters from the people with regards to our president's recommendation of civil rights to all Americans.

This writer understands that an extensive study was made by a group of intelligent, impartial American citizens who found that certain minority groups in America, the arsenal of democracy, were not receiving their dues guaranteed by our constitution.

No true believer in a democratic form of government could sleep soundly knowing that any American, irrespective of creed or color, was being deprived of his rights. President Truman, having the facts in hand, acted as any great democrat would have. Being the chief executive, he set machinery in motion to rectify these evils that in the long run will gnaw into the very vitals of American government.

The South winced. Why? For 300 years she has sucked the economic blood of the Negro. She gouged out his eyes with the belief that her own vision would be lengthened. But lo, she too is blinded by the cataracts of prejudice.

The same spirit permeates our president's action today that drove Washington on during that Winter at Valley Forge. It was with Jackson at New Orleans, Teddy Roosevelt rode its broad back up San Juan Hill, Pershing found it most comforting in the Argonne Forest and it spoke from the lips of MacArthur at Bataann. If Mr. Truman is wrong in his contentions, then why the blood-soaked bat-

tlefields throughout the ages? The American men who died were of all races, and they believed that they gave their lives that men might have the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

Negro schools remain inadequate, Negro transit service is abominable, Negro recreation is nil. Negroes are still deprived of full citizenship. Negro housing is a menace to the entire population. Negro justice in the courts should be labeled "For Negroes." But there is one score that the Negro can be justly proud that he shares equally with the white man, and that is the little matter of taxes.

There's yet time to rectify some of these evils. Will we stand up, face the mirror, employ the surgeon of self-analysis and remove from our eyes the cataracts of prejudice?

Yes, I am a Negro. Maybe by the time the Jefferson County Board of Registrars meets again I will have learned enough to be trusted with the ballot.

H. S. NORRIS.
1306 Sixth Avenue, South.

Dixie Solons Gain Hope of Delaying Senate Gag on Civil Rights Debate

By JACK BELL

WASHINGTON, March 21—(AP)—Dixie Democrats came up with the fresh hope Sunday that they may be able to beat off first attempts to limit Senate debate on civil rights bills.

Their hope was built on the results of quiet lobbying for anti-gag rule votes among the Republicans and Western Democrats.

Even the most optimistic of the Southerners conceded, however, that at least one of the anti-lynching, anti-poll tax and anti-job discrimination proposals now pending is likely to be passed.

They say they are afraid they can't hold the line against repeated attempts to gag debate.

Meanwhile at Tuskegee, Ala., Sunday Negroes answered the white South's revolt against the civil rights program with a renewed demand for racial equality.

First, a seven-State regional conference of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People adopted a policy statement denouncing discrimination in education and voting and insisting on the "right of personal safety."

Delegates also condemned recent activities of the Ku Klux Klan in Georgia and called the KKK a "terrorist organization."

Later they heard Walter White, NAACP Executive Secretary from New York, brand the Southern rebellion as a "cheap political trick" and call for a vigorous drive toward "battering down existing racial barriers" as well as rejecting all new schemes for segregation.

The conference in a body and White, in his address, both protested against the education compact adopted by Southern States to set up regional schools for Negroes seeking college training.

The NAACP policy statement was described by Emory O. Jackson, Birmingham, as the Negroes' reply to the white Southerners' furor over Mr. Truman's racial stand. Jackson was chairman of the Policy Committee.

The anti-poll tax measure gets an airing before the Senate Rules Committee in two-day hearings beginning Monday. Sen. McKellar, Democrat, Tennessee, and Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina will lead off the opposition witnesses.

The anti-lynching measure still is in the hands of a judiciary subcommittee headed by Sen. Ferguson, Republican Michigan. GOP members may bring it up first—either in April or May.

That will be the signal for a filibuster by the Southerners. Republican leaders may let the talk run along a few days and then bring in a petition to put the cloture rule in effect. Under this rule each Senator is limited to an hour's speech and then there is a vote.

The Southerners need outside help to stop the adoption of this rule by the required two-thirds vote. They have a minimum of 21 votes. Need 10 or 12 more among Democrats outside the South or Republicans.

Sen. McCarran Democrat, Nevada, who has voted with the Southerners in the past, indicated he will go along again.

But Sen. Millikin, Republican, Colorado, who sided with the Dixie members when they got enough vote to block the gag rule in 1946 debate on the anti-poll tax proposal, was noncommittal.

Each cloture vote stands on its own merits, so far as he is concerned, he said.

Even if they get enough votes to keep the debate open, one Southerner pointed out that they can't get a civil rights bill off the Senate's docket except by unanimous consent or by a majority vote.

If Republican leaders decided to hold the Senators' noses to the grindstone, the debate would develop into a physical test. Even 21 Senators, allowed two speeches each, will wear out in time, all agree.

'Constitutional 'Rights Favored by Baptists

Dr. Duke K. McCall, Executive Secretary of the Southern Baptist Convention, declared here Sunday that Southern Baptists favor full constitutional rights for Negroes, including the right to vote and adequate wages in healthful working conditions.

Dr. McCall used the subject "Equal—Under God."

He added that "equality as an absolute standard on this earth is impossible," and added that "the very recognition that absolute equality is to be found only at the throne of God lays a heavy responsibility upon the churches of God to represent Him in his attitude toward the inequalities of life's actual experience."

"Rights" Confab "Hot Potato" In State Politics

It was anybody's guess Thursday whether or not either of Georgia's political factions would jump on the "revolt" bandwagon stemming from the South's upheaval over President Harry S. Truman's controversial civil rights program. This was viewed after the Herman Talmadge-controlled State Democratic leadership balked at sponsoring a Dixie Convention to protest the legislation.

The "hot potato" and "buck passing" was evident in the action of State Chairman James S. Peters refusing a bid from Mississippi Democratic Chairman Herbert Holmes to help sponsor the long-awaited and almost petered out protest assembly which was spearheaded by Fielding Wright, Governor of Mississippi, at the Southern Governors' Conference several weeks ago at Wakulla Springs, Fla. The Governors' Conference refused to take the lead in the revolt attempt.

Peters had "no comment" on whether he would attend the session scheduled for Jackson, Mississippi, April 12.

THOMPSON DECLINES

Previously, Acting Governor Melvin E. Thompson had declined to take the leadership in any revolt against the Democratic Party and is generally credited with heading off a move in that direction initiated at the Governors' Conference.

Questioned about the proposed convention, Thompson said the controversy over what to do about civil rights is for Peters to determine as Chairman of the State Democratic Party. Since the court has ruled the Acting Governor is not a party leader, Thompson said he doesn't plan to attend the Democratic National Convention or other political conventions this summer.

Last week, Gov. Thompson joined five other Southern Governors in pledging a last ditch fight against the re-election of President Truman, but Thompson made the reservation that he was not speaking for the Democratic Party in Georgia.

The call for the "Revolt Convention" was slated for Wednesday.

Thompson Policy

Editor Constitution: "Return Trooper Killer to Defy Lynch-Mongers" headlines The Constitutions's story of the March 6 edition in re the recent murder of GBI Agent, Garland Fields.

As a damn Yankee, Republican, ex-Ft. Benning GI, and subscriber to The Atlanta Constitution, I would like to write a few words of comment. When the Boston papers first ran accounts of the Fields shooting and of Acting Gov. Thompson's effecting a transfer of the prisoners so as to thwart proponents of Federal anti-lynch legislation, I was definitely under the impression that the young people charged with the crime were Negroes. Imagine my surprise, when a picture on the front page of The Constitution's March 5 edition showed the apprehended youngsters to be white.

Maybe I am naive, but there seems to be something psychologically unsound about a Georgia government policy that makes political capital of an improbability. There might occur circumstances, either brutal or sadistic, under which white men might be incited to act as the law with respect to one of their own race. However, I don't believe the murder of the GBI agent falls into this category. Most intelligent white people would be satisfied to allow justice to take its own course: namely, a fair and impartial trial and sentence.

The question rising in my mind is whether four Negro youths would have been transferred to the scene of their alleged crime with as much equanimity as the four white youths were? One can't answer that question, but one can surmise. The Monroe incident is still fresh in the public mind.

From the point-of-view of democratic ideals, there is nothing fundamentally wrong with civil rights legislation. The issue boils down to this: Is the Negro an American, a human being, an individual entitled to justice in the courts, equal job opportunity, and equal educational facilities, or is he an inferior animal a la "White Supremacy."

The Thompson policy represented by the headline quoted in the first paragraph of this letter does not help in promoting intelligent understanding of the problem, although The Constitution, as far as editorial comment on the minority issue is concerned, has been progressive.

RALPH H. WYLIE, JR.

Ayer, Mass.

Good Column

Editor Constitution: Your magnanimity is clearly expressed in just the act of having for a recent column the views of an intelligent, straightforward Negress. Now, I like Atlanta better.

I've let Negroes enter busses ahead of me just to prevent "dividing and undividing," which is a waste of energy and disconcerting. Of course, I expected some K. K. K. to bop me on the head.

By the way, please, by all means, retain W. Pegler, as the majority of us feel that if it is allowed to happen, it's not too bad to print.

Atlanta. D. WILLSON.

Negro Race

Editor Constitution: Congratulations on your courage, under the apparent state of public opinion in Atlanta, in publishing the letter of Mr. Alvin M. Jones. It is to be wondered if the seemingly educated people who make so much noise about equality of the races have ever read a good book on ethnology or even looked up the Negro race in a good encyclopedia.

R. J. M.
Thomasville

10 1948 PM on CR

POLITICAL FEUDS GROW ON CIVIL RIGHTS ISSUE

GOP and Democratic Fights Seen Developing Over Truman's Message

By ANTHONY LEVIERO

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 7—The "secessionist" tempest aroused among Southern Democrats in Congress this week by President Truman's message on civil rights was accompanied by a sober undertone from Dixie editors.

For the Senators and the Representatives, their role in this first skirmish of a bitterly controversial issue was comparatively easy. It was chiefly oratorical. They denounced the proposed program all-out, threatened to form a Southern Democratic party and to withhold electoral votes and party funds.

The role of the editors was more difficult. Their problem was to steer a course of reason between high-minded civil rights principles in the abstract and the difficult every-day realities of the Negro problem. In chorus they pleaded that Mr. Truman should let the states and the communities handle the race problems. They asserted that progress was being made and would continue if the solution was left to the Southland.

Observers familiar with the mood of Congress are inclined to believe that the issue will ultimately be left where the Southern editors say it should be. They see a possibility for enactment of only minute parts of the racial portion of the program, which is the greatest portion. This focuses almost wholly on the Negro and his position in American society.

Fair Prospects

Nevertheless, there are portents to indicate that the issue will not be quickly cast aside. In fact, it is expected to provoke one of the bitterest wrangles of this Presidential year.

The prospects are considered fair for strengthening two remnants of post-Civil War rights statutes. Mr. Truman has recommended that Section 51 of the Criminal Code be tightened to permit prosecution of even one person who interferes with another's civil rights. At present it covers only conspiracies by two or more persons. The other, Section 52, is aimed at police brutality and would be strengthened.

Political Motives

Chieftains of both political parties see many advantages in the espousal of civil rights legislation. In nine key states—California, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Ohio and Pennsylvania—they would each like to get the very substantial votes of the Negroes and other minorities.

It is not doubted in the capital that the storm from the South was expected and weighed in advance in the Democratic party councils before the President sent his message to Capitol Hill. The charge of political motivation has been made against President Truman, by Republicans as well as by the Southerners of his own party.

Mr. Truman's partisans respond, however, that he laid the basis for his present program as far back as Dec. 5, 1946, when he formed his Committee on Civil Rights. His advisers say he means business, that he does not mean to rest on his message of last Monday.

Opposition Anticipated

It has been learned that President Truman intends to follow through soon, and strongly, with legislative proposals embracing the ten points of his program—this in spite of the fact that Democrats as well as Republicans have introduced a welter of bills dealing with the most controversial phases of civil rights.

Bitter-end debate and filibuster are expected on these points of the President's program: anti-lynching and anti-poll-tax legislation; prohibition of discrimination in interstate transportation facilities; establishment of a Fair Employment Practices Commission; and home rule for the District of Columbia, which involves difficult segregation practices here.

Less red-hot but contentious are his requests for a permanent commission on civil rights, a joint Congressional committee on civil rights, and a civil rights division in the Department of Justice, as well as his plea for strengthening the present meager Federal civil rights statutes.

Genesis of Program

Students of the civil rights issue say that President Truman is carrying forward a program which has a New Deal genesis. They trace its beginnings to the civil liberties unit established in the Department of Justice in 1939 by the then Attorney General Frank Murphy, who is now an associate justice of the Supreme Court.

The aim of the program, in Mr. Murphy's words, was "the aggressive protection of fundamental rights inherent in a free people."

In other words, the passive philosophy of the Bill of Rights—protection of the individual from tyrannical acts of Government—was to be supplemented by positive Federal action against persons or political entities which violated the liberty of the individual.

President Truman's own view is that the Federal Government should have jurisdiction in the twilight zone between the states and the Federal Government where law enforcement sometimes breaks down.

Enactment of the President's proposals, some observers point out, would put on the statute books as imposing a Federal civil rights structure as was erected by means of a series of civil rights acts passed between 1866 and 1875.

The first of these was intended to eliminate the post-Civil War "black codes" by which the Southern states sought to restrict Negroes. The second was designed to assure the right to vote to all citizens, regardless of race or color. Another act was aimed against lynching, and one passed in 1875 prohibited Jim Crow practices.

Little Left of Laws

Not long after the last of these bills was enacted, however, the Supreme Court and Congress began whittling them down. Now only mere fragments of these statutes of the reconstruction period remain on the law books and it is these fragments which have been used in prosecuting civil rights cases by the Civil Rights Section, as it is now called, of the Justice Department.

Students of law and historians have written that post-Civil War program failed largely, as far as the courts were concerned, through lack of regard for the Constitution in enforcing it. Another factor arose from the abuses of the military occupation of the South.

In drafting measures to back up his special message, President Truman is said to have laid down two major conditions: that they should be sound enough to be sustained by the Supreme Court; and that as far as possible they should be in a form to give minimum offense in the Southern States.

Administration forces, in the face of President Truman's determination to press his program, await the action of Congress with some trepidation. The Republicans might select one or a few civil rights proposals and push for their passage. If they should be defeated they could blame the Southern filibuster; if they passed they could beckon to the minority groups.

By election day the score on enactment will have been recorded. The forecast is that it will be small and the promises on the hustings will be large.

"IN THE OPEN AGAIN"

Hutton in The Philadelphia Inquirer

MISSISSIPPI GOVERNOR CALLS PROTEST RALLY

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

JACKSON, Miss., Feb. 5—Before leavin gtoday for a conference of Southern Governors at Tallahassee, Fla., Gov. Fielding Wright issued a call for a statewide mass meeting of the Democrats of Misssissippi to be held in the city auditorium here next Thursday.

The purpose of the meeting will be to express resentment against President Truman's message asking oCngress to enact fair employment practices, anti-poll tax, anti-lynching and anti-segregation laws.

The Governor stated in the call that he wanted everey voting precinct in the state represented at the meeting, and addeed:

"W will take the leadership in the South and on Feb. 12 we will mobilize for an all-out fight. I am confident that this militant leadership on the part of Misssissippi, the most Democratic state in America, will spread like wildfire and sweep before it all those who today stand as enemies to our institutions and our way o flife."

JACKSON, Miss., Feb. 5 (AP)—The Mississippi House of Representatives endorsed Governor Wright's call for a meeting Feb. 12 in a concurrent resolution today saying the members would attend in a body.

You can train for the job you like best, with tax-free pay, in the United States Coast Guard. Apply now to your nearest Coast Guard recruiting office

PRESIDENT IS HOST TO PARTY LEADERS

Luncheon at White House Fails to Cement Breach Caused by His Stand on Civil Rights

By CHARLES HURD

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, March 12—A White House luncheon today helped cement cordiality among the members of the executive committee of the Democratic National Committee but had little obvious effect in closing the breach in the party caused by the battle over the President's civil rights' program.

President and Mrs. Truman entertained the committee members in company with all members of the Cabinet, except Secretary of Defense James Forrestal, at the conclusion of a two-day meeting of the executive committee. Mr. Forrestal was absent because he was endeavoring, at a meeting at the Key West naval base, to hammer unanimity on a defense program out of divisions between his subsidiary departments of Army, Navy and Air Force.

Those who attended the luncheon said that Mr. Truman made no move toward backing down from the civil rights' issue which he precipitated. Mrs. Leonard Thomas, National Committeewoman from Alabama, quoted Mr. Truman as saying during the conversation: "I stand on what I said; I have no changes to make."

Everybody's President

Mrs. Thomas quoted the President as adding: "I do not take back one word of what I have said. I stand on the Constitution of the United States. I am everybody's President. We must stand together and stay out of war."

The committeewoman, echoing a stand already taken by the two Alabama Senators, Lister Will and John J. Sparkman, said, however, that the Democratic party must not split over this issue.

"We're absolutely going to stand together," she went on. "The main issues of the day are peace and prices."

Earlier in the day the Alabama Senators had pleaded for unity as part of the groundwork for a meeting, scheduled to occur here tomorrow, of the Governors of the Southern States.

"We should make every effort," Senator Sparkman said. "to iron out our differences within the party before we take any drastic steps. The South will be missing an opportunity if it doesn't take this chance to bargain with the party."

In the meantime, a morning session of the executive committee, held privately, was overshadowed entirely by discussion of civil rights. There were no votes on issues, since the meeting was purely for discussion.

One Silent on Civil Rights

Joe L. Blythe, of Charlotte, N. C., commented to reporters that he believed he was the only member present who did not discuss civil rights.

"Everybody else had something to say about it but me," he said.

Frank McHale, Indiana committeeman, emphasized that the executive committee has not a policy-making group, while Robert S. Kerr, former governor of Oklahoma, said that if any announcement was to be made Senator J.

Howard McGrath, chairman of the National Committee, would make it. Senator McGrath hurried from the White House luncheon to his seat in the capitol where he remained throughout the afternoon. He made no statement.

In the meantime, party leaders were waiting for reactions tomorrow to a report to be made to the Southern governors by a delegation which conferred with Senator McGrath yesterday. It was understood that he declined to yield ground on the civil rights issue, while pleading for loyalty to President Truman as standard bearer of the party.

Observers noted that absentees from the committee meeting here included two of the best-known city leaders in the Democratic party: Edward J. Flynn, of the Bronx, in New York, and Edward J. Kelly, of Chicago.

Among those present was Representative John W. McCormack, of Massachusetts, minority whip of the House, who figured today in a temporary crisis in Massachusetts party politics which has resolved itself while he ate his lunch.

Mr. McCormack this morning withdrew his candidacy as a delegate to the Democratic National Convention, to be held in Philadelphia in June, for the stated reason that Mayor James M. Curley, of Boston, headed the slate of candidates while having espoused the candidacy of General Douglas MacArthur. In early afternoon, however, Mayor Curley announced at Boston that he was withdrawing in favor of Representative McCormack as head of the Massachusetts delegate slate.

"I am pleased with the action taken by Mayor Curley," Mr. McCormack said.

[En]thusiasm For 'Ike' [G]rowing In Dixie

WASHINGTON, March 20.—(U.P.)— Anti-Truman Southern Democrats showed growing enthusiasm Saturday night for Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower.

But some of them said they would not support even the war hero president of Columbia University if he should insist on a civil rights program.

Eisenhower has said he will not run for the presidential nomination of any party.

But Dixie Democrats rebelling against their party's leadership over President Truman's civil rights proposals are looking for someone around whom to rally.

Rep. William M. Colmer (D), Mississippi, leader of a Southern bloc fighting anti-lynch and other civil rights legislation, said he thought "a strong man like Eisenhower" could seal the party split and carry the South.

Third District Negroes Wire Truman Their O.K

Officials of the Third District Negro Democratic organization yesterday wired President Truman their approval of his message on civil rights. They said "a large group of colored citizens of Louisville salutes your recent message," and promised that "your determination to stand firm will be remembered in November."

Signers were Allen L. Bridwell, chairman; Carlyle Lively, secretary, and Charles W. Moore, organizing chairman.

DuBois Backs Rally

Dr. W. E. DuBois, noted historian, writer and lecturer, advised the Civil Rights Congress of New York, yesterday, that he is in deep sympathy with the objects of the mass rally to defend the civil rights of the foreign born, to be held under the joint sponsorship of CRCNY and the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, at Manhattan Center Wednesday evening.

Civil Rights Stand

Editor, Constitution: In Wednesday's Constitution I was quoted in an Associated Press dispatch at an Alabama meeting of the Alabama Division of the Southern Regional Council on Feb. 17 that in the civil rights controversy "laws to force the South's hand would only cause ill will and conflict between the races."

Actually, the Council's position is that, in the absence of responsible undertaking by the South to enforce itself the fundamental civil rights of its people, Federal legislation will be administered with poor success. What we would like to see is Southern determination to take up full State responsibilities. If the South just fusses, and doesn't do its own duty, the Nation must act as best it can. But we are all better off if the South will, on its own, implement the basic civil rights in protection of person and citizenship and in opportunity which the Nation and the world expect of us.

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
Executive Director.

Rayburn Votes to Go Against Civil-Rights Bills

Denison, Tex., March 8 (AP)—House Minority Leader Sam Rayburn of Texas, today announced that he is opposed to and will vote against the so-called civil-rights program asked by President Truman.

In a letter to The Denison Herald which he authorized to be published, the former Speaker said he was "against any bill that has any tendency toward crippling our segregation laws."

Rayburn, as Democratic leader, is the person normally expected to push President Truman's programs through the House.

Truman's Message To Congress

To the Editor of The News:

President Truman's message to Congress aroused the South, as any sensible and thinking person would know. What does the president advocate? Abolition of segregation laws by federal compulsion, federal anti-lynching statute, abolition of poll tax, scrapping the sovereignty of the states, federal employment control, et cetera.

In fact, the president advocates everything contrary to the cherished traditions of the South. His message is enough to cause George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Robert E. Lee, Stonewall Jackson, John T. Morgan, Edmund W. Pettus and Oscar W. Underwood to turn over in their graves.

If President Truman is so concerned about equal rights, why does he not turn to the rescue of that remnant of less than 1,000,000 Indians who have been segregated and driven into Indian reservations? The Indian is of a brave, honorable and proud race. In every war the Indian has bravely fought beside us. The Indian GI has no rights under that bill. He owns no land, he cannot build a home; he is a ward of the government; he cannot vote and is denied the privileges enjoyed by a citizen. Discrimination! A black shadow of shame, neglect, disgrace, broken treaties and promises stretches across the Indian reservations.

I am doubtful of the sincerity of President Truman. This is not his first attempt to grab groups of voters through demagogy and double talk. If there ever was a time when we need a wise statesman-president, it is now.

We have not had a Democratic Party since Woodrow Wilson. The South should not form a third party or anything else of a radical nature. We must fight for right within the party. The thing to do is to defeat the nomination of Truman. But they say, "Whom have we got?" My answer to that is, "Almost anybody would do better than what we have got."

Let's keep up the fight for state rights, state sovereignty, against concentration of governmental powers and against encroachments by the federal government upon the rights of the states. All of these things are contrary to the provisions and the spirit of the Constitution of the United States.

Gadsden, Ala. L. B. RAINEY.

WAKE UP

Editor, The Advertiser:

I knew the Southern Democrats were stirred to the core by the Presidents "civil rights message," but until I wrote the letter you printed the other day, I had no idea the feeling was so intense and so general. Since my letter was published I have had letters and personal contacts from all sides commending my attitude and saying they wouldn't vote for Truman under any circumstances.

Is it possible that the officials of our State Democratic Party are all going to just sit like a clam and say nothing, much less do something?

If a man's roof was on fire would he sit on his porch and read and just let it burn?

I am in favor of taking some kind of concerted action before it gets too late. If we do not have officials with the authority and backbone to do something let's try to get someone.

I am in favor of withholding all our campaign contributions until some satisfactory agreement is reached.

It seems to me a bad thing to furnish the northern part of the Democratic Party funds to elect someone who has no regard for our rights or traditions but who is perfectly willing to sell the South "down the river" to gain a few northern Negro votes.

We have been a Blind Solid South too long. Let's wake up and look to our own interests awhile!

DR. H. C. FOUNTAIN.
Evergreen, Ala.

Byrd Says South Faces Rocky Road In 'Rights' Fight

WASHINGTON, March 7.—(AP)—Doubt of the outcome of the fight to block civil rights bills was voiced Sunday by Senator Byrd (D), Virginia. He said Southern senators are up against a "very difficult" task.

Lured by the "presidential votes of the big city pressure groups," Byrd said, both the "national Democratic party organization, as welle as the Republicans, would sacrifice Southern traditions and institutions—and, the Federal constitution itself."

Interviewed on the raido, Byrd said that both national parties are bidding for the votes of "minority groups in certain northern and western states which are regarded as having the balance of power."

President Truman asked Congress to pass anti-poll tax, anti-lynch, anti-job discrimination bills and others. Southerners assailed the idea as an illegal invasion of their rights. Asked about their chances of passage, Byrd replied:

". . . what the results will be, none can now predict, . . . our road is a very difficult one."

The legislation "is admittedly aimed at the South," he said.

He said the legislation, "admittedly aimed at the South," would impose a system of force like that after the War Between the States "with such disastrous results in racial hatred and bloodshed."

Give Them a Chance

Editor Constitution: I've just read your column about the Negro woman and as an American I want to support this woman's views.

The people of America, especially the Southerners, claim to be Christians. My friends, show me one place in the Bible, the Christian's lawbook, where we have the right to deny these Negroes a chance to live upright, respectable lives. These people are American citizens and as American citizens they have the right to a good education, a good job, and the chance to live a respectable life.

Some Negroes are mean, yes; but so are some whites. What would we say if we were judged by the deeds of a few of us? What would we say if we were denied a good education, a good job, and the right to emerge from a life of poverty, filth and nastiness to a clean, respectable life? Wouldn't we grumble and growl about it? Yes!

Let's give these people a chance, a good education, a good job, and citizenship rights.

Dahlonega. NELLIE GIBSON.

Capital Straws

Look for the State Department to release a new set of captured Nazi documents on German-Soviet relations dealing with separate peace negotiations during the war . . . The Alaskan Democratic convention obtained White House clearance before it directed its six delegates to support a ticket of Truman and O'Mahoney . . . Don't be surprised if Jim Farley emerges in the role of harmonizer in the Democratic party . . . Another aftermath of the President's civil-rights stand is a quiet but determined Southern attack on David Niles, the only holdover from Roosevelt's White House staff and Truman's adviser on minority problems . . . Navy Under Secretary W. John Kenney of California may quit soon. He wants to return to private life.

The Equality Question

Editor Constitution: I cannot forego the opportunity to ask a question which has been raised by the communication of Joseph Godbye, Jr., in a recent issue of The Constitution.

In his disparaging ridicule of Southern heritage and tradition, which no one expects him to comprehend or respect, he infers that when the Negro acquires an education, he loses his status of inferiority to the white man.

That inference prompts this question: Why has it been necessary for the Negro to avail himself of the white man's abilities and associations to attain even a civilized status, not to mention his boast of equality in any field of endeavor?

The Negro first came to America as a savage in 1619. In Africa he had an opportunity to build a great nation. Did he do it? Africa is still cannibalistic in spots. The white man came to America, a virgin continent, too. Today it is the world's leading nation. The comparison answers the question of equality—if, indeed, there is any question.

Atlanta. ALVIN M. JONES.

Tactics of the Police

Editor Constitution: Yesterday two Atlanta detectives came to my home seeking information about someone. I willingly gave any information I had, but I was first subjected to Hitler-like tactics by these men. When I opened my door in response to their knock, they forced themselves past me without any explanation or presentation of credentials. When I protested this forceful entry, the men began using vile and obscene language and still showed no credentials. One of the men even threatened to strike me, although it was apparent that I am an expectant mother.

Maybe we don't need a civil rights bill, but if these men represent Southern law, then as Negroes we have no protection by that law, but actually need protection from the law's administrators, whether that protection comes from God, the Federal Government or both.

Please withhold my name as I am afraid of being subjected to further rebuke for having written this protesting letter.

ATLANTA CITIZEN.

10 1948

Face to Face

No Adjournment of Congress Until Equal Rights Bills Are Passed!

By Benjamin J. Davis

PENDING in Congress are three measures embodying principles fought for by the Negro people, their labor and progressive allies, over a span of many years. They are the anti-poll tax, anti-lynch and FEPC bills, although the latter are in bad need of teeth.

Both major parties are attempting to win the Negro people on the cheapest possible terms, that is, without enacting these measures or without doing anything to check the increasing lynch terror and the aggressive invasion of Negro and other minority rights. Truman acts as if his civil rights message — the words alone—are sufficient to capture the Negro vote. The GOP feels that their names attached to the pending bills are enough to start a mass movement of Negroes to the Republican Party. Both will be disappointed.

Four main factors account for the introduction of these bills and for Truman's civil rights message: first, 1948 is election year; secondly, the moral bankruptcy and crisis of the Administration's bipartisan foreign policy; thirdly, the high militancy of the Negro people backed by their allies; and fourthly, the developing Wallace-for-President and Third Party movements.

• • •

WHEN impressionable liberals were overcome with ecstatic self-delusion, the Communists soberly pointed out that the civil rights report was words, instead of deeds; that it was sheer election demagogy; that the sound observations and proposals of the report were contradicted fundamentally by its red-baiting; and further, that these proposals were primarily camouflage for the Administration's moves toward a fascist police state at home and imperialist war abroad.

To date, the record shows that the only parts of the so-called civil rights report which Truman is implementing are its red-baiting sections, and its schemes to militarize the country. At the same time, the administration is attempting to intimidate, arrest or deport those Negro and white labor and Communist leaders who for a quarter of a century have been fighting for the civil rights that Johnny-come-lately Truman now says he is for.

As a result, even the panicky liberals and the right-wing labor and social-democratic leaders are hysterically disclaiming Truman, crawling on their bellies for the militarist Eisenhower to rescue them—and have virtually forgotten about civil rights and all other major election issues.

• • •

BUT neither the demagogy of Truman, the hypocrisy of the Republicans, nor the confusion of the liberals should divert anyone from the necessity for compelling passage of the anti-lynch, anti-poll tax and FEPC measures. On the contrary, now that Truman and the GOP give lip-service to Negro rights, they should be made to come across and pass these bills. Negroes and other minorities are quite serious about civil liberties even though Truman and the GOP regard the issue as a political football.

Yet there is a disturbing hesitancy in developing a movement to get these measures enacted. This hesitancy is to be found among some of the most advanced Negro forces, and among some third party labor-progressive circles. The great mass of Negroes, however, desire to see those bills become law and are struggling in that direction.

Communists, above all, must voice and effectively act upon that desire. Unless labor and progressives, Negro and white, strengthen and unify the movement behind these bills, they are courting isolation from large sections of the Negro people. They will be failing also to recognize the broad non-partisan, people's character of this issue.

It is understandable that this hesitancy is due in part to the healthy instinct to avoid promoting illusions in Truman or the GOP. But the other extreme of being indifferent to the fate of these measures merely because they are sponsored however insincerely, by the hypocritical leaders of the corrupt two-party system, must be avoided also. An effective way to dispel illusions in Truman and the GOP, so far as Negro rights are concerned, is to put them on the spot to pass these bills.

EVERYONE knows—and knows why — the Republicans and Democratic parties are not going to mobilize the broad masses of the people to press these measures. That task peculiarly fits the Wallace-for-President and third party movements which will be even more dramatically setting the pace on deeds instead of words. Not only because of its essentially sound program do the Negro people, Jewish Americans and other minorities have a natural orientation towards Wallace and the third party, but also because of the possibility of victories against discrimination now on a local, state and national scale. Grass-roots struggle for achievement now around concrete issues will transform this natural orientation into tangible organization, votes, and into a solid third party built from the ground up. This is the preparation now for the electoral victory of the people Nov. 2.

There isn't much time. Congress may adjourn in the middle of May. There ought to be a "mobilize for equal rights" month and a mass national non-partisan lobby to Washington, of Negroes and their supporters, well before the end of the present session. No adjournmnet of Congress until the anti-poll tax, anti-lynch and FEPC bills are made law!

State Civil Rights Program Asked By Methodist Leader

Montgomery, Ala.

A Methodist minister called on the South Friday for a civil rights program through state action instead of federal compulsion.

"So far the South has taken only a negative position" on President Truman's plan, said the Rev. A. S. Turnipseed, pastor of the Dexter Avenue Methodist Church, Montgomery.

He outlined a "positive program" advocating:

1. Repeal of the poll tax by each of the seven states which still have it.

2. Better job opportunities for Negroes both in state government and private industry, without an FEPC law.

3. Federal aid for education so that $140 a year can be spent for every pupil. "This bases federal aid on the needs of each child," he said, "and thereby removes the race issue."

4. A congressional appropriation to help build new regional colleges for both races.

5. More modern courts and legal machinery to give justice to everyone regardless of race.

Asks Punishment

On the last point, Rev. Turnipseed called especially for "prompt punishment of those responsible for mob violence . . . whether it be racketeering in Chicago or lynching in the South."

This should be done by federal law, if necessary, but enforced equally in all parts of the country, he said, and Congress should wait until after the November election to discuss it.

"The lyncher in the South today does not stand as high in the social scale," the minister declared, "as the racketeer in the Northern city who establishes a business monopoly in beer or gambling by building corrupt political machines and by the use of intimidation and even murder."

The Rev. Turnipseed made known his views in a letter to members of the Alabama Conference Chapter of the Methodist Federation For Social Action. As chapter president, he sent out the letter in advance of a "civil rights" meeting of the group to be held here in June.

Discussing job opportunities for Negroes, the minister suggested, for example, a Negro division of the state police and Negro guards in prisons where only members of their race are held.

More Jobs

Private industry can help, too, he said by making more jobs available to Negroes, especially in new plants.

Instead of an FEPC law, he said, Congress can do more for the South "by stimulating competition in private enterprise, by wise tax policies and by a housing program."

"There must be a course of action for better race relations upon which all conscientious elements in the South can agree," the Rev. Turnipseed said. "Few would disagree that the place for such action is at the state level."

Success would have two results, he said:

"Other sections of the nation would gain encouragement as they also deal with race problems" and the South would be free to give its attention to the "gravest issue before the nation—international peace."

Civil Liberties Leader Goes On Trial Today

George Marshall, chairman of the Civil Rights Congress, goes on trial for contempt of Congress today before the United States District Court in the District of Columbia.

The House of Representatives cited Marshall for contempt on August 1, 1946, after he had failed to provide the Un-American Activities Committee with a list of financial contributors to the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, an organization which he headed prior to organization of the Civil Rights Congress.

Marshall held that this demand of the committee was unwarranted and solely for the purpose of adding to its notorious blacklist the names of many Americans whose support of the rights of Negroes clashed sharply with the white supremacy views of those of the committee's leading member, Rep. John E. Rankin of Mississippi. He also charged that he had been subpoenaed in a committee effort to smear the federation, harass its supporters, and defeat the public campaign in which it was engaged.

Civil Rights

Editor Constitution: Ordinarily people try to suppress or hide anything in their lives or habits or thinking which is bias and not approved by society and the laws of religion. They may be guilty but it is not desired that their guilt be publically known. Free men. If any other interpretation In the present political up or construction may be placed heaval, more political than any- upon this bold, outspoken, almost thing else, it is rather strange that bragging attitude, towards justice people are deliberately advertising and decency as advocated in Pres- their wrongs, and wrongs which ident Truman's Civil-Right pro- there must be more than a sus- posals, I just can't see it, motives picion of guilt. To boldly adver- whatever to the contrary—words tise the fact that one does not and actions are convincing.

CHAS. W. KELLY.
Tuskegee, Ala.

By Elliott

Civil Rights Plan Support Held Lacking

Washington Post

The Truman Administration was accused of failing to give full support to its own civil rights program by Elliott Roosevelt last night.

Roosevelt was a surprise speaker at a mass meeting of the Washington Chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People at All Souls' Unitarian Church, 16th and Harvard sts. nw.

Washington D.C.

He declared bluntly, "I don't think the present Administration is being absolutely frank with the world and us. The Administration has the power to make a start" toward making the civil rights program work.

Sun.

Roosevelt said, as a first step, the Administration could issue an executive order to "wipe out discrimination in the armed forces."

As a second step, President Truman, who "has a lot of influence in Washington," could come forward and tell the people of the world Washington is going to be a democratic capital." 4-19-48

Roosevelt said that if the President did this, "I might be willing to back water on whom I am going to support in the campaign."

Faye Emerson, Roosevelt's actress wife who was a scheduled speaker, preceded her husband on the program marking the conclusion of the chapter's membership drive.

The Post

She declared, "We have a sacred responsibility to make democracy work in this country. It is the most important part of any defense program. It is more important than guns and bombs."

Senator Dennis Shavez (D., N. Mex.), gently rapped Roosevelt's suggestions to the Administration, saying "don't forget the prior President had 13 years to issue such an executive order and there wasn't any. 4-19-48

"Let's not get excited by a suggestion, perhaps made in excitement," Chavez said. "I am sorry the young man who spoke before he made the suggestion.

The Roosevelts left immediately after their talks and did not hear the Senator. Roosevelt has expressed himself in favor of Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower for President.

Washington D.C.

Representative Frank B. Keefe (R., Wis.) said the problem of civil rights is "going to be solved by intelligent white people and intelligent Negro people working together."

CIVIL RIGHTS DRIVE SEEN TALMADGE AID

The Times, New York, N.Y.

Dabney of Richmond Tells Editors South's Papers Hold Truman Moves Too Fast

Fri. 4-16-48

By LEWIS WOOD

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, April 15—Many Southerners believe that the election of Herman Talmadge as Governor of Georgia has been "almost guaranteed" by President Truman's recent message on civil rights, Virginius Dabney, editor of The Richmond Times-Dispatch, said to the American Society of Newspaper Editors today. Talmadge forces were using the message to feed the fire, he addd.

Mr. Dabney did not know of "a single Southern newspaper which wholly approves" the President's program. He said the newspapers of that region were generally in favor of the broad objectives sought, but deplored the speed with which they were demanded, and the details asked. Southern editors, for example, opposed a Federal anti-lynching law, because the crime of lynching was almost wiped out, and the statute would have an inflamatory effect.

Discussing the altered feeling toward Mr. Truman, Mr. Dabney said a number of Southern editors might support a Republican nominee, especially if he were Vandenburg or Stassen.

Vigil on Bureaus Is Urged

The Times

When the editors opened their annual convention with about 350 present, President N. R. Howard, editor of The Cleveland News, asked for "vigilance" against bureaucratic encroachment on freedom of the press. He spoke of a recent proposal of a "government departmental committee" for Cabinet heads to classify information "on a scale of 'secret' down through 'confidential,'" and to discipline subordinates who violated this rule. The ASNE, Mr. Howard continued, asked President Truman about this; and the Executive replied: New York, N.Y.

"I never heard of the program to which you refer and I am very sure that such a program could not go into effect without my approval." Fri. 4-16-48

The society, Mr. Howard stated, accepted the reply as being "more reassuring than not and acknewledged it in that spirit." He added that nothing further had happened, but "it is entirely likely that this bureaucratic menace has not passed, nor will for some time, and I recommend vigilance on this issue."

During the day, an ASNE committee urged intensification of the Government's fight against Soviet propaganda. The committee, studying world dissemination of news, and headed by Hamilton Owens, editor of The Baltimore Sun, praised the State Department's cultural and information program for overseas consumption.

Would Give Wire File to OIE

The Times

The committee recommended that The Associated Press and United Press made their reports available to the Office of Information and Education. The committee said it did not suggest a permanent arrangement, but rather one "which will endure so long as the present crisis lasts." New York, N.Y.

It was, the committee continued, "the thirst for information and particularly the thirst behind the iron curtain" that made people turn on radios abroad for 'forbidden or suspect" broadcasts.

"It is important to be first with the news," the committee stated. "If the Russian broadcasters get the story first, they have time to distort it to suit their own purposes before we can get in with the accurate version." Fri.

George V. Allen, OIE director, told the convention he considered the "Voice of America" program as temporary, and that he wished to "work myself out of a job as rapidly as possible." However, he went on, his activities were "severely handicapped" by the lack of news of the two press associations. To support his statement, he sadi Tas, the Rusian new agency, had distorted Associated Press reports, but OIE was unable to correct these because it did not have the AP report. 4-16-48

Washington Perspective

PM, New York, N.Y., Thurs. 4-15-48

The GOP and Civil Rights

By I. F. Stone

WASHINGTON

Don't take too seriously the announcement that the Senate Republican Conference has decided on an all-out fight this session for Civil Rights legislation.

I. F. Stone

4-15-48

Of the three basic measures which have been kicking around Congress for many months—the Anti-Poll Tax Bill, the bill for a permanent FEPC, and anti-lynching legislation—only an anti-lynch measure stands a chance, and even this will pass, if at all, in as ineffective a form as possible.

But the Republicans in Congress will go through some vigorous motions on Civil Rights. They have two purposes in mind. One is to impress the Negro vote, which could prove decisive in a close election. The other is to widen the breach between President Truman and the Southern wing of the Democratic party.

Surrender Gracefully

PM

Once these purposes are achieved, the Republicans would like to surrender gracefully to another filibuster. Whether the Republicans can afford to do so this year is another matter. Part, at least, of Republican leadership seems to feel that some token measure at least must be passed at this sesion. A watered down anti-lynch bill seems to be favored by these strategists.

To understand the preference for anti-lynch legislation one must understand that FEPC and the poll tax are far from being purely sectional issues, arising from Southern prejudice and backwardness. The big business crowd in the North is on the whole as opposed to FEPC as are the Southerners in Congress.

Far-Sighted Minority

New York, N.Y.

The big businessmen who signed the Civil Rights report to the President speak only for a more liberal-minded and far-sighted minority. Most Northern business groups seem to regard the right to exercise racial discrimination in hiring and firing as basic to "free enterprise."

The steady penetration of Northern capital into the South has even given some Northern business interests a more "understanding" view of lynching.

Revealing Case

PM, New York, N.Y.

Leslie S. Perry, legislative representative of the NAACP in Washington, recently cited a revealing case in a letter to the Washington *Post*, protesting that newspaper's consistent opposition to anti-lynching legislation. Perry wrote that in Bronsville, Tex., a few Negroes tried to vote in the 1940 Presidential election.

In 1944 the NLRB scheduled an election in a Brownsville plant where all the non-supervisory employes were Negroes.

"The night before the election," Perry wrote, "the chief of police, along with other prominent local citizens, visited the Negro employes most active in organizing the union, told them that a CIO union was not wanted in the town, and warned them that there might be a repetition of the 1940 lynching. The next morning not a single employee showed up to cast a ballot."

While lynching is of course, deplorable, just an occasional wee little one may seem to some people not without salutary after effects. 4-15-48

The Negro and the South

The Courier-Journal

Noah J. Parsons is right about the privileges enjoyed by the Negroes in the Northern, Western and Eastern States. This being a democracy, this is no more than right. The Negroes are not forcing themselves on anyone there, so why should it happen here? It seems, however, that Mr. Parsons is fighting the Civil War all over again.

Give the persons of any race, creed or color the proper education, recreation, and the go-signal for the better things in life, put them in the same room, and by their voices he wouldn't know one from another. On the other hand, let the same persons be illiterate, and you have a mob and a lynching. We have spent enough money fighting "furriners" and Negroes to educate the whole United States and be living in harmony. Louisville, Ky.

Why is it so hard to understand that we have homes and families here and just want to be contented and free in the rights of citizenship? I know of some immigrants who came to this country and in two weeks they were almost deported for associating with colored people. Who is running whom, Mr. Parsons? There's no such thing as a Negro problem. It's a white problem. You started it. Do an about-face and it will be ended. It's possible.

Louisville. E. L. DOYLE.

Wed. 5-5-48

Recently your paper printed a letter in which the writer told all Negroes who didn't like the South to get out of it. I wish to point out the error of this writer's viewpoint by quoting the old proverb, "Don't kill the goose that lays the golden egg!" Do you imagine what would happen to our beloved Dixie if all the Negroes left the South? The South would lose a big labor supply. Big industries would go broke. They depend on Negroes for cheap labor and to fill dirty jobs. Better think it over! The South has always thrived on slavery.

Louisville. HARRY PUCKETT, JR.

Southern Revolt

Truman's Civil 'Rights' Program Spelled His Political Doom, In Opinion Of Dixie Leaders

BY FRED TAYLOR

Just what effect will the Southern revolt have on the final outcome of the Democratic National Convention at Philadelphia in July?

This question is asked repeatedly. Albert Stapp, Birmingham business man and American Legion leader, says the prompt and forceful action by the South has all but knocked President Truman out of the campaign picture.

Reason for this, of course, he says, is the president's so-called "civil rights" program, which touched off a prairie fire of resentment in the South.

TAYLOR

"It certainly now must be apparent to all, including the president," said Stapp, "that he has been practically eliminated."

* * *

HANDWRITING ON WALL—Genial, energetic Stapp, who has become one of Alabama's better speakers, probably has made more speeches on Americanism, in the state the last few years than anyone else.

In his campaign for Democratic delegate-at-large, Stapp has been up and down the state, addressing Legion meetings, knife-and-fork civic gatherings and generally enlivening the delegate race. Not even the tireless Folsom has made as many speeches as Stapp and it is not likely he will between now and May 4 simply because he won't have time.

Concerning the Southern revolt, Stapp says:

"The North, East and West, when they saw the handwriting on the wall indelibly written by Democrats of Alabama and other Southern states, quickly realized the jig was up for Mr. Truman. The rebellion against him that was touched off in the South has had its potent effect over the rest of the country."

* * *

"WHOLESOME EFFECT"—"I said in the beginning of this race that the revolt of Southern Democrats would have a wholesome effect on the Democratic Party," continued Stapp. "It already has had that effect. The rest of the country has realized full well that we mean business."

The former state Legion commander declared that "as an immediate and direct result of our united and militant resistance to this radical attempt to break down our way of life, the South has broken its political shackles. We have gained new prestige and recognition."

* * *

GOV. CALDWELL TELLS 'EM—Stapp pointed to the headway made in the South by Southerners in their fight on racial intolerance.

But Florida's Gov. Millard Caldwell told Northerners in a radio broadcast recently that Mr. Truman's "civil rights" program is setting back this fight.

"Those of us who have concerned ourselves with the problem of bettering conditions in the South," said Gov. Caldwell, "note an immediate resistance to our efforts every time the Northern reformers introduce some meddlesome legislation."

The Florida chief executive put his finger on a sore spot with the Northerners when he said:

"We read of the gang wars, crimes and riots of the North but we would certainly never attempt to tell you how to correct those conditions.

"No section of this nation has the right to interfere with the private lives and internal affairs of any other section."

"HOODWINK MINORITIES"—In asking for fair dealing by the North, Gov. Caldwell called on those above the Mason and Dixon Line to acknowledge that here in the South we are living with these problems and that we are trying to better our standards in an effort to oust all inequities.

Even though we are handicapped by outside interference, he said, we are succeeding. He added that none of us should attempt to justify prejudice and intolerance, but that none of us can honestly deny that both prejudice and intolerance exist throughout the country.

Caldwell asserted that conditions in the South have been deliberately misrepresented and that Northern newspapers and magazines have "never presented the unbiased truth" on racial questions.

And Gov. Caldwell drove home a point to a very sensitive spot when he declared:

"Let us not confuse worthy aims and lofty ideals with a grimy political effort to hoodwink the minorities."

A Time For Restraint

These are times of stress in race relations in the South. Like citizens of other states in this region, Alabamians are deeply concerned over matters which if not carefully handled may bring tragedy—and disappointment for all who hope to see harmonious relations continued and advanced.

Members of both races should act and talk with great care. The civil rights issue is fraught with danger.

* * *

This paper is disturbed over the fact that within the last month there have been at least three killings of Negroes in Birmingham by police officers. Two of the Negroes were under arrest at the time they were shot. In another case officers were attempting to put a man under arrest.

On March 27 a Negro was killed in a police car. Officers say he started to fight in the back seat and was killed in self-defense.

On March 29 another Negro was killed. Officers say that when they tried to put him under arrest he drew a "fountain-pen" type of gun and was thereafter shot.

On April 27 a boy said to have been only 19, a graduate of Parker High School in the class of January, 1948, was shot and killed near the City Garage at Fourth Avenue and 19th Street, South, after having been arrested many blocks away. It is charged he drew a knife on officers subsequent to his arrest on a drunk and disorderly charge.

* * *

It may be these killings all were justified. The series may have been produced only by an unhappy set of episodes which followed each other quickly in accidental sequence.

The point this paper wishes to make is that at this time special effort should be made to prevent such happenings—and all violence. Thorough self-control on every individual's part is called for. Every Negro in the city ought to strive mightily never to allow himself the liberty of even a suspicion of guilty action. Every white person ought to steel himself to an extra amount of patience and to assume an extra measure of understanding. The police should exert every effort to perform their necessary duties with discretion and impartiality. And, of course, there should be thorough investigation of all violence—especially cases involving racial tension.

The Political Picture

To the Editor of The News:

Will you allow me to disagree with your editorial entitled "A Cloudy Political Picture"? The political picture was cloudy until the Democrats of Alabama spoke. Since then it is as clear as the noonday sun that Mr. Truman will not be the next President of the United States. The cloud that had been cast over Alabama by the menace of a civil rights program and a FEPC statute has been, in a large measure, removed.

If you entertain the opinion that the mixture of so-called bolters and non-bolters in the delegation to the Philadelphia convention makes the picture cloudy, you are badly mistaken. It doesn't matter whether the delegates to the Philadelphia convention walk in or walk out, sit, stand, stagger or wallow, Mr. Truman will not get Alabama's electoral vote. Neither will any Republican get that electoral vote. If the other Southern states will follow Alabama's lead, as it now appears will be done, the moment Mr. Truman falls short of a majority in the electoral college, the moment the Republican nominee does the same thing, we will have a glorious opportunity to elect a Southern Democrat the next President of the United States, or some outstanding Western Democrat whom the South can support.

You seem to think the hope for the bolters is to throw the election into the House of Representatives. That will not be necessary. Neither the Republicans nor the Trumanites would like to see the election go into the House of Representatives. The Solid South can handle the matter in the electoral college and I believe it will do so.

I think your attack on Chairman McCorvey and his associates is entirely unjustified. In your editorial you say:

"In a post-election radio interview Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey, of the State Democratic Committee, implied that he was prepared for a Republican victory this year. In that confession one reads of the full force of the desperation of many of the bolters. They would carry their hostility to Truman to the extent of preferring a Republican administration with the GOP record of caring little for Southern feelings or attitudes."

It might be well if The News would name the bolters whom The News charges would carry their hostility to Truman to the extent of preferring a Republican administration. I know that no Republican will get a single vote from the electors nominated by the Democrats on May 4.

While you charge that the GOP cares little for Southern feelings or attitudes, at the same time it must be said in perfect frankness that Truman and the civil righters do not care anything for Southern feelings or attitudes. When it comes to caring for Southern feelings or attitudes, Truman and his civil righters are absolutely zero. So far as caring little for Southern feelings and attitudes, we have no choice between Truman and the Republicans. That makes it all the more necessary that the South stand solid for the election of a man who is friendly to this region. Why that doesn't appeal to The News is a mystery that only The News can explain.

HORACE C. WILKINSON.

GOP SURPRISE SET ON CIVIL-RIGHT BILL

Senators Aim to Get One Plan Passed Through Rider on Measure Vital to South

By WILLIAM S. WHITE

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, May 20—The Senate Republicans are preparing a surprise attack by which they intend to try to break in obliquely upon the entrenched Southerners and push through one of the so-called civil rights bills at this session.

This tactic, it was learned today, has been provisionally adopted in an informal decision to the effect that the opposition might well be able to throw back any frontal thrust for any measure which could be brought directly to the floor.

The plan will be considered in detail next week at a meeting of the Senate Republican Policy Committee, and its approval there was forecast. Some degree of Northern Democratic collaboration is assured, since President Truman himself has asked for civil rights legislation.

The vehicle for this maneuver, in all likelihood, it was disclosed, would be the poll tax repealer, which has already passed the House, although some eleventh hour effort to rescue the anti-lynching bill was also under consideration.

What is afoot is the introduction late in this session of Congress, which is scheduled to wind up on June 18, on an amendment to some essential bill which would carry the principles of one or the other of the civil rights measures.

Taft Remaining Silent

The Southerners then would be in the position of striking down this essential measure or of accepting an unwelcome rider along with it.

Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio, the Republican leader on national affairs, maintained silence upon all the detailed plans of his forces, lest he inform the Southerners. Other Republicans, however, were less enigmatic.

One of them, Senator Homer Ferguson of Michigan, said plainly that the Republicans would resort to the rider approach "if they (the Southerners) force us to," and observed that his anti-lynching bill might yet be brought forward in this way.

That measure still lay inert during the day in the Senate Judiciary Committee, which in three months has not been able to reach a decisive vote on it, and Mr. Ferguson for the first time was unable to obtain even the semblance of a quorum to consider it. He had called for 10 o'clock this morning a meeting of a "working committee," which turned up at 10 but found no group without power one with whom to meet. Committee, a group within the Judiciary discuss matters. The "working committee," which

had been formed only yesterday, had now ceased to function, he remarked with a wry smile late in the day.

Ball Hits Southerners

Although it was a small Republican group which had held the balance of power in rejecting the Ferguson bill in its present form, some Republican efforts got under way to place the full responsibility upon the Southerners.

Senator Joseph H. Ball of Minnesota, in a statement intended primarily for his constituents, asserted that the "resourceful" Southerners had found a new tactic which appeared so successful that it might "end any chance of passage of anti-lynch or anti-poll tax legislation at this session."

The Southerners, Mr. Ball contended, had passed from the defensive to the offensive, in the sense that they themselves were now "raising the issue" wherever they could simply for the purpose of consuming time as the session neared its end.

An example of this, Senator Ball declared, wa the current effort of the Southerners to amend the new Selective Service bill so that enlisted men would not be required to serve in units encompassing both whites and Negroes.

"The amendment," he added, "of course will be defeated, but it will consume time."

Pulpit Echoes

By The Rev. A. S. Turnipseed

A POSATIVE PROGRAM FOR THE SOUTH

The South has always been sensative to the Christian Gospel. This has something to do with the progress that has been made in race relations in the region. Progress has been made in spite of complicated social and economic situation.

Much of the problem is a result of a slave society and economy an da punitive "reconstruction" policy A successful war against the South in 1861-65 did not solve the Region's race problems and force legislation passed by the Federal Congress will not solve them in 1948.

There must be a course of action for better race relations upon which all conscientious elemenst in the South can agree. Few would disagree that the place for such action is at the state level. Success here would have at least two results: (1) Other sections of the nation would gain encouragement as they also deal with race problems; (2) The South would be free to turn its attention to the greatest and gravest issue before the nation — International Peace.

Action by individual Southern States could well be taken in five areas.

1. Poll Tax

Four out of the eleven former Confederate States have repealed the poll tax. This has been done by state action.

It is recommended that the governors of the remaining seven states call upon their respective legislatures to submit constitutional amendments to the people of their respective states providing for the repeal of the poll tax. It could be stated that this action in no way constituted support or opposition on the part of either of the legislatures or the governors. It would simply be a matter of allowing the people to decide the issue.

2. F. E. P .C.

The agitation of this issue in Congress is deverting attention from the issue of preventing war. The nation needs mroe education on F.E.P.C. since only one of the 48 states has experimented with such a law. After the November election a new congress can consider the question in a calm atmosphere that is impossible in an election year.

At the present time the Southern Governors can improve the the employment opportunities of negro people in such ways as having a negro division of the state police .Already such Southern cities as Savannah, Georgia, Durham ,North Carolina, and Miami ,Florida have Negro city police. Negro guards should be empolyed in prisons where only negro inmates are housed. Such new state government job opportunities for Negroes would be in line with the practice now obtaining in each Southern State of employing Negro teachers, college officials, reformatory officials and the like.

Private enterprise in the South can continue it spolicy of opening more and more jobs to colored people. Most branch plants of national concerns such as the Tennessee Coal and Iron and Railroad Company and the shipyarls of Mobile have always employed both Negro and white workers. All new concerns in the South should undertake to plan their hiring polictes to make the best use of all local labor. It is easier to open job opportunities to make the best use of all local labor. It is easier to open job opportunities for Negroes in new plants than to attempt to change the employment patterns in old plants. Any policy which results in the dismissing of white workers would only cause friction.

The Congress could do more for increasing job opportunities in the South by stimulating competition in private enterprisees, by wise tax policies and by a housing program than by passage of an F.E.P.C. Bill

3. Public Schools

Southern people should encourage their congressmen to support Federal aid for education according to the proposal recently made by Senator Langer of North Dakota that all expenditure of $140.00 for each child in the nation. This bases Federal aid on the needs of each child and thereby removes the race issue.

4. Colleges

Several institutoins of higher learning in the South today are regional in fact .Such institutions of higher learning in the South today are regional in fact. Such institutions as the University of North Carolina ,The University of Virginia, Southern Methodist University, Duke University, Vanderbilt University, Emory University and Tulane University have white students from all other the region. On the other hand Hampton Institute ,Tuskegee Institute ,Atlanta University, Dillard University, Fiske University and Meharry Medical College serve colored students from all over the South.

It is recommended that the Southern Governors' Conference urge Congress to pass an appropriation bill that would speed the development of such regional universities. Aid should be on the basis of so much per student as in the proposal for federal aid to elementary and high schools.

5. Justice in The Court

It would be interesting to know how many Southern Negroes today go unpurnished for crimes because they had white friends of influence who interceded for them in the courts or prevented their cases from coming before a Grand Jury. Often Negroes have escaped punishment for murder or assault where the crimes were against their own race .Where such crimes are alleged to have been committed against white people, cases of acquittal are rare.

The lyncher in the South today does not stand as high in the social scale as the racketeer in the Northern city who establishes a business monoply in beer or gambling by building corrupt political machines and by the use of intimidation and even murder.

Sheriffs have risked their lives in many Southern counties to protect the lives of friendless negroes charged with rape. These officers are usually given a short paragraph in the back pages of the New York and Chicago newspapers. When a lynching occurs in the South these papers carry the "news" in glaring headlines.

Even in the Scottsboro case the most courageous part was not played by the defense attorney but by the judge. This Alabama Judge was defeated for re-election because he overruled a Jury which had found the defendants guilty. Northern historians of the case have largely overlooked this Judge.

It is recommended to the Southern Governors' Conference that steps be taken in each Southern state to modernize its courts and legal machinery. It is also urged that the present South-wide educational program to develop a stronger public opinion in favor of prompt punishment for those responsible for mob violence be encouraged.

The atmosphere of sectional and political bias in which the Anti-lynching laws is not good. present congress discusses Fede- Such laws should be discussed afte rthe Nevember election. At that time dcussion should concern laws throughout the nation against any form of crime where the states have shown a lack of ability to control, whether it be mob racketeering in Chicago or lynching in the South.

Responsibility, Too

From The Moulton Advertiser

Recently a Montgomery minister sounded a note that had been too long unheard in the Southland.

Calling for the South to adopt a civil rights program without federal compulsion, the minister pointed out that the South has so far only taken a negative position on President Truman's plan.

In the positive program advocated by the minister, he suggested repeal of the poll tax by the seven states still having it, better job opportunities for Negroes in state and private industry, federal aid for education based on the needs of each child regardless of race, new regional colleges for both races, and more modern courts and legal machinery to give justice to everyone regardless of race.

As a result of such a program, other sections of the country would gain encouragement as they also deal with race problems, he said, and the South would be free to give its attention to the "gravest issue before the nation—international peace."

Whether or not one agrees with the minister's program, it remains clear that he singled out the most important factor of the whole civil rights dispute.

Instead of wailing like stricken banshees over state's rights, why don't Southern so-called leaders exercise those state's rights and put into effect their own civil rights program? With rights come responsibilities; this is the lesson of democracy that is taught in every civics class in every public school—even in our own dear South.

The phrase "Southern tradition" has been tossed about lightly in the last few months. It meaning depends on which history books you read, perhaps.

But, according to the most favorable Southern tradition, Southern leaders were men of education and culture who thought it beneath their dignity to wail like stricken banshees, cavort with string bands and prattle like empty-headed paranoids.

Constructive leadership is sorely needed today by the Old South.

Truman Outlines 10-Point Program; Plans Further Steps

WASHINGTON--In the strongest Civil Rights message since the late President Roosevelt's Executive Order 8802, President Truman Monday urged Congress to pass speedy legislation on a civil rights program for the nation.

In addition, the President informed Congress that he will "shortly issue an executive order containing a re-statement of the federal government's no-discrimination policy" in federal employment, services and facilities.

He stated that he has already requested the Secretary for Defense to take any steps necessary to abolish any bias which yet remains in the U.S. Armed Services.

Pointing out that "the Federal government has a clear duty to see that the constitutional guarantee of individual liberties and of equal protection under the law are not denied," he urged Congress to pass "modern comprehensive civil rights laws, adequate to the needs of the day."

Covering major recommendations of the President's Civil Rights and a Civil Rights bureau in the Department of Justice.

2. Strengthen existing Civil Rights statutes.

3. Provide Federal protection against lynching.

4. Provide adequate laws protecting the right of all citizens to vote.

5. Establish a FEPC to prevent discrimination in employment.

6. Prohibit discrimination in interstate traffic.

7. Provide home-rule and suffrage in presidential elections for the District of Columbia.

8. Provide statehood for Alaska and Hawaii and a greater measure of self-government for all our island possessions.

9. Equalize opportunity for residents of the United States to become naturalized citizens.

10. Resettle wartime evacuated Japanese-Americans.

Race Voters In 10 States Can Win Race

Missouri Among The Number

(By George L. Voughn)

The loud clamor and the terrific opposition among Southern Democratic politicians, which President Truman's special message to Congress urging the enactment of laws to secure the better protection of civil rights for the colored people of the United States, have not subsided. They have merely been overshadowed by world events of such far-reaching importance that the domestic questions have been pushed into the background. Nevertheless, they still remain as vital questions in our domestic affairs, which are fraught with possibilities, and dangers, of great concern to every American citizen. But their importance to the minority groups in the United States, particularly the Negro group, is so great as to render adequate evaluation thereof a difficult task.

What The President Asked Of Congress

President Truman asked to enact laws making the lynching of human beings a crime punishable by the Federal government, and strengthening the procedure by which this crime may be punished. He asked for the abolition of the poll tax—a tax levied in the Southern States as a requirement of eligibility to vote in elections, and by means of which thousands of voters—poor whites and Negroes—are disfranchised. He further asked for laws safeguarding the enjoyment of civil rights upon the same terms by all the people; creation of a permanent Fair Employment Committee with the power to see that all citizens, without regard to race, religion, or national origin, are given an equal chance to work at any calling which their training and skill fit them for, and at the same rates of pay; and finally, to provided for equal educational opportunities, and the abolition of segregation in interstate travel.

All of these measures are authorized by the constitution of the United States, and the rights, privileges and immunities to which the federal government recommended measures relate or secured to all citizens by it. In fact, laws providing for most of the things which the President seeks to secure, have been in existence for many years, but they have been flaunted, ignored, and violated by reason of loop holes in the procedural laws and in the penal status relating to their enforcement. The result has been that these yelling Southerners have disregared and violated his laws for such a long time, and have continued to deprive the colored people living in those states of their constitutional rights until they now consider that it is a right which they possess. They call this, "Our Southern institutions," and charge the President with attempting to destroy them. They threaten to quit the Democratic Party and vote for a Republican in order to punish the President for advocating and demanding laws providing an equal deal for colored citizens with real teeth in their enforcing provisions.

Governor Tuck Re-

GOVERNOR Tuck of Virginia went on the radio recently to further explain his elction law changes as finally enacted, and to thank the members of the General Assembly for their cooperation.

We quote from the Governor's address:

The program (President Truman's Civil Rights proposals) would completely ignore the division of jurisdiction conceived by the founding fathers in the formulation of the federal constitution. It would coerce and intimidate the state into submission by all manners of threats and assaults. It would ignore the conditions peculiar to the South and to its people, and it would crush in the dust under foot the rights of the individual.

Practically all of the proposals in Mr. TRUMAN's message to Congress, as has been pointed out, have been before the Congress and have been discussed at length, and usually they have been defeated by means of the filibuster or by Republican-Democratic political combinations. The late Senator BORAH played an important part in the latter during his time in the Senate.

While the proposed FEPC has been before the Congress only a few years, its provisions have been widely discussed and should be very well understood.

One of the provisions of the FEPC is the right to work. Governor TUCK sponsored a right to work measure in the legislature of Virginia two years ago. He thought that every person should have the right to earn a living without being surrounded by certain restrictions, and he took a position of leadership in having the General Assembly enact a law which purports to guarantee to every individual the right to work. The Governor, in all probability, had other things in mind than giving Negro Virginians the right to work. In other words it is a question now if Negroes were in the Governor's mind when his bill outlawing the closed union shop was enacted into law. It is in principle, an FEPC, sponsored by Governor TUCK.

We repeat for emphasis the last sentence in that part of Governor TUCK's address which we quoted above:

It would ignore the conditions peculiar to the South and to its people, and it would crush in the dust under foot the rights of the individual.

There are many people, white and colored, who feel that what Mr. TUCK refers to as "conditions peculiar to the South and its people," needs revision. The conditions peculiar to the South and its people have been for the past year or so feeding fuel to the Communists who are sweeping across the European continent with Russia as the driving power, and bringing this nation closer, and closer to war.

The Governor concluded with the statement that (the Civil Rights proposals) would crush in the dust under foot the rights of the individual.

That is exactly what certain conditions "peculiar to the South and its people" have been doing for more than a half-century. These conditions have not only crushed in the dust the rights

of Negroes, but have also destroyed many of the rights of white people in the South. The Negro vote, and the votes of millions of disfranchised white people in the South may be just what is necessary to provide the security of our country.

What Governor Tuck had to say on his proposals and his legislative program in all of his addresses has not been marked by consistency.

The Governor re-affirmed his stand against civil rights, declaring that the issue is joined, and that he is in the fight to the finish.

HOUSE DEMOCRATS OF SOUTH CONDEMN CIVIL RIGHTS PLAN

Caucus of 52 of 103 Members Defies Truman in Resolution but Omits Threat of 'Bolt'

SENIORS MOSTLY ABSENT

Rayburn and Many Others Stay Away—Campaign Planners Said to Back President

By WILLIAM S. WHITE
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 20—Fifty-two Southern Democrats in the House bitterly and formally defied President Truman today on the issue of his civil rights program.

By resolution they warned their party, on pain of "jeopardizing its success in the South," not to write into the platform at its national convention the President's recommendation for Federal anti-lynching legislation and the like. They avoided, however, anything resembling a mortal break with the President and the Northern Democratic wing.

In a conference of nearly two hours the word "bolt" was never used and the threat to "bolt" was never made, though furious voices were raised more than once.

The Democratic leader of the House, Representative Sam Rayburn of Texas, left the meeting severely alone. So did many of his closest friends and the more senior of his own Texas colleagues. The absentees in the eleven-state Democratic delegation of 103 numbered fifty-one.

Mr. Rayburn refused to take notice of the caucus, even to the extent of declining publicly to comment on the fact of its existence. The nonparticipating Southerners seemed more philosophical and less concerned than their Northern colleagues.

It is predicted that the official organization line will be laid down to the party substantially as follows:

1. The action of the rebellious fifty-two is to be ignored, or at most it is to be regarded as "nonsense."

2. The regular Democrats will declare their belief that "not a single member" of the House from the South "will dare to stand in his primary campaign this spring and threaten to bolt Harry Truman."

3. If anyone should "dare" to do so, he would have "nowhere to go," since the Republicans will "assuredly write a civil rights plank."

4. The Democratic convention will write such a plank also, though nonrevolting Southerners would much rather not have such a plank.

The fifty-two dissidents met under the chairmanship of Representative William M. Colmer of Mississippi after a good deal of maneuvering among individual delegations which sought to pledge each to the resolution eventually adopted. Three of the state delegations had declined collectively to approve the manifesto, Texas, Tennessee and North Carolina. This action did not bar individual members from taking any stand they pleased.

Among the fifty-two who met in a big committee room in the new House Office Building the majority were comparatively junior, in years or in power in the House. Among those of high seniority and influence were Representatives Sam Hobbs of Alabama and Howard W. Smith of Virginia.

The caucus at length adopted two resolutions. One reaffirmed the action of Feb. 7 of the Southern Governors Conference in voting for a forty-day "cooling-off" period as to the President's civil rights plan and in choosing a delegation to come here Monday to confront Senator J. Howard McGrath of Rhode Island, Democratic National Chairman, on the issue.

The second denounced "invasions of the sovereignty of the states" and further stated:

"1. That we will oppose to the finish the enactment of any such legislation mentioned above herein.

"2. That the chairman of the conference be and he is hereby authorized and directed to appoint a committee made up of one member from each state delegation to cooperate with the committee from the conference of Southern Governors.

"3. That th eleaders of all who are interested in the success of the Democratic party be urged, and respectfully but firmly cautioned, against putting into its platform that which would assuredly jeopardize its success in the south, where it has been nourished and sustained throughout its existence."

Civil Rights for All

Necessity Is Emphasized for This Country to Correct Imperfections

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

The Presidential message to Congree urging implementation of the program suggested by the Civil Rights Commission ought to be made compulsory reading for every citizen of the United States. Since our entrance into World War II, we have inherited the world's moral, economic and political leadership. The people of this war-devastated world have looked to us for leadership, guidance and help. Unfortunately, since the end of the shooting war, a war of ideologies has arisen. To win this war of ideologies, we must strip for action and organize our resources for the battle for democracy.

During my tour in Japan, I was greatly disturbed by the ignorance and lack of understanding of our democracy by the Japanese people. While we were striving with might and main to sell them our brand of democracy, our enemies were taking advantage of every news story which showed a deviation from our concept of individual freedom. The discrimination against the Nisei, who did a marvelous job in fighting for a democracy which denied them equal economic, social and political opportunities was played up in Japan and cost us many friends who could not understand that this was an exception, a [illegible]ious one, but not the rule in the United States.

Every lynching, every act of discrimination against the Negro, Jew or other minority group was exploited far beyond its rightful status of news. This resulted in an attitude of suspicion and resentment and was a formidable obstacle to the development of mutual understanding and respect between us and the country and people whom we are trying to sell our democratic ideals and f[illegible] of government.

If our democratic way of life is to appeal to the people of foreign countries, we must secure our civil rights to all. We must not provide our enemies with ammunition to indict our beliefs and government and we must make our practice conform to our beliefs. I sincerely hope that newspapers, radio, churches and schools get behind this campaign to wipe out this stain on our democratic escutcheon. With a definite program of action presented to them, Congress should be prodded to action and made aware of the danger to our foreign policy in intolerance, in racial and religious discrimination and in the failure of any section of our country to live up to the ideals of our Bill of Rights and the International Bill of Human Rights that we are helping to draw up for the peoples of the world in connection with our membership in the U. N.

I fully realize that laws alone will not eradicate this curse on our democracy and that education and practice are essential. In this aspect, our schools and children can and will lead the way. People in glass houses should not throw stones, and we are living in a glass house with the world looking in. Therefore, if we are to convince the world of our sincerity, we, like Caesar's wife, must be above suspicion and must clean house.

As the President so stirringly phrased it, "If we wish to inspire the peoples of the world whose freedom is in jeopardy, if we wish to restore hope to those who have already lost their civil liberties, if we wish to fulfill the promise that is ours, we must correct the remaining imperfections in our democracy. We know the way. We need only the will."

PHELPS PHELPS.
New York, Feb. 4, 1948.

Tuck Won't Attend Parley With Democrats

WASHINGTON, Feb. 22.—(AP)—Governor Tuck of Virginia said Sunday he would not be present when Southern governors discuss civil rights with Democratic Party leaders.

Tuck said he came to Washington "simply to discuss mutual problems with fellow governors of sovereign Southern states."

A committee of Southern governors is scheduled to meet with Senator McGrath, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, to talk about President Truman's civil rights program.

Tuck told a reporter he "made it plain" when he accepted membership on the committee that he did not intend to see McGrath whatever may be the action of others."

"No one representing the high office I hold will be authorized to see him in connection with this matter," he added.

Calling the President's civil rights program "a flagrant invasion of the rights of the states as well as the people of the states," Tuck asserted:

CIVIL RIGHTS SWAY ALABAMA VOTERS

Truman Program Leading Issue in Poll Tuesday on Senator, Electors and Delegates

By JOHN N. POPHAM
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MONTGOMERY, Ala., May 1—Democratic voters in this state will go to the polls on Tuesday in a primary election of national significance featuring perhaps more confusion over issues and party loyalty than any similar contest in recent Alabama history.

Principal interest centers about the bid of Senator John J. Sparkman for renomination and a bitter cleavage among candidates for Presidential elector and delegate to the Democratic national convention on the proposal that they "walk out" on President Truman and his civil-rights program.

As active campaigning ended this week most veteran political observers felt that Senator Sparkman was a slight favorite in a close race that revolved mainly about the popularity in the rural sections of Gov. James E. (Big Jim) Folsom, one of the most colorful figures on the Southern political horizon.

Many feel that no one candidate for the Senatorial seat can obtain a majority of the votes and that the contest will be thrown into the run-off primary on June 1. In this one-party state a primary victory is equivalent to election to office.

Folsom Aids Senator's Rival

Senator Sparkman's leading opponent appears to be former State Revenue Commissioner Phillip J. Hamm. Governor Folsom, who is a candidate for delegate-at-large to the national convention, has appeared on the same platform with Mr. Hamm on several occasions and has warmly endorsed him.

Both Governor Folsom and Mr. Hamm have asserted their opposition to President Truman's civil-rights program and have voiced disapproval of the Marshall Plan, which they have scored as "dumping money overseas." Governor Folsom, however, has led state opposition to the poll tax and the Boswell amendment designed to restrict Negro voting privileges in the state.

The Governor, who bolted his party delegation in 1944 to vote for Henry A. Wallace for Vice President, has suggested himself as a "favorite-son" candidate for the Presidential nomination this year. Although opposed to the civil-rights program, he has maintained that the portions objectionable to the South should be thrashed out on the convention floor.

In every state election he has entered thus far Governor Folsom has shown great strength with the rural voters, and has always emerged victorious. Many observers attribute this to a brand of neo-populism they credit to him, in which the backwoods people are promised benefits to put them on a par with the wealthy.

Senator Sparkman is on record in support of the Marshall Plan and somewhat belatedly expressed opposition to certain phases of the civil-rights program. He has urged

lately that Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower replace Mr. Truman as the Presidential candidate.

White Supremacy Backed

Senator Sparkman is recognized nationally as a liberal legislator, but in many Alabama political circles it is argued that he had to take a stand in opposition to President Truman and the civil-rights program if he was to have any chance against Governor Folsom's appeal in the hinterlands, where white-supremacy views are strongly supported.

Alabama's senior Senator, Lister Hill, a widely known liberal, who is a candidate for delegate-at-large to the national convention, also has voiced his disapproval of Mr. Truman's civil-rights program and has urged the nomination of General Eisenhower.

Thus the usual paradoxical political picture in the South is emphasized with two Senators known nationally for their support of liberal legislation opposing a civil-rights program to insure voting strength in their local area. There are indications that this development has given "aid and comfort" to the white-supremacy supporters of Herman Talmadge in the neighboring state of Georgia.

Other candidates for the Senatorial seat are Thomas F. Harlin, former Veterans Administration official; Thomas Maxwell, a perennial candidate for state office, and Wallace Pruitt.

Alabama has eleven Presidential electors and of the twenty-eight candidates for that post, twenty-one are pledged not to vote for Mr. Truman or any other candidate running on a platform incorporating the civil-rights proposals.

The state is entitled to twenty-six delegates to the national convention. Of the eighty-four delegate candidates twenty-four have pledged to walk-out on Mr. Truman and his civil-rights program, thirty-four are opposed to a walk-out and twenty-six have declined to commit themselves.

Truman, Rights Program Given State's Rebuke

Rank And File Decision On Delegate Walkout Still To Be Decided Thurs 5-6-48

Elector Stand Firm

De Graffenreid Scores

Both Manasco, Hamm Concede Their Defeat

By The Associated Press

Alabama's Democratic voters Wednesday had turned thumbs down on President Truman and the Civil Rights program.

But yet unanswered as final returns drifted in was the question of whether the rank and file party members would decide for a walkout by their 26 delegates to the National Convention over the Civil Rights issue. Final decision probably must await a run-off election June 1.

Even so the outcome left the National Democratic Committee and Party Chairman J. Howard McGrath in Washington without comment.

The primary election had been watched closely by national party leaders as the first measure of whether the south's revolt over Civil Rights really stemmed from the grass roots.

Issue By-Passed

Through Tuesday's primary, which in Alabama is the equivalent to election, the State Democratic Party by-passed any action the national convention might take in naming a presidential candidate and carried the issue into the electoral college.

Definite Stand

The electorate made certain that neither Truman nor any other candidate advocating a civil rights program would get the State's 11 electoral votes.

Actually, therefore, the State's Democrats voted for President without knowing who the party's candidate would be.

The voters were asked to select 11 electors from among 28 candidates, 21 of whom were pledged not to vote for Truman or any other candidate on a civil rights platform.

Late returns indicated that the 11 leaders were all from the Anti-Truman, Anti-Civil Rights camp. The leader of the unpledged candidate had only 36,231 votes.

That was approximately 7,000 votes less than the candidate who stood 11th on the list.

Two Senators Ignore Truman Campaign Bids

McClellan And Russell Cite His Civil Rights Plan In Spurning Plea

WASHINGTON — (AP) — Two Southern Democrats added new fuel to the civil rights political revolt Sunday by saying they will not campaign this year for President Truman.

Senators McClellan (D), Arkansas and Russell (D), Georgia said in separate interviews that they are rejecting what McClellan called an invitation from J. Howard McGrath, Democratic National Chairman, to join in the national party campaign.

McGrath wrote senators a form letter offering to make available to them the facilities of the national committee's radio division.

He said this division is "prepared to give you all possible assistance" in getting political speeches ready and putting them on the air. He didn't specify any subject matter.

McClellan told a reporter he intends to reply that:

Too Inconsistent

"It would be inconsistent for me to attempt to defend the record of the present administration when I so violently disagree with one of the most important aspects of the domestic program—that of so-called civil rights legislation."

"Until the leadership of the party repudiates that part of its program," the Arkansas senator said, "I cannot give support in the nature of public addresses in behalf of the Truman candidacy."

McClellan, a delegate to the Democratic National convention, said he had made plans earlier in the year to take an active part in the national party's speaking campaign.

Russell said he intends to ignore the McGrath letter. But he added he has "no intention of campaigning for President Truman so long as he advocates these so-called civil rights measures."

Their action followed rejections by Sen. Olin D. Johnston (D), South Carolina, of an appeal by McGrath to help raise funds for the national campaign.

The President's advocacy of anti-lynching, anti-poll tax, anti-segregation and anti-job discrimination legislation is likely to come in for blistering comment from a meeting of "State's rights" Democrats in Jackson, Miss., Monday.

The possibility of blocking Mr. Truman out, however, apparently is becoming more remote daily. The President now has 423 pledged votes and needs only 195 more to clinch the nomination on the first ballot at the July Philadelphia convention.

The Senate is due to act the civil rights issue tomorrow when it returns to debate on legislation which would approve a compact giving 15 Southern States authority to finance regional universities jointly.

The racial issue was brought into that debate last Thursday.

Let All Obey The Law

To the Editor of The News:

There is too much wrangling and confusion over segregation of Negroes. I believe Negroes have been misunderstood a good many times, because it has been said that he seeks social connections with white people, and this is absolutely wrong and also an injustice to the intelligent Negro.

It can be said without a doubt that no decent and respectable Negro wants any contact with white people in a social way because this has never been custom.

If there is a law requiring separation of whites and blacks, then it should be enforced to the letter in every instance. To enforce a law on one hand allow it to be violated on the other hand often leads one to disrespect that law. For example, in buildings downtown whites and blacks ride elevators packed like sardines in a can every day, and it is impossible to keep from touching each other. No one attempts to enforce the law of segregation in these buildings.

Charging Negroes with seeking social levels with white people is merely a smoke screen. Negroes seek only the right to vote, the right to education and justice in the courts. The Negro feels that he is entitled to these rights because he has shed his blood on battlefields to help preserve this form of government we call democracy. He pays taxes to help support it also.

When white men believe firmly in segregation and stay within their race and let Negroes stay within theirs, the situation would not be so aggravated. Divine Providence will not permit wrong to go on forever. There is a point where tables turn. One should always observe the Golden Rule. S. H. MOORE.

Concerning Confusion

To the Editor of The News:

Your editorial, "Confusion Worse Confounded," leaves one wondering what is confusing about the simple program of the State Committee of the Democratic Party to have its delegates to the national convention walk out of the convention, if the convention insults Alabama, and come home and report to the Democrats of Alabama through their State Executive Committee and ask for further instructions. In all fairness is there anything confusing about that? We will have from July until November to decide what we want to do about the president. Isn't that time enough?

The only confusing thing about the whole matter is your attempt to make the people believe that Truman's civil rights program would not affect us unless we changed our local laws. I wish you were right. But every lawyer who is dry behind the ears knows that a federal law on these subjects would supersede all state statutes and all state constitutional provisions. We would simply be at the mercy of a federal bureau whose business it would be to make us like social and political equality.

Many of your readers would appreciate you telling them what you stand for and who you favor for president. They are unable to find out by reading your paper. Are you for Truman? Henry Wallace? Or who are you for and what do you suggest that we do to defeat the civil rights program? Or perhaps you are for the program. If so, say so. I for one would like to know where you stand.

You say that protecting the prestige of the presidency in a time of international uncertainty is of greater importance to the nation and to the world than Mr. Truman's recommendations. Don't kid yourself about the prestige of the presidency. Stalin and every other ruler knows, even better than the American people, what a small-bore fellow Truman is. If he had any prestige he wouldn't be kicked around like he is by Stalin and company. But I submit, that be that as it may, our way of life in the South is more important to us than Truman and the rest of the world. What does it profit us to save the world and lose our way of life and have to live next door to Negroes, in the same apartment with Negroes, have Negro teachers in white schools, and compete for Negro votes, while Negroes eat with us in restaurants and live with us in hotels and sit by us in picture shows. Where is your sense of social values?

Work for a platform plank that is acceptable to the South and then work for the election of a candidate pledged to bolt the platform and force the offensive legislation upon us. That just does not make sense to me. Maybe you can explain it.

HORACE C. WILKINSON.

Democratic Crusader

To the Editor of The News:

On March 21 a letter entitled "The Real Truman" appeared on your editorial page. The writer, W. H. (Nick) Carter, made some slanderous charges against President Truman which he called "a few hard, undeniable facts." He offered these "facts" for the consideration of "those trying to stab the South in the back" with the civil liberties fight.

According to the writer, "foremost is the fact that the civil liberty laws will not work at present . . . because human nature cannot be changed by statutes." I gather that he is referring to the fallacies of racial superiority and inferiority, which are inherent in a system of segregation and discriminations, as "human nature." If the writer had intended to present facts, he should have done some scientific research. Had he done this, he would have found that no race is homogeneous, that when the common factors of races are charted they are graphically equal, that no race as a race has a monopoly on human progress, and that no evidence of inborn inferiority is found in any racial group. Furthermore, if "human nature" cannot be changed, why are there occupational armies in Germany and Japan attempting to convert these previously dictatorial nations into democracies?

What Mr. Carter and the others who are against civil rights offer as facts to substantiate their outmoded attitudes are not really facts but falsehoods. I, as a Negro college student, think that President Truman in endeavoring to correct these injustices, by means of statutes or by any other method, is a "real crusader for democracy."

JAMES W. KELSAW,
Talladega College, Talladega, Ala.

GLADSTONE WILLIAMS

The Constitution

'Civil Rights' Program Has Bogged Down

Atlanta, Ga. Mon. 5-17-48

WASHINGTON—Evidence is accumulating that President Truman's civil rights program, which aroused such a storm of controversy among Southern Democrats, is becoming bogged down, with little prospect of action before the scheduled adjournment of Congress the latter part of next month. Republicans have tentatively set an adjournment date for June 19, which is two days before the party's national convention opens in Philadelphia. It is their hope to wind up the session by that time in order to give full attention to the presidential campaign which will then get under way.

Little more than a month of the present session remains, therefore. If the Republicans are going to do anything about breathing new life into the civil rights program, it will be necessary for them to make some decision early.

Southern Democrats are still prepared to wage a vigorous filibuster against any and all parts of the program. But the Republicans have been unable to decide yet whether they will force the issue of a filibuster by invoking cloture, the rule by which two-thirds of the Senate can limit debate on a given question.

Unless the filibuster issue is forced, there is hardly any likelihood of the controversial legislation being brought up for consideration in the Senate. Too many other important bills remain to be acted upon. A filibuster would tie up all of these and might prolong the session indefinitely.

In a play for time Southern Democrats are already using delaying tactics on the draft and other legislation, hoping to force the Republicans into a tight position before adjournment wherein it would be impractical to bring up highly controversial measures.

But the Republicans, oddly enough, do not appear to be any too much disturbed by it all. The reason is they realize that if the Republican-controlled Congress co-operates with the President to force the civil rights program through, the wrath of Southern Democrats, now directed against Mr. Truman, may well be turned on the GOP and its presidential ticket later.

Hence the politics that are being played with the issue on all sides. The Republicans show signs of being content to let matters rest where they are. As it is, they may expect to be the beneficiary of any revolt against the President by the Southern States on the civil rights question. Mon. 5-17-48

The Republican out is that if there is to be civil rights legislation, they would rather see it put through at a time when the party is in control of both the legislative and executive branches of the Government. In that way they would not have to share honors with President Truman over authorship.

The Constitution

For another thing, the Republicans feel that they do not need this year the liberal support which would be attracted by putting through a civil rights program. They are relying on Henry Wallace to take away enough of these elements from the Democrats to give them victory.

Atlanta, Ga.

Only one piece of the civil rights legislation has been acted upon by the House so far. That is the anti-poll tax bill. An anti-lynching bill has been favorably reported by the House Judiciary Committee, but it has not yet been voted on.

In the Senate an anti-poll tax bill has been reported out, while another Senate committee has been working on an anti-lynching bill. But that is about as far as Senate Republicans have gone. Mon. 5-17-48

Unless something is done pretty soon it will be too late for final action on any of the bills this session.

What the Negro Wants

To the Editor of The Courier-Journal:

While looking over The Courier-Journal of May 11, I came across a news item titled, "Southerners Quit Truman For Good." After reading into the article, the speech by the Governor of South Carolina caught my attention more than anything else, especially the portion concerning the proposed fight to preserve Southern civilization and to keep the Negro out of the Southern home, churches, etc. Either existing knowledge of the related facts are shoved into the background, or caution is being thrown to the wind. The Courier-Journal

How can the Negro be forced into the Southern home, when it is a place in which he has been for the past 100 years? Negroes perform some of the most essential tasks related to the human being, such as preparing the food and caring for the children, as children must be reared. These tasks and countless others have been performed by Negroes in homes over the United States. Louisville, Ky.

Whether it is realized or not, the Negro has as much self-respect as anyone else. Your thresholds will not be crossed by him unless he is invited to do so. Since, in America, everyone has a say-so as to who comes in his home, I don't get the idea of this forced admittance. As for Southern civilization, there are portions of it that are really a contribution to the progress of this nation. As for the other portion, I have heard some Southerners condemn it.

Knowing Negroes as I do, I can say that all they want is a chance to live by their merits, rather than by some backdoor code set aside for them because of their color. Any race's ambition would be very small, if the height of that ambition was to sit in someone's living room, dining room, or what have you, unwanted. What the Negro wants is to enjoy the Constitution of the United States as an existing reality, instead of the joke some elements attempt to make of it. Sat. 5-22-48 R. O'NEIL.

Fort Knox, Ky.

A Neglected Point In Civil-Rights Laws

The Courier-Journal
Louisville, Ky. Sat.

A FORMER head of the Southern Baptist Convention, speaking to that body in Memphis, Tenn., is cool toward federal laws on civil rights. He seems to see President TRUMAN'S proposals in the same light as most of the other objectors in his region. This is the light of white-Negro relationships, with all that they mean of separation and discrimination. "You can't legislate good will among the races," Dr. M. E. DODD of Shreveport, La., the former president, is quoted as saying. 5-22-48

But the point is somewhat larger than this. The idea is not to legislate good will into existence, after the fashion of legislating good behavior into existence through a prohibition law (which, by the way, we should guess Dr. DODD would approve). The idea is to put into the body of our national laws the statement of a principle—the principle of equal rights and equal opportunities for everybody. It isn't a question of how a man feels toward his neighbor. It is a question of what this country stands for, of what it guarantees to every citizen. The civil-rights program is designed as a positive assurance that will have a meaning not only here but elsewhere in the world. The latter is particularly important these days. 5-22-48

A Word to Negroes

The Constitution

Editor Constitution: This is a letter in reply to a few Negroes who have been writing to this column in the last few days.

To begin with, I want it understood that I do not deny these Negroes the right to voice their opinions, for that is their right as American citizens. Atlanta, Ga.

However, I think they should do a little thinking on their part before they do so much talking about their terrible social standing in this country. They have complained that they were brought to this country as slaves. Perhaps they had rather have stayed in the jungles of Africa.

I would like to remind them that there are several million white Europeans who would just love to be in their shoes. 4-20-48.

Tues.

JOHN F. CONN,
WILLIAM R. MAHAN,
EDWARD G. CHASTAIN,
TONY PAPPALARDO.

Rome, Ga.

Southern Principles

To the Editor of The News: The News

I have read Voice of the People each night for several months, hoping someone would voice similar views to my own regarding the civil rights program. I believe I am an average citizen, interested vitally in the welfare of our Southland and all its people. I want the Negro to have every privilege of good homes, maximum education and much encouragement to become upstanding, respectable citizens, but I don't want to live to see the day when Negroes are not segregated from whites in my beloved Southland. God must have intended this to be so since He made such great difference in color between the two.

Fri.

Even if Negroes were allowed to mingle closely with whites, will that change their color? I say, help the Negro to raise himself morally and socially among his own kind and trust him to stay there. I don't want the Negro to be persecuted or oppressed, but I do want him to live and move socially apart from whites, not to be lesser citizens, only forever segregated since God made them black and us white. I believe I am safe in saying that Southerners will fight to keep our Southland true to its principles, which we would rather die than see overrun. Ala.

Birmingham MRS. JAMES SNYDER.

4711 Gary Avenue, Fairfield, Ala. 4-22-48

CRC Begins 3 Days Of Protest Rallies

Daily Worker
New York, N. Y.

The Civil Rights Congress of New York will launch today (Thursday) a three-day series of sound-truck rallies to mobilize public protest against "the indecent haste" to rush the Mundt bill through the Senate. Thurs.

One rally will take place in the fur district at 12 noon today, at 28 St. and Seventh Ave. Tomorrow (Friday), the open air meeting will be in the garment area, at 38 St. and Seventh Ave.

On Saturday, CRC sound trucks will tour the Bronx and Harlem. American Labor Party Councilman Eugene P. Connolly will be among the speakers at the various rallies. 5-27-48

Vet Group Mum On Civil Rights

The Advertiser

MOBILE, ALA.— (AP) — Alabama's Spanish- American War Veterans refused Tuesday to consider a resolution on the controversial civil rights issue.

Without discussion, the Alabama department, United Spanish War Veterans, tabled a resolution on the subject.

Concluding its three-day convention, the department elevated William P. Gwin, retired Gadsden manufacturer, to the post of commander. Charles G. Hurst of Birmingham was named senior vice commander, and Louis A. Toombs of Montgomery junior vice commander. Montgomery Ala

The department urged congress to make the birthplace of Richmond Pearson Hobson, Spanish-American war hero, in Greensboro, a federal as well as a state shrine. Wed. 6-9-48

Law Group Adopts States-Right Stand

The News
Birmingham, Ala.

UNIVERSITY, Miss., May 31— (AP)—The Mississippi State Bar Association Saturday adopted an amended resolution endorsing the states' rights movement and opposing President Truman's civil rights program.

The action reversed a previous 55 to 23 vote by which the association adopted a resolution calling the president's civil rights recommendations "insincere." Mon.

The original resolution also accused Mr. Truman of having "seriously breached his solemn obligation to the people of the U. S. to insure domestic tranquility."

After discussion, the delegates adopted a motion replacing "insincere" with "unwise," and deleting the other phrase. 5-31-48

The amended resolution was adopted unanimously.

In A Cloud Of Sulphur

The Advertiser Ala-Journal

In Washington recently we remarked to a Southern senator who knows our political history like a schoolboy knows box scores:

Montgomery, Ala.

Senator, as I read Alabama history I find absolutely no precedent for the degree of rebellion in the state over Truman's proposals. There must not be any precedent." 5-2-48

The Senator responded:

"Oh, yes, there's a precedent all right, there's a precedent. And I'll tell you exactly what it is—1860 and the Civil War." Sun.

The Senator was only half-joking and he was more than half right.

It is in the sulphuric billows rising from the ground in the wake of Truman's Civil Disturbance program that Alabama goes to the polls Tuesday.

In this sulphuric envelope, however, are other struggles and other issues, which, in the passion and churn of the moment, are obscured as urgencies of Alabama's political life.

The Advertiser foregoes the traditional partisan appeal on the eve of the election in order simply to rehearse the salients of what has been happening in the recent and present headlong days. It is difficult for even the practicing politician to grasp so much as the main currents of what goes on in Alabama today. But a sententious history of events since Jan. 27 may do something to place the situation in focus.

Everything Started Jan. 27

The Advertiser-Ala. Journal

The purpose of Alabamians on Tuesday is to express revolt against Federal attacks on our social customs, to elect a United States senator, nine congressmen, a national committeeman, delegates to the National convention, 11 presidential electors, and county officers. Montgomery, Ala.

Everything begins with Jan. 27, the day on which Folsom announced himself for President of the United States. Some months before we had written a very cautious story that at one time the Washington biggies had looked on Folsom as a possible running mate for Truman. They had thought to give him a trial run in the mid-West, but this was abandoned. Sun

Then on Jan. 27, in lieu of a fandango excursion to Cuba, Folsom appalled even his close advisers with the announcement that he was a candidate for President. 5-2-48

The State had a laugh around. For at that time—not long ago—Alabama and the South liked the brisk, unadorned and hard-plugging Mr. Truman. Not long before that Folsom headed a campaign in which Alabamians contributed heavily to the Democratic Jackson Day campaign fund.

It appeared then that Folsom, infected with varicose self-esteem growing out of his Self Starter Campaign victory, had gone to the well once too often. He would be chastened.

Then it was that Folsom had a providential piece of luck ("The Lord takes care of children and Folsom"). Truman submitted his Civil Disturbance program. The storm broke and Folsom was the beneficiary.

The gross pretense of his candidacy for President was lost to view in the general frenzy to destroy Truman. Folsom was able to say, "I told you so." The truth is, Folsom had on Jan. 27 attacked Truman in the words and with the viewpoint of Henry Wallace — attacked Truman for giving Russia the works. Folsom's original attack had nothing whatever to do with Civil Disturbance. He simply had enough luck to last most politicians a lifetime.

The Basic Fact Of The Revolt

The Advertiser-Ala. Journal

Other stars of Alabama political life reacted with varying quickness and intensity to the citizen uproar in Alabama over Truman. A great many believed that the passion would subside. Others saw it for what it was, and some, never having liked anything about the White House since Roosevelt, stormed.

Montgomery, Ala.

Since the faroff days of Hayes and Tilden presidential electors have never been more than messenger boys who, in December, delivered the State's vote to the Democratic candidate without question. Many people were most vague even on the function of electors.

Sun 5-2-48

But suddenly there was widespread explanation of how, actually, electors might vote as they chose. Alabama never had any notion that it would ever want to do anything other than deliver its vote to the Democratic Party, the vehicle of its escape from the pestilence and ordeal of the carpetbag occupation. It had even passed a 1945 law that electors could not exercise discretion in voting, but reading the law by the glow of the current revolt, the State Supreme Court invalidated the law.

The Advertiser-Ala. Journal

There was a tumult demanding that delegates to the convention bolt the convention if the Truman proposals were included in the platform or if Truman were nominated. And here the party leadership broke ranks and became divided within itself.

The chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee, Gessner T. McCorvey, said it would be "dishonorable" if a delegate remained to ballot with Truman a contender, knowing that his state was going to withhold its electoral vote from Truman.

Montgomery, Ala.

Former Gov. Chauncey Sparks rebelled within the rebellion and argued that nothing could be gained by a limited participation in the convention proceedings. The leadership of McCorvey and the committee was repudiated, for a majority of candidates for delegates have now refused with the truculent Sparks to promise to bolt the party.

But the action of the Alabama delegation in the convention does not appear to be the important thing. The basic thing is that 21 of 28 candidates for presidential elector have signed a pledge that they would not vote for Truman. That probably means that regardless of what happens, Truman, if nominated, will never get Alabama's electoral vote — and that's what Congress counts next January. 5-2-48

Sun

No man can say today how Alabama's, say, 300,000 votes under the Rooster in November will be cast for President. Folsom has indicated that if Truman is nominated, he will bring about an Alabama convention to instruct electors.

Eisenhower Or FDR's Ghost

Sun 5-2-48

In its desperation, Alabama a few weeks ago joined Democratic leaders of other regions in seeking to fetch Eisenhower as a candidate. That appeared the providential way out for Alabama and the national party.

The Advertiser

Eisenhower, so far as it is given to any to predict, is the one standard bearer short of the ghost of Franklin Roosevelt that could lead to victory.

There is much incredulity expressed that Eisenhower can be had. The Advertiser itself has been most cautious in encouraging the hope. But it has not despaired, for the last utterance of Eisenhower in Kansas recently sounded like nothing else but encouragement to the Democratic Party's selective service board.

Montgomery, Ala.

It Never Happened Before

All that is taking place now in Alabama politics is taking place in a cloud of sulphur fumes exploded by Truman. But underneath that cloud is one of the remarkable passages in our history. That is Folsom's wide open onslaught

The Advertiser

to take dominion over this state as Huey Long did in Louisiana.

Sun 5-2-48

That is not an extravagant statement by The Advertiser. Anybody can ascertain it by reading Folsom's Forum. He has a slate of candidates for delegate, presidential elector and has endorsed a congressional candidate. On the other shoulder he is seeking to elect a United States Senator as the Kingfish elected his office boys Governor of Louisiana and a vote for them as his choices.

Montgomery, Ala.

Folsom expects to be placed in nomination for President. He has a slate of Phillip Hamm. His candidate for national committeeman.5-2-48

Sun

Folsom's candidate for the Senate is Broughton

This has never happened before in modern Alabama history.

10 1948

PM on CR

Truman's Pastor Doubts the Wisdom of Trying To Force Civil-Rights Program By Legislation

Courier-Journal Louisville, Ky.

Wed 3-10-48

Pruden Speaks At Baptist Pastor's Meeting

President Truman's pastor yesterday "doubted" the wisdom of the President's civil-rights program.

Dr. Edward Hughes Pruden, pastor of First Baptist Church, Washington, which the President attends, spoke at the annual Pastors' Conference at Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. He said:

"While most of us approve the ideals contained in the civil-rights program, we seriously doubt the wisdom of trying to force such ideals by legislation before the people are morally or spiritually prepared to accept them."

An 'Explosive' Problem.

He said the interracial problem is one of the "most urgent and explosive" questions now before the church.

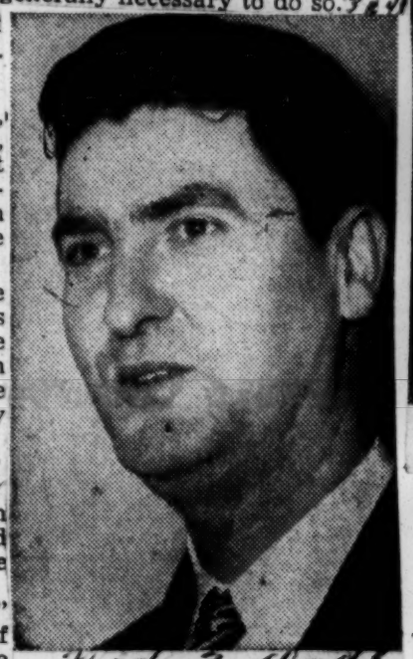
"We are constantly confronted," he said, "by the alternatives of going too slowly and giving the impression we lack courage, or of going too rapidly and forfeiting our places of leadership among those who need it most."

Dr. Claud B. Bowen, pastor of Calvary Baptist Church, Jackson, Miss., conducted the conference on "The Pastor and Personal Evangelism." He said the church should pay more heed to "young Christians," meaning the newcomers to the church. After these persons are won to the church a program should be inaugurated to teach them how they can fit into the church plan of world service, he said.

The church as an educator has "an obligation to be intelligent and keep before its membership integrated and clear objectives," Dr. Solon B. Cousins, head of the Bible department of the University of Richmond, told those attending the conference on "The Church As An Educator." "One of the great weaknesses of the modern church," he said, "is the lack of co-ordination among its various organizations."

Dr. Everett Gill, Jr., foreign-messions secretary for Latin America, said that some of our missionaries today are finding that they can be more readily acceptable as leaders in foreign countries if they become citizens of those countries.

"This may become increasingly necessary," he added. "While a large number of American young people are ready to pay the price of giving up their citizenship to become missionaries, it is not yet generally necessary to do so."



DR. CLAUD B. BOWEN
Would teach newcomers

Courier-Journal Photos.
DR. EDWARD H. PRUDEN
Discusses 'urgent' issue

DR. SOLON B. COUSINS
'Church has obligation'

Lo, the Poor Indian

Louisville Courier-Journal 10 PM on CR

Why don't some of you high-minded humanitarians quit yelling about the mistreatment of the Negro and try to lend a helping hand to those who could use one—or have you forgotten there is such a group as the American Indian? Remember? The fellow whom our fine white forefathers starved of the land, the fellow who was crowded on to some of the poorest land in the country. If it happened to be good land, there was something wrong with the treaty which gave it to him; the fellow who can't live outside this land; the fellow whose children starved and froze to death during the winter because of insufficient food and clothing. These people squawk about how the Negro is discriminated against. Negroes live in luxury compared to the forgotten American. Where would we all be today if our forefathers had not been progressive (?) enough to take from the Indian everything he had? Why not give them a few of the rights and privileges enjoyed by everyone in this great land of ours? Even aliens are better off.

FED UP.

Anchorage, Ky. Mon 5-10-48

NAACP HITS CONGRESS BIAS SCHOOL BILLS

Daily Worker New York, N.Y. Sat. 3-13-48

Call Southern Jimcrow College Plan 'Close to Totalitarianism'

The NAACP branded as "dangerously close to totalitarianism" the bills introduced in the House and Senate permitting Jimcrow regional schools by 15 southern states, and called for resistance to an "un-American caste system in education."

A part of the counter-attack by Southern diehards against civil rights, the bills would authorize establishment of graduate and professional schools for Negro and white students. It is presumed that present state schools operating for white graduate students would be closed. This latter danger to general education in the South has drawn opposition from southern whites to the Jimcrow plan.

More than a week ago the House Judiciary Committee approved the bill, but did not report it to the floor. Hearings have been held on an identical bill by the Senate Judiciary Committee, and no decision has been announced as yet by that body.

PART OF BARGAIN?

Washington representatives of Negro and civil rights organizations have expressed fear that the regional school plan as now written in the bills before Congress will be sneaked across as part of the bargaining of the administration with the southern rebels. They joined the NAACP in calling for letters to Congressmen and Senators urging that the legislation be defeated.

This move to set up a federally sanctioned Jimcrow educational system began with the Southern Governors' Conference after the Supreme Court decision in the case of Mrs. Ada Lois Sipuel Fisher.

ONE-MAN SCHOOL

Under that decision Oklahoma refused Mrs. Fisher's admission to the University of Oklahmoa and instead established a one-woman law school. The NAACP and Mrs. Fisher are still fighting for her admission to the Oklahoma U. law school, as the only means of obtaining equal educational facilities in the state. She opens a new suit in the Federal District Court at Norman, Okla., on next April 5.

Walter White, NAACP executive secretary, speaking last Sunday before the southern regional conference of the organization, attacked the Jimcrow regional school plan as a "slick device" to subvert the "equal educational facilities" ruling of the Supreme Court. White condemned all types of segregation as being "the core of the so-called race problem in America."

The conference, attended by 300 Negroes from seven southern states—Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, South Carolina, North Carolina and Tennessee—urged qualified Negro youths to apply for admission to all tax-supported univresities in their respective states.

WESTBROOK PEGLER

Tolerance Leaders Are So Intolerant

The Atlanta Constitution

No fair-minded bigot of the tolerance movement could ask me to submit to further imposition, indeed persecution, without the privilege of a little reaction. As a youth, I knew others of my age fore, upon escape from childhood's thrall, embraced heresy with a carnal joy. One of them, a fugitive from an austere academy on the outskirts of Chicago, when last I saw him was living sedately and respectably in the sin of apostacy in Washington and teaching his children to regard the clergy as spiritual chiropodists, at best, and, on the average, no better than so many Caribbean voodoo gurus, selling boss-fix powder to tree-dwelling parishioners with thumbs on their feet.

Atlanta, Ga.

Saintly men in holy orders have passed signs at his door and undoubtedly have taken the liberty of breathing incantations for the innocent souls of his bairns, denied access to the word through no fault of their own. But he mocks them with outrageous courtesy. The excesses which drove him to this horrible revenge I have often heard, God forgive me that I didn't hit him with a bottle or, anyway, call a curse to put myself on record. But I drop a veil, indeed, an iron curtain.

I find myself almost as sorely tried in another respect.

Tues. Feb. 24, 1948

I am not clearly aware how long it has been since I was allowed the privilege, nay the intellectual and constitutional right, to roll my own ideas and enjoy them on such topics as European and American politics, the relations of racial and religious minorities with the majorities, the wisdom and dignity of people and the patriotism of Charles A. Lindbergh, Gerald L. K. Smith, Burton K. Wheeler and the Rev. Charles E. Coughlin.

There is only one permissible stand on any of these subjects and that is the stand of several presumptuous religious groups, including some monstrous compromises between natural theological enemies and a great roster of councils, alliances, federations and congresses. That stand is preached on Sunday nights by our great modern Henry Ward Beechers, the Messrs. Winchell and Pearson, and on other nights and at other times by radio and from the rostum of the town hall and high school auditorium by a multitude of other evangelists of similar mind and fury. They include, of course, Eleanor Roosevelt, Frank Sinatra, Harry S. Truman, William S. Gailmor, otherwise Margolis, a certain Frank Kingdom, somehow known as Doctor, Louis Adamic, Quentin Reynolds, Walter Feuchtwanger, of Hollywood, sometimes called Wanger, and Danny Kaye. They include the Rev. Stephen S. Wise and other noted Zionists who would put me in a very bad light for dissenting from their political conclusions, to say nothing of my disallowing their political premises.

Tues-2-24-48

These wise counsellors are so confident in their own convictions and so impatient of the criminal depravity, to put it nicely, of all who permit a shadow of doubt to darken their brows, that they have aroused in at least one and I may assume in certain other Americans a perverse determination to think for themselves, to reexamine many hastily and carelessly accepted political and social axioms, and to insist on a hearing for the opposition in rebuttal.

Henry L. Mencken, a heretic but in some respects a rather worth-while fellow, observed some time ago that the Rev. Gerald L. K. Smith was, in his opinion, the greatest American orator of our time. My opinion of oratory is like my opinion of toe-dancers and if I were let alone I should never desire to endure the gusts of the Rev. Smith.

Tell me that I can't hear him, however; lay it down to me that I may hear him only at risk of the wrath of these kidneys and my curiosity becomes a fierce determination. I have never met him, I do not know what he preaches. I have heard gossip, possibly slanderous, that he liked Hitler. If this last be true, his crime was no worse and probably was more casual and less binding than the spiritual association between some other pundits of the established politico-social and racial faith and Joseph Stalin. Moreover, Hitler is, I take it, dead, and to those who insist on proof from me my rejoinder must be a demand for equally heartening assurance of Roosevelt's death. So, as I assume, Hitler is dead, but Stalin is not and Stalin thus remains at this hour a moral and military menace to my country.

Tues-2-24-48

Nevertheless, I have been put upon so long and so contemptuously that I am now driven to new counsel. I discover that I never did hear Lindbergh through, that I know Smith only by the angry opinions of his enemies, surely no ground for condemnation, and that former Sen. Wheeler was judged, tried, prosecuted and condemned by persons who were infuriated because they wanted this country to go to war against Hitler and Wheeler thought it wasn't necessary. Wheeler is neither a crook nor a monster.

I took a more intelligent interest in Father Coughlin when he was active and my rejection of him as a political and, even, a religious figure, was based on associations, actions and practices which were known to me.

Yet even in this case, I would take a review because I have a deep conviction that most of those who have damned all these men and many others are, themselves, worse. They have long had a monopoly not only of the means of expression but of the thinking of the people. By sheer power of sound and emotional clamor, these dissenters were driven out of the forum and stoned down the road.

I close with one example, Truman's political move against segregation.

In the White House, Franklin D. Roosevelt had scores of employees. The only Negroes were menials. In Warm Springs, Ga., he sold a piece of property with a proviso in the contract, written there by Roosevelt, forbidding the sale of that land to or its use by any person of Negro blood. (Deed record 25, page 215, Meriwether County, Georgia.)

Tues-2-24-48

Truman, naturally, idolized Roosevelt as a political moosehead in the trophy hall of the Democratic party on Jefferson-Jackson Day.

He plumped against discrimination and segregation only to carry New York, Chicago, Pittsburgh and Indianapolis, with their Negro balance of power, next Fall. He knew that the Southern Democrats wouldn't go Republican and that the Republicans wouldn't dare invite them.

Now am I to agree with Truman, knowing him to be a hypocrite, or hadn't I better stay honest the rest of my life and either condemn discrimination on decent grounds or have the decency to accept it.

Truman Says He'll Help Phrase Civil Rights Measure If Asked, But Drafting It Is Congress' Own Affair

Washington, March 11 (AP) — President Truman said today if Congress wants some suggestions from him on how to phrase civil-rights legislation, he will be glad to oblige.

But he made clear at a news conference he isn't going to submit any draft of a bill to carry out his race-relations proposals. These proposals have been bitterly attacked by Southern political leaders.

Truman explained Congress never feels happy about the executive branch's submitting detailed legislation.

In another political phase of the news conference, the President opposed the tentative steps Secretary Anderson has made toward leaving the Cabinet to run for the Senate from New Mexico.

He said he expects to see Anderson tomorrow. He told a questioner he hopes Anderson will stay in the Cabinet, and that he would oppose his leaving.

Truman declined to expand on his own candidacy for President. He said he thought the Democratic Chairman McGrath had stated the case thoroughly in announcing Monday that Truman would accept the nomination.

Meanwhile, McGrath said the Democratic Party is under vicious attack, and must strike back hard. He told a rally of Democratic leaders that cities have centered on President Truman and have a super effort under way to discourage Democrats."

"It is being viciously pursued," he added.

McGrath's words at the closed-door session were relayed to newsmen by publicity director John M. Redding. He said Mc-Grath, in naming sources of opposition, was referring to Communists and Republicans, not Southern Democrats.

"He told them," Redding said, "that we are in the middle of a world crisis, a struggle for leadership, and the stakes are high. He told them to get out and tell the people about it and the attempts to discourage party members."

Mayor David L. Lawrence of Pittsburgh and Frank McHale of Indianapolis reported there was "some discussion" of the President's civil-rights program. Mrs. Lennard Thomas of Montgomery, Ala., told a reporter she expects "to bring it up for full discussion later."

"I'm against it," she said. "I'm for the South."

The conference, which will run through tomorrow, was called to discuss convention plans.

Some Southern political leaders are talking of pulling their delegations out of the convention if it nominates Truman on a platform backing his civil-rights program.

McHale and Lawrence saw Henry A. Wallace and his third party as a positive menace. Both recommended the Democrats "go after" the former Vice-President.

As for civil rights, McHale said he thought most of those at the conference felt "civil rights have been a part of the Constitution

THE PULSE OF THE PUBLIC

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

The Constitution welcomes letters on either side of any subject. They should not exceed 200 words and must be signed, although names will be withheld on request. We regret none can be returned. Address all letters to Editor Constitution, Atlanta, Ga.

Meddling

Editor Constitution: Read in your April 7 edition about what a Northerner had to say about the Southern Negro. It is sickening. The Northern gentleman forgot that we Southern Negroes have the best college system in the country; he also forgot that we have some very well-educated Negroes in the South, such as editors, bankers, professors, ministers and lawyers; also businessmen. And then, too, we don't need any of those Yankees coming down South running our business.

ROBERT TUGGLE.

Atlanta.

Mon. 4-12-48

Crime and Color

Editor Constitution: I would like to answer the article signed, "A Northerner," published in April 7 edition. I would like to say that if the writer had read his paper thoroughly he would have found plenty other thieveries committed by both Negroes and whites. The Negro is not, by far, the only criminal.

He also threw up the shopworn smoke screen concerning the Negro's capability from a mental standpoint. If the writer is at all intelligent and open-minded, he knows there are mental giants, morons, imbeciles and idiots in all races, the Negro not excepted.

I know that all the Negro needs is an equal opportunity. "Mr. Northerner" knows it, too.

The Negro asks for justice. That is all he asks. No self-respecting Negro wishes to mix with the whites, socially. Too much of that has been done already, as our race shows.

As to the punishment for crime, the Northerner must undoubtedly know that the Negro always gets a much more severe sentence for anything he does than the other fellow.

Barnesville. J. B. HAYNES.

Pot and Kettle

Editor Constitution: In reading your article in today's (April 7) "Letters to the Editor" on a "Northerner's View," I would like to know how capable must a Negro be mentally to get anything better?

If the Negro were better paid or educated, does he or she think that we would stoop to anything so low as stealing.

When the Negro woman is paid $20 to $25 weekly, the white people seem to think she is being paid a fortune. When the Negro man is paid $30 to $35 weekly, it is the same. Is it not a fact that we, the Negro, have to pay as much for food, clothing and housing as the average white? Then why is it we are not paid as much?

Does this Northerner look only for the fault of the Negro? I read the paper daily and every day I see murders, embezzlements and different crimes done by the whites also.

No race is perfect, Negro or white, so why should the pot talk about the kettle.

Atlanta. G. B. FINLEY.

Appease Treason?

Editor Constitution: I have just read a most distasteful article in your newspaper, "Negro Draft-Defiance," by A. Philip Randolph, Negro President of Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. I do not believe in persecution of any minority group, neither do I believe in any minority group intimidating through propaganda or threat our ideals of American life. Maybe I am mistaken but I am under the impression that under the principles of democracy the majority shall rule. Under our Constitution and Bill of Rights we have a right to work to our pursuit of happiness. If we choose not to associate with the Negro, that is our pursuit of happiness. Certainly no law can be passed to make the white people do so.

Now for the person who threatens treason, anticipates or advocates it. He is guilty of being un-American. This is as bad as Communism, Facism, or any ism. Any person making threat of treason against our Government for any reason should be prosecuted. Will our leaders accept this threat and appease the Negro minority or will they follow the mandate of democracy, that the majority rules?

CHARLES H. ALLEN.

Austell.

Best for the South

Editor Constitution: Our Southern legislators, backed by the Constitution of the United States in their just and loyal fight against the discrimatory civil rights issues, are sincerely and earnestly defending the rights of the Southern people. May they never falter in the stand expected of them by all true Southerners who believe in the Bill of Rights. The Federal rights proposals, in taking away individual freedom of association and those remaining rights absolutely necessary to the States, will be destroying those very principles for which they are mistakenly intended.

The prejudiced actions of the Ku Klux and the biased attitude of many Northern civil rights proponents have tended to shadow the rapid advances the Southern States and their people have made in solving the complex racial problems.

EDWARD SNELL.

Atlanta.

Social Equality

Editor Constitution: In reference to Clara Robbins' "Negro Agitators": If you are against social equality, social and educational mixing you are against the Negro. These are the important socialogical factors of any race. If you cannot appreciate these desirable factors what is there in the race that you can appreciate?

The white (Southern) man has given little upon his own free will toward educating the Negro. In the meantime Negroes have continued to pay taxes of every description. Maybe Walter White of the NAACP would prefer seeing one Negro in the University of Georgia rather than 3,000 in segregated, ill-equipped schools. A lot of talk accomplishes nothing. Build the Negro universities equivalent to the University of Georgia, schools of technology equivalent to Georgia Tech, State colleges equivalent to those of the whites and the Negro will not demand admittance to your universities and colleges, nor seek your society. When this is done the only thing the Negro will expect of the white man is non-interference with his natural rights.

Albany. JAMES E. BURTON.

Not to Tech

Editor Constitution: Some time ago there was a statement in an editorial that certain Negroes would rather see one Negro in Georgia Tech than 3,000 in an all-Negro institution.

Under no circumstances would I be that one to enter Georgia Tech. I would rather go to Atlanta's Federal Prison for the same period of time. I would learn much more and at the same time I would not be haunted by the thought of not being welcome. It is not that I dislike white people, but I know they dislike me when I cease to be a servant.

Atlanta. MILTON FOSTER.

Bad Example

Editor Constitution: I notice a Northerner who did not sign his name in the paper on April 7 stating about the Negroes caught stealing at the Georgia Tech cafeteria. Now that's nothing strange. Who steals any more than some white people?, In other words, we came here from Africa, or at least we were brought and sold. All the meanness we know we learned from the white man. From time to time you will find the white man doing more stealing than the Negro.

J. E. ROSS.

Arlington.

South To Walk Out On 'Rights' Candidates

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

The South will not give its electoral votes to any civil rights candidate for President, Democratic Party chieftains of five Southeastern States bluntly declared here Monday.

The leaders—including Chairman James Peters of the Georgia Democratic Committee—discussed a common course of action for the various Democratic Parties of the South to follow in fighting a civil rights program, but they declined to disclose exactly what action is contemplated. Some of these plans may be divulged at the close of the conference today.

The party chairmen expressed themselves in favor of a "States' Rights" Conference to be held in Jackson, Miss., May 10, and all said they would attend that session. Peters previously had said he did not plan to attend the Jackson meeting.

4-13-48

While no plans were announced by the group here, other Southerners have talked of fighting the civil rights program by first battling against Mr. Truman's renomination at the Democratic National Convention, fighting against a civil rights program in the party's platform, throwing the Presidential election into the House of Representatives by withholding the electorial votes, or forming a new Southern Party.

William P. Baskin, Chairman of the South Carolina State Democratic Committee, was named Chairman of the Southern group meeting here. Present besides him and Peters were Gessner McCorvey, Alabama Chairman; Joe Hill Williams, Florida Chairman, and J. O. Emmerich, representing Mississippi.

Atlanta, Ga.

President Truman Reveals His Inconsistency

The Record

An interesting sidelight on Evanston's resort to mob violence in an attempt to prevent Henry Wallace from making a speech is revealed by the comment of President Harry Truman on the incident.

The day following the Evanston fracas President Truman held a press conference in Washington and one of the reporters present raised the question of what the federal government would do in such cases.

Mr. Truman told him that the mob raid on the home of a Communist in Columbus, Ohio, and the mob violence against Wallace at Evanston, Ind., as a result of which some of Wallace's followers were injured, were both improper, as obviously they were. And he might have made it much stronger than that; both were cowardly and unlawful.

But, he said, their correction is up to the state governments concerned.

And what is the difference between a mob in Ohio, attacking a Communist accused of no crime, or one in Indiana, attacking a campaign meeting, if Henry Wallace may be described as a candidate for the presidency, and a mob in South Carolina or Georgia attacking a Negro, suspected of some crime? Civil rights are civil rights even when claimed by a Communist or asserted by Henry Wallace.

Columbus, SC

And if the President believes it is the function of the states of Ohio and of Indiana to move against mobs in Ohio or Indiana—and in this he is, of course, correct—why doesn't he also believe that South Carolina should take care of its mobs? 4-13-48

Curiously the Republicans decided Friday to take up the anti-lynching bill in the Senate to open the civil rights fight. Three measures, all involved in President Truman's so-called civil rights program, are before the Senate—the anti-lynching bill, the anti-poll tax bill and the fair employment practices bill. Of these three the Republicans decided the anti-lynching bill will be the easiest to pass.

The Record

All of them are, of course, certain to bring filibusters by Southern Senators, but Senator Taft, Republican policy committee chairman, believes that there is a chance that this can be broken on the anti-lynching bill by the application of cloture, limiting debate.

Columbia, SC

And disregarding the fact that the anti-lynching law involves fundamentals of government, which should not be disregarded, and the further fact that regretably it will increase rather than inhibit lynchings, which should be discouraged rather than encouraged, The Record would not object to the bill's passage. Lynching is a disappearing crime, almost a disappeared one. And the enactment of the bill as a practical matter means nothing. It is purely a political measure, sponsored by both Republicans and Democrats for the purpose of getting Negro votes. The surprising things about it are that both parties assume that the Negroes in the North are so gullible as to be taken in such a trick and that it should be brought up at the very moment when President Truman comes to the conclusion that its application in Ohio and Indiana would be, to borrow his own word, improper.

Tues. 4-13-48

Nothing But Harm

The Constitution

Editor Constitution: I am not in favor of the two parts of President Truman's civil rights request advocating FEPC and the abolition of Jim Crow practices, because nothing good can come from such a forced law. It would do more harm to the Negro race than good. These two points can be realized only through a slow process, as has been steadily proved since the days of Lincoln. The Negro race has come a long way since then and is gradually being given the rights which it so rightfully deserves. For the good of all, no attempt must be made to accomplish this overnight.

Atlanta, Ga

I am, though, very much in favor of an anti-poll tax law and an anti-lynch law. I canot see how any broadminded human being can be against these two points. That's why it is so hard to understand the position taken by our members of Congress regarding this whole issue. They are either for the whole program or against the whole program. There seems to be no in-between. That in itself explains the fault which lies in the majority of our representatives. They are either influenced by party ties, by sectional ties or by upcoming elections. If they could only forget these factors, I am sure the country as a whole would benefit far more.

Atlanta. 4-26-48 GLENN TOWERS.

Would They?

The Constitution

Editor Constitution: This letter is in reference to a few white persons implying that there are several million Europeans who would just love to be in the Negroes' shoes.

Atlanta

Apparently, there are many unfavorable factors that would make any individual unwilling to accept the terrible social standing imposed upon the Negro in this country.

Ga

I would like for the Rome, Ga., occupants who wrote this letter to consider this question: If they were members of the several million white Europeans, would they just love to be in the Negroes' shoes? 4-30-48

H. J. BEANS, JR.

Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

Advice To Crusaders

The Atlanta Journal

At the risk of inviting additional criticism from those who delight in picayunish verbal assaults upon the shortcomings of the South, we should like to endorse some of the advice given recently by Governor Millard Caldwell of Florida to certain crusaders who have taken upon themselves what they regard as the "holy assignment" of reforming this "backward region."

Montgomery, Ala

"We read," said Governor Caldwell, "of the gang wars, crimes and riots of the North, but we would certainly never attempt to tell you how to correct these conditions. Be just as fair with us. Acknowledge that here in the South we are living with these problems and that we are assiduously trying to better our standards in an effort to oust all inequities. We are handicapped by outside interference, but we are succeeding. Let us not confuse worthy aims and lofty ideals with a grimy political effort to hoodwink the minorities."

Fri. 4-30-48

As Governor Caldwell made clear, we must make no attempt to justify prejudice and intolerance, "but none of us can honestly deny that both prejudice and intolerance exist throughout the country." What we resent, and what we believe we have justification for resenting, is that there are some who roundly berate us for even the least of our shortcomings while, at the same time, they close their eyes completely not only to our efforts to overcome these shortcomings but to our success in doing so. As Governor Caldwell puts it: "The people in other parts of the country have not been told of our efforts and progress in the field of humanities. . . . Neither have the people heard that many of the Southern states have long ago abolished the poll tax, that lynching is practically a thing of the past, that public health and public education have made tremendous headway and that no decent Southerner condones lynching, bigotry or brutality."

To those same critics whom Governor Caldwell addresses, we say, give us a chance. We have our problems. We are living with them. And we are trying to solve them. We are trying not to underestimate them. At the same time, we are trying not to overestimate them. Our picayunish critics are contributing little to the solution of them by the verbal abuse they heap upon us, with or without provocation and seemingly with both abandon and delight.

Voice Of The People

The News

To Be Understood

To the Editor of The News:

Birmingham, Ala.

The Negro just wants civil rights, and that does not call for intermarriage. To keep the Negro down, some Southern people use that kind of talk. They forget that it takes at least two to marry. 4-6-48

What we want is a chance to become better citizens and to let others understand us better. The people we just got through fighting have a better chance than the Negro. Any Russian, whether white or red, has a better chance here than the Negro. We want to be understood and trusted, but how can we be trusted if we are not understood? How can you do that unless we are tried? Please give the Negro a chance. Tues. 4-6-48

Sayreton, Ala. LAWYER DOUGLASS.

Poll Tax Bill Approved by Rules Group

The Constitution

Atlanta, Ga.

Thurs. 4-29-48

WASHINGTON, April 28—(UP) — Senate Republicans Wednesday pushed another of President Truman's disputed racial-rights planks a step closer to becoming law.

By a seven-two vote, the GOP-dominated Senate Rules Committee approved a House-passed anti-poll-tax bill which would outlaw poll taxes as a requirement for voting in Federal elections.

States levying poll taxes include Texas, Mississippi, Arkansas, Alabama, Tennessee, Virginia and South Carolina.

The action was certain to fan anew the flames of the Southern Democratic revolt which broke when the President called for a series of racial-rights measures earlier this year.

Thurs

Five Republicans and two Democrats on the Committee joined against two other Democrats in the vote to send the antipoll-tax measure to the Senate floor.

Voting for the bill were: Chairman C. Wayland Brooks, Republican, Illinois, and Sens. Irving M. Ives, Republican, New York; John W. Bricker, Republican, Ohio; Keneth S. Wherry, Republican, Nebraska; Bourke B. Hickenlooper, Republican, Iowa; Theodore F. Green, Democrat, Rhode Island, and Brien McMahon, Democrat, Connecticut. 4-29-48

Sens. Carl Hayden, Democrat, Arizona, and John C. Stennis, Democrat, Mississippi, voted against it.

President Truman Reaffirms Civil Rights Program

World Memphis Tenn

Tue. 6-22-48

LOS ANGELES (NNPA)—President Truman on Monday, June 14, reiterated here his adherence to his civil rights program. Tue. 6-22-48

The Rev. Clayton Russell, one of the delegates to the Democratic National Convention who conferred with Mr. Truman, said he asked the President whether he still stood by his civil rights program which precipitated a revolt among southern Democrats. He quoted the Chief Executive as replying:

"I never made a proposal and backed down on it."

ARGUMENT AGAINST ISOLATION

The Advertiser *Montgomery, Ala.* *Mon. 4-26-48*

That a policy of isolation is dangerous to the South and that this section can and should find friends in the North instead of trying to go it alone is the argument put forth by The Southern Weekly. It contends that success of what it terms the "New Reconstruction" is possible only because people of the North do not realize what is happening and because Southerners "have continued to regard the Republican Party as the South's worst enemy instead of a potential friend to be given at least an even break."

In an article captioned "We Can Find Allies Outside of South" The Southern Weekly cites some significant figures from a recent Gallup Poll which somehow largely escaped general attention. The poll showed the not surprising fact that people of the Southern states voted nine to one against Truman's Civil Disturbance program. What the Dallas publication regards as truly significant is what the poll showed for the rest of the country.

Outside of the South, we are reminded it showed that 45 per cent of the people had never heard of the program; another 19 per cent had no opinion to express, interpreted as meaning they were indifferent to it; 15 per cent were opposed, and only 21 per cent favored enactment of the so-called "civil rights" measures into law.

Editor Molyneaux contends that the bulk of the people in the North are wholly unaware of the true nature of the program proposed in their name, and that "to bring a majority of them to a full realization of the cruel and unjust character of this New Reconstruction of the South is the real job that Southerners now face. . . . If its politicians succeed in further isolating the South in an effort to coerce Northern Democratic politicians into abandoning the 'civil rights' program, this can result only in creating further confusion and misunderstanding of the South among the people of other sections."

He concedes that missionary work among the Yankees is a tough job, that "the cards are stacked against the South," charges "bias against the South" on the part of national agencies for disseminating information and influencing public opinion.

A reappraisal of the Gallup Poll does seem to indicate that there is not exactly a clamorous demand among rank and file Yankees for the Civil Disturbance program, what with barely better than one person out of five queried up there declaring in favor of it. The trouble is that those who are for the program are more vociferous, and more likely to take out after a politician who dares go counter to the crusade.

The truth is that even during the Civil War there was considerable pro-Southern sentiment in the North, and that since then many Yankees have manifested understanding and sympathy. It is the contention of The Southern Weekly that the national Democratic Party, which long stood against coercion of the South, has switched from its historic role and that the South should undertake a campaign of education to win new friends in the North.

Segregation

Editor Constitution: It is worthy to note that the word civilized has as its root the word civil. Since we are a civilized people why should we have to debate whether or not all men should enjoy civil rights? *The Constitution*

One recent writer in this column said: "The South has gone a long way toward solving its racial problems; but they can only be solved by the people within the Southland." If the South has not solved its problems as long as it has been the South, then it is time for the Federal Government to enforce the law. *5-21-48*

Too many lynchings have gone unsolved and too many criminals have gone unpunished. I believe if lynching was a Federal offense there would be fewer. Segregation, whether it be in interstate travel or in employment, is detrimental to the soul of a nation. Some confusion arises when reference to social equality and nonsegregation is made. Some of us believe that the one means the other. We invite whom we choose into our homes. Some of us have the experience of visiting members of the other race in the role of one human being exchanging ideas with another. Yet there are some who would not think of accepting members of the other race whether or not a nonsegregation law was passed. Ministers from the pulpit, movie skits, Boy Scouts, all advocate the principles of Christian brotherhood and unity. Yet the individual has to accept the idea before it can be a living thing. We should not be lip servants. We should in truth learn to please a God who is no respecter of persons. VEOLIA ADAMS.

Atlanta. *Atlanta, Ga.*

Hopes And Fears

To the Editor of The News: *The News*

After reading some of the articles and comments which have appeared in your paper on the civil rights of the Negro, I wondered if the authors of these articles and comments actually realize what the civil rights mean to the Negro. *Birmingham, Ala.*

Brown America and other American minority groups in this so-called great democracy are poised expectantly on the threshold of a new adventure in human relations. They stand ready to take the next step in the quest for freedom—full recognition of rights as citizens of the United States. This surge of feeling and belief is the result of the offering to Congress for adoption of a 10-point charter of human rights.

Negroes view civil rights with mingled feelings. There is joy and hope—such as might have accompanied the Declaration of Independence, Bill of Rights or the Emancipation Proclamation; and there is fear, reminiscent of the bitter days when men fought to preserve the institutions of slavery. The initial step of the president in understanding the problems of minorities was the appointing of a committee for research. This committee studied all phases of life in America. Their thoughts and findings were blended into the recommendations which constitute civil rights.

The Negro, though only one of the groups concerned, will be most vitally affected, as it is against him that many of the biases are directed. The reactionaries in the North and South will not concede civil rights and give up their beliefs without a fight. These foes of liberalism are girded for the bitter battle, as they can no longer label these struggles as anything but American. There is evidence that there will be no retreat on civil rights. Many persons are farsighted enough to see that the minority problem is not wholly a question of whether a race shall be totally free, but whether our country can maintain a democratic way of life. *5-10-48*

When the smoke of the battle has cleared away, this Fall of 1948, it is the hope of 13,000,000 Negroes that civil rights will be a fact and not a fancy, and that all men may feel security in the promise of "liberty, equality and justice. LUCILLE E. BROWN.

Talladega College, Talladega, Ala.

Meaning Of Civil Rights

To the Editor of The News:

It seems to me most of the people don't really understand the meaning of civil rights. As a so-called citizen and voter, I think I can express the feeling of most of my race. We do not want social equality in any form. But suppose a white man and myself were partners in an illegal enterprise. We are caught by the law and found guilty. They would sentence him to six months and me to 10 years, just because my face is dark. Do you think that is justice?

I don't want the white man's job, but if a vacancy occurs and I am a senior employe with other qualifications the job calls for, I am entitled to it with the rate of pay the job carries. *Birmingham, Ala.*

Food and clothing cost me the same. They don't cut prices because of color.

We don't want any part in the social or personal affairs of the white man, but we are entitled to the same opportunity to provide comfort for our families, through being able to work wherever our qualifications warrant, regardless of race, creed or color. *4-21-48*

King Solomon said: "Of all thy getting, get thee understanding." I think that is what more of us need, especially our state and national leaders. Do not enter upon any enterprise without the guidance of the Holy Spirit. *The News* LEN GAY MICKEL.

3409 33rd Terrace. North.

Civil Rights Hullabaloo

To the Editor of The News-Age-Herald:

So-called Democrats of the South should individually think about what all this hullabaloo over civil rights and defiance of the will of the majority really amounts to. As individuals, as citizens of Dixie, as voters, we should have sense enough to knew that it is not wise for one-third of a nation to defy majority will.

Some of our political doom-bringers talk loudly of a police state if Truman or any advocate of civil rights for all is nominated and elected, either on the Democratic or Republican ticket. Such talk appeals to unthinking people, of whom there seems to be far too many—not just in Dixie but in other parts of our country, or there would not be so many who favor Wallace.

Since reconstruction days no state has been dominated by the armed forces of the United States. Federal troops are sent into a state only at request of the governor or some other recognized state authority. Chaos must be apparent before the federal government takes over a state. Statutes passed by Congress and signed by the president are not laws when the Supreme Court says they are not constitutional.

It is the privilege and right of Southern Democrats to vote the Republican ticket as a protest against a so-called anti-Southern Democratic candidate. It is neither democratic nor honest for a Democratic elector to vote for someone else when the elector disapproves of the Democratic nominee.

Minority rule has brought chaos and a possible War III to our nation and world. Minority rule, not Stalin, will destroy our U. S. A. We Southerners, for peace and order, must cooperate with the majority. To do otherwise is not good sense. W. G. KITTS.

1216 Woodland Avenue.

NOT PROUD OF BIRMINGHAM

To the Editor of The News-Age-Herald:

I have always been rather proud of being "Birmingham-born." Our home on 11th Court, South, South Highlands School, Ramsay High, St. Mary's-on-the-Highlands are pleasant memories. I haven't been back to Birmingham in nearly 10 years—and now I am not sure I want to. In the last few days I have become too ashamed of the city to acknowledge it as my birthplace.

Birmingham's treatment of Sen. Glen Taylor was completely outrageous. It matters very little whether you agree or disagree with a person's politics, but it does matter whether you observe the basic American constitutional decencies. Birmingham's exhibition of Ku Klux provincialism was nauseous to me. I hope Birmingham's thoughtful, decent people were shocked too—and do something about it! The South can't go backwards—it needs to "grow up" and practice the facts of democracy. Arresting U. S. senators and convicting them for not following the South's illegal "laws" is not growing up.

Democracy is very simple, and natural, and it works. The South should forget its neurotic fears and try it. I would like to be proud of Birmingham. MARTHA ANDERSON PRINCE.

(Mrs. J. H. Prince)

103 Joralemon Street, Brooklyn Heights, New York City.

President Truman Reaffirms Civil Rights Program

LOS ANGELES (NNPA)—President Truman on Monday, June 14, reiterated here his adherence to his civil rights program.

The Rev. Clayton Russell, one of the delegates to the Democratic National Convention who conferred with Mr. Truman, said he asked the President whether he still stood by his civil rights program which precipitated a revolt among southern Democrats. He quoted the Chief Executive as replying:

"I never made a proposal and backed down on it."

Truman Sees Reds Entitled to Civil Rights

WASHINGTON — (U.P.) — President Truman indirectly extended his battle for civil rights to the Communists and Henry A. Wallace, the third-party presidential candidate.

Mr. Truman told his news conference that recent instances of violence in the Midwest against Communists and Wallace supporters were improper.

He said they must be handled on a local basis, however, because he has no police powers in such matters.

* * *

MR. TRUMAN REPEATEDLY has exhorted against mob violence of any kind, but has stressed that the Federal Government is helpless to intervene because Federal and state rights conflict.

As a solution, he has urged Federal laws under which local officials could be prosecuted for failing to safeguard lynch victims.

At Thursday's conference Mr. Truman was questioned particularly about a suggestion from Walter Reuther, president of the UAW (CIO), that the President go before the nation to remind the people that civil rights apply to Communists as well as to other people.

Labor Net Opposing Rights

LAKE CHARLES, LA., April 7, (Special)—"The cry of white supremacy no longer will drive organized labor from its progam for social justice. Working men and women will not demand of their senators and representatives that they oppose the Civil Rights Program."

With these words Rev. Vincent J. O'Connell, S. M. New Orleans, told 600 A. F of L. men of Labor's positive program for justice, which he described as "the reply of organized labor to race-baiters."

Father O'Connell, who is general chairman of the Catholic Committee of the South, spoke today at a session of the Louisiana State Federation of Labor 36th Annual Convention. The Catholic Committee of the South is a regional organization to promote justice in race relations, labor - management dealings, education and similar fields.

Commenting on the sincerity of the "revolt of the Southern governors" Fatrer O'Connell said that labor's revolt against injustice was a deeper revolt and that it would result in working men asking their representatives: "Did you back the Marshall Plan? Did you fight for houses for our people? For a decent living wage? For effective rent control?"

A Louisiana state economic council with equal representation from industry, labor, finance, commerce, agiculture and the public," was urged on the labor delegates. Such a council, the priest said, "could point the way to an economic life based on the American principles of liberty and justice for all.

"So that the Southern worker may assume his full share of social responsibility his organization must be economized on an epual footing with the organigations of industrialists, businessmen and farmers.

"Organized labor does have a positive program and it is the program of the people."

ENGLISH VIEW OF CIVIL DISTURBANCE

One of the best commentaries we have seen on President Truman's Civil Disturbance blunder is carried by The Manchester Guardian, one of the world's great newspapers, in its issue of April 1. The English newspaper's comment was made in connection with the review of a case from Randolph County, Alabama, in which a Negro, Roosevelt Boyd, was acquitted by an all-white jury of a charge of killing a white man. Summarizing the case under the heading, "Quiet Example of White Justice in the American South," The Guardian adds an intelligent and sympathetic interpretation of Southern reaction to the Truman affront.

The Roosevelt Boyd case had previously been reviewed by Editor John B. Stevenson of The Roanoke Leader, in a letter to Newsweek Magazine carried in its issue of March 22, which came to the attention of the English newspaper. Editor Stevenson described the Negro as "quiet, law-abiding, industrious and trustworthy." Quoting this estimate, The Guardian observes that it "would read very queerly to the plunging liberals of New York, who usually begin such tales with the assumption that everywhere below the Mason-Dixon Line the white man regards his colored neighbor as a rampant baboon."

Boyd had a difference with a white man, described as "quick-tempered, rough and ready," over some corn. Boyd went to a lawyer to see if the white man could be restrained, but the latter, according to Editor Stevenson, "had no intention of being restrained." He went to the Negro's home, "souped up with home brew and whisky," armed and threatening to kill him, according to the account, and was shot and killed by Boyd.

Boyd came to trial at Wedowee Feb. 24 on a charge of first-degree murder. He was defended by east Alabama lawyers; white witnesses testified for him, and the all-white jury returned a verdict of "not guilty." Editor Stevenson points out that the case was handled quietly, that no angry mob formed, no headlines blazed, "no expensive lawyers sent down from New York to defend the accused Negro's civil rights in a blaze of publicity, while at the same time jeopardizing his chances of acquittal. Southern resentment against 'meddling' is such that the Northern lawyers rather than the Negro would have been on trial."

Commenting on this angle, The Manchester Guardian observed:

"Most Southern communities still react to the arrival of the foreign and New York press as a presumption of their guilt and a correspondingly brusque presumption of the Negro's innocence . . . When thus spotlighted by national publicity they freeze on to the older folk attitudes and retaliate against the seeming cause."

The Guardian then proceeded to a keen appraisal of wrathful Southern reaction to the latest in a long list of needling attacks. Taking note that there are many people in the South "who abhor race hate and witch hunts as sincerely as any of the members of President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights," The Guardian added:

". . . President Truman's idealism in his message on civil rights was tragically vitiated by the way he proclaimed it. He threw an ultimatum at the South . . . It was fatal to his purpose that he disheartened the Southern liberals and many leaders in Southern community life through whom alone the President could learn the best ways of respecting Southern sensitiveness and yet crystallizing into local law the progressive changes . . . But these leaders were never invited to Washington.

"The President's committee was composed mostly of Northerners. Once again a regional problem of the South was attacked as if it were a direct consequence of Southern human nature. And once again the best and the worst in the South forget their differences and flinch together from the common hurt of the President's branding iron."

Don't Hide Truth

Editor Constitution: I agree with Mr. Osborn that lynchings, civil rights conflict, etc., do not make good news and can be used against us, internationally, to make a farce of democracy. I don't think, however, such truths should be hidden and only educational and scientific advancements announced. It would then be as a clean parlor in a dirty house. We should not attempt to convince others that we live in Utopia.

B. BOND TOLIVER.
Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

Swap Places?

Editor Constituon: This letter is to reply to the gentlemen of Rome, Ga. They reminded Negroes that there are several million white Europeans who would just love to take our places.

I will advise the white Americans to do some thinking before they talk too much. Would the white Europeans take our place, being brought here as slaves and fought our way to freedom shouldering arms and fighting for our rights through three wars and still remain as we are at present?

JAMES R. KENNEDY.
Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

WESTBROOK PEGLER

The Constitution 10 PM on CR

Civil Rights, State Rights of Same Ilk

Atlanta, Ga. Mon. 5-31-48

WASHINGTON—There is a wicked humor in both the civil rights program proposed by President Truman and the States' rights campaign which has been organized by the Deep South Democrats by way of opposition. No party in our national politics has ever been more contemptuous of civil rights and of human rights, which are more sensitive and important, than the Democratic Party of Franklin D. Roosevelt and his successor, Harry Truman. No private society, whether the Ku Klux Klan or the Molly Maquires, ever killed or caused the death by violence of more people than have lost their lives in riots fomented and conducted by the party's organized auxiliary of labor unions. No lawless element ever destroyed as much property except in civil war.

Years ago, when lynchings were more common in the Southern and Western States and white men as well as Negroes were victims, those who read of such incidents sometimes got angry at the conduct of sheriffs, constables and jailers. Incidentally, such outbreaks were much less frequent at their worst than riots of unions have been since about 1934. Moreover, they were invariably spontaneous. There was a nasty murder or a revolting outrage against some woman in a small community. In hot blood, then, the chivalry of the town gathered at the saloon and resolved to remove a blot from the fair name of the crossroads. Most of the lynchees were guilty as charged and the denial of formal, legal trial was the main point of objection.

It does seem, however, that most of those who, in recent years, have protested with the noisiest indignation against this mockery of justice were insincere. Many of the same persons, including the late Roosevelt and now Mr. Truman, have been absolutely serene in the presence of brutalities no less outrageous committed by their own political proteges under political license from their party.

The Constitution

As I was recalling, there was a note of nasty defiance in the little lynching stories reporting that the officers of the law had been taken unaware, outnumbered and overpowered. Now and again one hawk-faced sheriff, with tobacco on his mustache and a tin badge drooping from his faded shirt, would show a big, bone-handled revolver and, leaning over the picket fence in front of the jail, would say, "Which is the one who is going to take my prisoner away from me?"

Now and again a sheriff would stand off such a mob, proving that a good man could do it, but usually the scenario closed with a body hanging from the railroad bridge or a tree just out of town.

The story always was that strangers had filtered into town, done the job and slunk away. Anyway, the lynchers never could be identified and prosecutors didn't even bother grand juries with futile forms. Atlanta, Ga.

But now, with lynchings reduced to one a year in the South, Mr. Truman tells Congress that "a special Federal measure is needed to deal with the crime of lynching, against which I cannot speak too strongly," about the same time that CIO rioters are mobbing citizens, marauding and pillaging, overturning automobiles and abducting men from their work in packing plants. These were not spontaneous outbreaks. They were planned and directed. Mon. 5-31-48

The police and sheriffs in these communities quit cold in the presence of the mobs. Like the Southern cops, they had their duty to kill if necessary to uphold the law, but they didn't even aim a blow of a nightstick. On the contrary, the mobs chased them and, in most cases, they ran. The rioters were well-known local and neighborhood people, yet no arrests were made or indictments voted.

You will find that, in the cogressional meaning of the word, a "lynching" is not necessarily fatal. A typical anti-lynching bill, H. R. 223, says that "serious bodily injury" inflicted by a mob shall be a lynching. Mon.

However, this typical anti-lynching bill, in typical fashion, says, "Lynching shall not include violence occurring during the course of picketing or boycotting, incidental to any labor dispute."

Thus the Minnesota officers who flinched before the CIO rioters at the packing houses were not guilty of any crime in the view of the national government, whereas a negligent Southern sheriff is guilty of a felony and the county which employs him would be liable for damages of from $2,000 to $10,000 to the heirs of each victim of a fatal lynching or to the lynchee himself should he escape with his life. 5-31-48

Literally thousands of innocent citizens have been beaten up, abducted and injured in automobiles crowded off the roads of members of the union mobs under the patronage of the Democratic Party. But we find not only indifference to their damage and to the injustice of such lawless violence, but a specific provision that the cops and the communities which wilfully fail to protect them shall be excused from Federal penalty.

The Constitution

Yet, both the rioters of the CIO and the States' Rights Democrats of the Deep South are members of the same party. The CIO thoroughly approves the proposals to humiliate the South by an anti-lynching law because the South has generally rejected unionism and union mob violence. The South is much more orderly than Detroit under unionism and no Southern city has a record comparable to the appalling union bloodshed and terrorism that have swept St. Paul and Minneapolis by license of the national government since 1933. There is real need of protection for the innocent there.

Atlanta, Ga. Mon.

The Deep South Democrats show an inspiring independence in their rally to defend the cherished rights of the States. 5-31-48

Unhappily for all concerned, however, they were equally fierce in denial of the same principle in the days of Prohibition. Then New York, New Jersey and Illinois claimed the right to decide for themselves what they might drink, and Mississippi and South Carolina, for example, invoked the Constitution against them.

Thinks Letter Inconsistent

Louisville, Ky. The Courier-Journal

Mrs. C. H. Massey says she was burned up when she read Mr. Truman's civil-rights program. I was burned up by her letter. In one part, she classes herself as an apostle of race prejudice, and in another, she asks us to lay our troubles on the altar of the Lord and ask Him to help us. 4-30-48

Such inconsistency I have not seen in the letters to The Point of View. I should like to ask Mrs. Massey if she thinks the Lord is in cahoots with the Jim Crow car, the Klan and our refusal to permit men and women to study at the university simply because they belong to a once-enslaved group.

Columbia, Ky. A MUCH-BUMFUZZLED READER.

The Negro Problem

The Courier-Journal 6-4-48

Concerning the education of the Negro by the white man's taxes and the limitation that should be placed on same, we should like to ask a question. If dollars, as soon as they are in the hands of the tax commissioners become white dollars and black dollars or white taxes and black taxes and the white dollars, exclusively, are used for the furtherance of public education, to what use are the black dollars put? Our understanding is that the tax dollars collected become a public fund, neither white nor black, and that a percentage of every dollar is used for the furtherance of education of the constituency of the City, district or State levying and collecting the taxes. Louisville, Ky. Jrs.

Now, to those who advocate migration of the black man if he would secure for himself and his posterity an opportunity to grow and develop all his powers, to stand as a man among men, the South of which you boast is constructed upon the physical labor of him whom you would cast out. Consider, if you please, 250 years of unrequited labor, not only as field laborers to produce the cotton, the tobacco and the sugar cane which formed the foundation of the South's economic progress, but also as carpenters, masons, blacksmiths and artisans of every description, as well as cooks, house servants and nurses. To this add four score years of labor at the lowest end of the wage scale. Then to this sum, add the Negro's contribution as a citizen in every field of endeavor in peace and war and you have a vague picture of what you ask him to peacefully leave. And why? Because he desires to keep pace in progress with the citizens of our democracy. 6-4-48

The statement that "rights cannot be secured through legislation" may contain more truth than poetry, for civil legislation is effective only in the measure that the constituency of a State are law-respecting and law-abiding citizens. I believe that if the shades of the departed slave-owners could be called from their resting places, they would declare that the attempt to build up a nation within a nation is as futile and as great a mistake as the institution of slavery was. THERESA A. S. JACKSON.

Anchorage, Ky. Jr. 6-4-48

What The Negro Wants

To the Editor of The News:

There is so much talk about the Negro and what the Negro wants under the president's civil rights program. The Negro simply wants what he fought for. He wants the right to enjoy the four freedoms. For example, why should my son go to war to make the world safe for democracy, and come home to be killed by the first white man to come by, and the courts decide that it is justifiable homicide? The Atlanta Journal

Any excuse is better than none. Everyone is harping on the idea that Negroes want to socialize and marry whites. These people don't trust themselves. The whites are the cause of blond, blue-eyed Negroes. 5-20-48

By reading the papers and magazines, one would think that being a Negro is the worst thing imaginable, but I wouldn't trade places with any one of these Southern whites because the Bible says that the day of reckoning is apt to come. Birmingham, Ala.

I think Gov. Folsom should have recommended the teaching of the Golden Rule in stead of more democracy. B. PALMORE.

Maben, Ala.

OPPOSES ATTACKS ON REDS

Truman Indirectly Extends Call for Civil Rights

WASHINGTON, April 8 (UP)—President Truman today in directly extended his battle for civil rights to the Communists and Henry A. Wallace, the third-party Presidential candidate.

He told his news conference that recent instances of violence in the Middle West against Communists and Wallace supporters were improper. He said they must be handled on a local basis, however, because he has no police powers in such matters.

The President has asked Congress for broad Federal powers to protect civil rights, but they deal principally with racial discrimination.

Mr. Truman had been asked for comment on an attack by a group of about thirty persons the night of March 30 on the home of Frank Hasmall, an alleged Communist, at Columbus, Ohio, and scuffling between veterans and Wallace supporters at Evansville, Ind., the night of April 6, when Mr. Wallace made a campaign speech.

The Negro's Part

To the Editor of The News-Age-Herald:

When I read the letter on April 9 which asked colored people to be tolerant and give the white man time to build a better world, they were trying to help to build a better world. Oh, no, Mr. Fulghum, we won't be patient, because when this world is a better world to live in, the Negro will have done his part to make it so.

504 South Sixth Street. CLEMMIE PEARSON

Brother's Keeper

Several Southern delegates to the Democratic Convention already have been chosen who are sworn on crossed knives to walk out of the meeting if President Truman's civil rights recommendations are written into the Democratic platform. Other delegates, from Mississippi and South Carolina, probably will bind themselves in lurid compact.

Perry

It is high time, it seems to me, for all good party men—Democrats *and* Republicans—to put their heads together over a means of saving these hot-bloods from the consequences of their rash undertaking, which threatens not only to make outcasts of them, but to strike the sharpest blow at the sanctity of the two-party system since Henry Wallace walked off in the other direction.

The problem ought not to be impassable; and indeed there is a way, open and beckoning, around it. For it is clear that if the civil rights pledges are not in the platform, the honor of the delegates from Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina will be satisfied, they will not have to decamp, and the fetish of "regularity," on which both old parties depend, will be preserved.

The way that is open is to enact the civil rights measures by firm Congressional action *before* the Democrats go to Philadelphia.

I say this course beckons the key measures of the civil rights program—the anti-poll tax (free elections) bill and the anti-lynching bill—are patiently waiting in the U. S. Senate for a final push to set them among the laws. They have behind them the approval of the House, the approval of the committees, the actual pledges of the parties and the unwearing insistence of right and justice.

There is no need at all that enactment of these measures should be promised in the forthcoming platform of the Democratic Party, and it would be vulgarly treasonable, if these items should remain to go into the Republican platform again. The Republicans have the majority in Congress; the Republicans and Democrats together have a virtual monopoly of all the representative seats. It isn't as if there were even one Communist in either house to sabotage such obviously Democratic measures. There isn't even one. And it is classically unthinkable that these measures may not be passed by Saturday night, if the party leaders choose, and if party platforms mean what they say—not next time, but last time.

The free elections bill is the important bill to us all politically. It is against a new Democratic Party pledge to this bill that the Southern delegates (not chosen at free elections) are pouting. The Republicans may be so shortsighted as to relish the prospect of a Democratic Convention split over the issue; but the sorry truth is that the issue cannot come up at Philadelphia at all unless the Republican majority callously tramples on its own party's word—devotedly given, the party's spokesmen aver, ever since the tax on voting became a national scandal.

Enactment of the pending free elections bill *now* would spare both major parties embarrassment. It would be a way, as I have pointed out, of easing the Democrats over a looming platform brawl and breach of regularity. But what really matters is that it would clear the way for millions of tax-disfranchised Southerners to begin to vote in Congressional and Presidential elections.

To our nation, this matters infinitely more than whether the Mississippi soreheads boycott Philadelphia, or the Communist Party is run underground (as Stassen wants) or "kept in the open" (as Dewey wants). For until we have free elections, all that goes in our political life echoes with a certain bitter mockery.

For And Against

To the Editor of The News-Age-Herald:

The lack of openmindedness is the biggest cause of conflicting public opinion on the current civil rights program of President Truman. I hope this letter will help many to see the matter as it actually is. I am for two of the four points and against two. Here's my point of view briefly:

For segregation. (1) Anti-segregation is repulsive to the masses of both races; (2) it won't work; (3) it will incite more riots and more lynching in the South.

Against FEPC as it is interpreted. (1) Much has been done, favorably, in that matter and much is being done; (2) it didn't take that for employers and heads of public and free enterprise to get where they are; (3) you can't legislate a man's decision in a democracy.

Against poll tax. (1) It has kept and is keeping a lot of people from voting; (2) if a person is duly qualified, let him vote, if he wants to; (3) the chance to vote boosts morale.

For an anti-lynching law. (1) Lynching is unlawful, but occurs too often; (2) it lowers morale; (3) it is cowardly. M. A. SMITH.

1201 Second Avenue, South.

Collier's on Civil Rights Legislation

A national publication with an undisputed record of liberality reiterates almost verbatim our oft-expressed convictions about the inadvisability of Federal civil rights legislation.

Pointing out that the Negro's status has constantly improved under voluntary acts of Southern States, Collier's, in its current issue, agrees with us that you can't legislate morality, that the South must continue to handle the problem without the interference of those lacking first-hand knowledge of its many phases and facets.

"Northern intellectuals, who make Southerners see red with their continual nagging at the South and their demand for Federal civil rights laws, are surely right in principle," says Collier's.

"Lynching is a foul crime. Poll taxes are unjust when they keep any one group of people from voting. Jim Crow cars or trolley and bus sections are discriminatory. It is unfair to freeze Negroes out of good jobs for which they could qualify. And so on.

"On the other hand, we think Southerners are only telling the truth when they insist that Federal laws will never succeed in wiping out these injustices. It is axiomatic that no law, however well meant, can work unless it is supported by the majority of the people it affects. Northern intellectuals should know this fact of life from the nation's experience with Federal prohibition.

"Well, both sides have a measure of right and a measure of wrong in their arsenals of argumentation, is there any discoverable factor that swings the scales one way or the other? We think there is.

"That factor is the unquestionable truth that the Negro's status in the South is getting better every day. He is some 90 percent better off economically than in the early years following the Civil War. Lynching is sliding toward the vanishing point. As for social equality, most Negroes apparently don't want it anyway, since they have their own social organizations to satisfy their fraternal, religious, snobbish, etc., instincts.

"Federal laws didn't work these improvements. They have come about solely because they have been stimulated by the most substantial and respected people among the Southern whites. They would have come a good deal more slowly, we think, if Federal laws had forced Mr. Whiskers to keep his nose eternally stuck into Southern affairs.

"If all this is as true as we're convinced it is, then it follows that the best way to solve what remains of the Negro problem is to go on just about as we've been going since around 1870. That would mean: Let the Northern intelligentsia howl its collective head off about the South . . . let Southern and Northern politicans make what political capital they can out of the question . . . but don't saddle the Federal Government with a bunch of laws which it cannot enforce. In other words, let the South work out its Negro problems mostly on its own—which it is doing anyway, and we think will continue to do."

The Negro's Part

To the Editor of The News-Age-Herald:

I am just wondering why will some people always stay on one subject, segregation. We colored people, born and reared in the South, know about that, pro and con. Bandying words back and forth only lets one person know just how the other feels.

Why can't the colored man and woman work toward a better life for his children and his children's children? We all need to move forward, to progress. Why should we as colored people let someone else do all and not lift one hand to help improvement?

Be patient, God says. We have always been patient and we want to do our part in making this a better world to live in.

BETTY TAYLOR.

FRANK TRIPP

The Northerner Is Keeping Quiet

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga

Editor's Note: Mr. Tripp is executive editor of the Gannett newspapers of New York State.

A Southern friend, of whom I proudly boast many, asked me how folks up North feel about Mr. Truman's dictums, which have the South by the ears. I get around a lot and ordinarily can give some kind of an answer to such a question—but this one had me stumped. Stumped, because I hadn't heard anybody talking about it; just now and then a reformer or a transplanted Southerner speaking his mind to Northerners who listened—and kept their own counsel.

I thought, maybe that's the tip-off. For once the North is keeping its mouth shut; the run-of-mine Northerner, I mean, just ordinary folks.

Then I inquired a bit, of people who usually think straight and don't go haywire and explosive about things of which they know little.

Mon. 5-17-48

As near as I can judge, without a Gallup poll or something, the Yanks consider this pretty much none of their business. As a whole they are handling it that way. The only exceptions seem to be among the ultra politically minded. There are people, you know, who view everything down to a dog fight from a political standpoint.

With a black Republican Yankee anything that upsets the Democrat apple cart is duck soup to him.

To a northern Democrat, who always starts figuring his Party's strength at the Gulf of Mexico, any Southern political unrest is a calamity.

But neither of these conflicting political attitudes appears to reflect critically upon the South itself. They both seem to agree with the South—that Mr. Truman has made a colossal political blunder. *The Constitution*

The reason I write of it is that nowhere is there indication that Truman's position will gain him anything in the North. You can't find a politician of either party who thinks so.

None of this observation pretends to say that a properly steamed-up minority couldn't develop a hot Northern issue out of this Southern problem; but the point is that none has. What happens in Congress seems to be looked upon as the expected clash of regional ideas.

Among those who view it all apart from politics, generally speaking, there's no more interest or concern about it than whether or not Claude Pepper eats persimmons.

Speaking of Pepper, in spite of him, his State has done a lot to make Northerners better acquainted with those peculiar Southern problems which cause much of the current unpleasantness. *The Constitution*

In all things, acquaintance and contact create understanding. Florida and, to a lesser extent, other southern States have brought great groups of northern people into better realization of the South. *Atlanta, Ga.*

Many who once could see no reason why Alabama's social problems should differ from Maine's have had a look. One look sometimes beats volumes of explanation.

When it comes to cleaning up a bad Washington situation—bad for both the South and the North—I'm reminded of a stalwart Tennessee friend of mine who was fed up on the New Deal rather early, but continued to vote Democratic. *Mon. 5-17-48*

Disgusted at its third successful effort for perpetuity, he said to me:

"If you damned Yankees don't stop ... with us, you're going to ruin the country."

Maybe the best dope I can now bring my Southern friends is that an awful lot of damned Yankee Democrats expect the South to do the same thing again.

In which case—we all could be stuck.

RALPH McGILL

Revolt And Realities

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

Trouble, says the old hymn, "ain't going to last always."

Neither is the political revolt, now tickling our emotions.

Nor will time stand still with the elections of the coming November. *Wed. 4-14-48*

By that time the Democrats will reluctantly have accepted Harry Truman as the best they can do, or will have been able to force him out, for a yet undiscovered hero.

Meanwhile, local politicians are seeing what the State-wide and national representatives haven't seen, or admitted—that the qualified Negro is going to vote in increasing numbers. They are writing the State of North Carolina, where Negroes have been voting for a quarter century, under a good qualification law.

FEPC It is beginning to appear, too, that while an FEPC which seeks to correct discriminations in employment through co-operative methods, might be acceptable, one with teeth, enforced by a Federal police force, won't.

We keep looking to Washington for a panacea for local ills. And that isn't good. *Wed 4-14-48*

A job isn't a civil right, and can't be.

Employment means more than qualifications. An employer might legitimately refuse employment because of pimples on the face, a curious haircut, a vacant stare, or for being a Moslem, when Moslems wouldn't fit in the job—and for many reasons, some discriminatory and some arbitrary.

Who's Right? If we set up an agency, with police powers, to make civil rights of an economic and social problem, we will end up by destroying the civil rights of the majority. Also, the employer has civil rights.

There is ample objection to this dangerous trend of centralization of power in Federal hands.

Now, if what they are talking about is an FEPC without police powers, but an educational, advisory one, then that is different.

The problem of jobs cannot be a civil right. Anyhow, the right of the ballot will correct all such wrongs, as much as they ever will be corrected, human nature being what is it. The status quo in the South, in existence for 85 years, is broken.

We have many more problems more important than the revolt. *The Constitution*

Revolution At the time the newspapers of the nation were putting ribbons on the revolt stories, most of them put the big news of the real revolution on the inside pages under a one-column, 18-point head. That was the news that the world's first cotton picker, produced by production-line methods, had come off such line.

But, mechanization is not all cotton pickers. The South offers still an agrarian challenge. The South still supports more people per acre of cultivated land than the rest of the nation. Of the South's income, 12.9 percent is from farm. In the rest of the nation it is 5.8. *Atlanta, Ga.*

Industry is coming, but not at as fast a rate as some of the Southern Chamber of Commerce spellbinders would have us believe. And that is a good thing. It is coming rather steadily, if slowly, but the growth is more healthy. There is, for the first time, some able research in the South, headed up by the Georgia School of Technology and by a special, privately-financed institute in Alabama working with Georgia Tech. Southern money is financing it. It tells inquiring industries what there is in the way of raw materials, labor and markets. The idea is to diversify industry, as well as agriculture. *Wed.*

As in 1860, a moral issue and an industrial expansion knocks at the door of the Southern political system.

It is not, God knows, a problem to be oversimplified. It is not easy. There are in the South many legitimate problems not of prejudice or greed. It is the region where most of the nation's Negro population remains. These problems, and their solutions, are made enormously complex by the poverty, resulting illiteracy, the lack of job opportunity, and the fixed mores which are a part of any country's history. Some now seek to legislate in the field of human morality, with, the South thinks, all of the unreasoning fanaticism of the abolitionists of 1850-60.

But, if the South has troubles, it can take some slight comfort in the fact that it always has been the Job of the nation's regions.

Those "troubles" are of long standing, and the fever chart of their rise. ...

Notice Served That Civil Rights Backers Will Lose Dixie's Votes

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. Tues. 4-13-48

By The Associated Press

Deep South Democratic leaders served notice Monday that any presidential candidate advocating a civil rights program must forfeit Dixie's block of electoral votes. *4-13-48*

Party chieftains from five states meeting in Atlanta agreed on that, but they said they didn't decide a bigger question—how specifically to carry out their policy.

After an all-day conference behind closed doors, they said further talks would be necessary today to chart details of a "basic, common course of action."

South Carolina Democratic Chairman W. P. Baskin called the parley to decide what to do about President Truman's civil rights program which is political poison to the South.

Party chairmen from Alabama, Georgia and Florida and a representative of Mississippi's chairman were on hand. Representatives from other Southern state failed to appear.

Baskin, elected chairman of the conference, read a statement to newsmen that the conference "confirmed the general opinion that no candidate advocating the civil rights program would receive electoral votes of Southern states." *Tues. 4-13-48*

"Just Go Fishing"

The conference said later if the national convention insists on the anti-lynching, anti-poll tax, anti-racial discrimination program, and on President Truman's nomination for another term, the Solid South might "just go fishing on election day."

The prepared statement said the conference "looked with favor on the states rights conference called to meet in Jackson, Miss., on May 10, to further the cause of states rights."

James S. Peters of Georgia, Baskin, Gessner T. McCorcvey of Alabama and Joe Hill Williams of Florida all said they planned to attend the Mississippi meeting. J. O. Emmerich of McComb, Miss., representing Mississippi Chairman Herbert Holmes, extended the invitation. *4-13-48*

Meanwhile, on the Republican side, Harold E. Stassen predicted that he will lead all candidates for the Republican presidential nomination on the first convention roll call. A Dewey man commented: "Ridiculous." *The Advertiser*

Stassen said he will have 300 convention votes without even counting Nebraska's 15. He breathed confidence, too, that he will be top man in that state's GOP popularity primary today.

The former Minnesota governor made his claim in a news conference at Omaha. He got a quick reply from the camp of Gov. Thomas E. Dewey of New York in the form of a statement by Herbert B. Brownell, former Republican national chairman.

Brownell called it a ridiculous claim and added:

"To date 337 convention delegates out of a total of 1094 have been selected in 15 states. Governor Dewey has a clear cut majority of these delegates. Governor Stassen has less than one-sixth of them."

All of the top GOP names are in Nebraska's primary—Stassen, Dewey, Senator Taft of Ohio, Senator Vandenberg of Michigan, General MacArthur, House Speaker Martin and Governor Warren of California. The outcome of the voting is not binding on the delegates to be chosen but is being awaited as a show of relative strength.

The Washington office of the "National Democrats for MacArthur Organization" said in a statement that the General is the fireman needed to put out "Bolshevik bonfires." *Tues. 4-13-48 Montgomery, Ala.*

Senate Anti-Lynching Bill Stalled; Republicans Turn to Poll Tax Ban

Special to The [New York Times]

WASHINGTON, May 19—All prospect vanished today for passage at this session of the anti-lynching bill in its present form.

In another of many fruitless meetings, which proponents conceded would be the deciding session, the Senate Judiciary Committee in effect put the bill aside indefinitely.

The result was that barring a compromise materially to soften the measure, removing constitutional objections raised by some Republicans as well as Democrats, there was no practical possibility that it could reach the floor.

The Republican leaders of the Senate, which by circumstance is the one decisive arena on the whole of the so-called civil rights program, began to consider the possibility of trying to bring up the poll tax repealer.

This bill, which has passed the House, was put aside some weeks ago by the Republican Senate conference in a determination to make the anti-lynching proposal the favored vehicle in the program.

Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio, Republican leader on national affairs in the upper chamber, told reporters that if the judiciary committee was in fact immobilized, "we will have to shift to the anti-poll tax bill."

He added, however, that he was "making no promises" in detail beyond the present crowded Senate calendar, on which a foreign policy resolution reported out only today must take its place back of defense bills. The impression was left that he did not wish to put the Southern Democrats on notice as to what plan would be adopted.

Senator Kenneth S. Wherry of Nebraska, majority whip, repeating the announced determination of the Republicans to try to pass at least one of the civil rights bills asserted:

"We may make the anti-poll tax bill a rider (to some other measure), to get it through. I would rather do it on a frontal attack, tell them (the opposition Southerners) that it is coming and then drive it through. Mr. Taft thinks the amendment plan may be best."

The judiciary committee meeting was one of frustration for advocates of an unaltered anti-lynching bill. Although it had been called for 10 A. M., it was not until 11:30 A. M. that a quorum was reached. At 12:15 P. M., when no progress was made, Senator E. H. Moore, Republican, of Oklahoma, moved that the measure be formally taken off the docket.

This motion was technically lost, on a 4-4 vote, but its effect was reached nevertheless, for soon afterward, when the committee was summoned to meet again tomorrow, the probable absence of a quorum was conceded in advance.

A rare agreement was made that a "working committee," without power and without any standard as to what a quorum should be, would be free to work on the anti-lynching measure in an effort to reach a compromise.

To Secure Civil Rights

Administration Criticized for Failure to Act on Report

The writer of the following letter served as New York State Solicitor General from 1932 to 1942. In that capacity he was responsible for drafting progressive legislation which he later defended before the United States Supreme Court.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

In its now historic report, "To Secure These Rights," the President's Committee on Civil Rights made fifty-four recommendations for action by Government and private groups. The overwhelming majority of these recommendations called for Federal legislative or executive action.

On Feb. 2, 1948, President Truman sent a message to Congress supporting most of the major recommendations of the committee for Federal legislation and declared that, on its part, the Executive Department would adopt certain specific remedial measures.

The gap between the promise embodied in the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights and the performance by the President and his Administration to effectuate the committee's recommendations has become increasingly flagrant. The greatest cause for concern lies in the failure of the Administration to place its weight behind these committee recommendations to which it has given repeated and formal approval.

Plans for Action

The President's committee recom-

[illegible] elevation of the Civil Rights Section of the Department of Justice to the status of a full division, accompanied by substantial increases in its appropriation and staff. Attorney General Tom C. Clark, speaking before the National Bar Association in Washington, D. C., on Nov. 28, 1947, announced it was his plan to expand the Civil Rights Section of the Department of Justice to a full-fledged division, staffed with sufficient trained personnel and headed by an Assistant Attorney General, which office, the speaker pledged, "It is my intention to ask Congress at the earliest possible moment to create."

The changes promised by the President and the Attorney General have not yet been made and indications that they will be accomplished in the foreseeable future are notably absent. Indeed, it is most significant that, shortly after the report of the President's committee and Attorney General Clark's speech, Department of Justice representatives who appeared before the subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations considering the department's appropriation for the fiscal years 1949 (commencing July 1, 1948) advanced no request whatsoever for compliance with the committee's recommendations or the Attorney General's plan. Assistant Attorney General Quinn, head of the Criminal Division, of which the Civil Rights Section is one unit, testified on Dec. 8, 1947, "We feel that it is not necessary to have another division created in the Department of Justice."

It is true that Mr. Quinn also stated that "we do need additional manpower to cope with the large number of civil-rights cases that are coming into our office every day." The department request for appropriations, however, as approved by the Bureau of the Budget, called for no increase in the existing hopelessly inadequate civil-rights staff of eight attorneys and three clerical employes, and Mr. Quinn's vague appeal could hardly suffice to upset the bureau's determination. Moreover, the total appropriation sought for the Criminal Division for the fiscal year 1949 was reduced by the Bureau of the Budget to $115,000 below the appropriation for the current year.

No Appropriations Made

It is needless to speculate concerning the causes for the glaring inconsistency between the assertions of Assistant Attorney General Quinn and the immediately preceding assurances of his chief, Attorney General Clark, that Congress would be asked "at the earliest possible moment" to make possible the designation of an additional Assistant Attorney General as head of a new Civil Rights Division. What is

[illegible] important is that, as far as is known, the Department of Justice has made no revision in its appropriation request nor has it asked at any time for the creation of the new Assistant Attorney Generalship, despite the positive pronouncement of the President.

The President's committee recommended the issuance by the President of a mandate against discrimination in Government employment, coupled with creation of adequate enforcement machinery, and the establishment by Congress or the Executive of a unit in the Bureau of the Budget to insure compliance in Government programs and expenditures with the policy of non-discrimination.

In his civil-rights message President Truman stated that "it is the settled policy of the United States Government that there shall be no discrimination in Federal employment or in providing Federal services and facilities." He announced, without qualification of any kind, that "I shall shortly issue an executive order containing a comprehensive restatement of the Federal non-discrimination policy together with appropriate measures to insure compliance."

No such executive order as described in the President's civil-rights message has yet been issued. Nor has the Administration taken any other steps to eliminate the widespread racial discrimination in public employment which was shown to exist both by the wartime Fair Employment Practices Committee and the President's Committee on Civil Rights.

In his civil-rights message the President endorsed several of the majority recommendations of the Civil Rights Committee for Federal legislation. Yet the Administration has failed to submit a single bill to implement those recommendations. Responsibility of the Executive Department for the preparation and submisison of such bills is clear, particularly in those fields where the Department of Justice has unique technical knowledge and experience.

Even the President's message itself manifested a retreat from a substantial part of the committee's program. For example, although the committee followed the President's Commission on Universal Military Training in finding that elimination of segregation in the armed forces was a present necessity, the President announced only that he had instructed the Secretary of Defense to take steps to eliminate discrimination.

Progress toward the objective of assuring basic civil rights for all cannot be attained by reliance upon generalized exhortation. The Administration has an inescapable obligation to press

[illegible] adoption of the essential program which the President's commission enunciated and which the President himself, in large measure, has formally endorsed. Only by the timely submission of detailed blueprints for Congressional action can the Administration discharge its obligation. The need is too pressing and the stakes too great to permit of ignominious default.

HENRY EPSTEIN.

New York, May 2, 1948.

THE UPPER SOUTH

Crump's Hold on Tennessee Is Seriously Shaken

By FRED HIXSON

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

CHATTANOOGA, Tenn., April 24—Edward H. Crump's sixteen-year-old grip on Tennessee politics was weakened considerably, if not broken, last week when a state Democratic convention rejected his proposal that the state's delegation to the national convention walk out of the convention and bolt in November if President Truman is nominated.

Mr. Crump's leadership has often been challenged by the opposition, but until last week the challenges had not been successful. The defeat administered to the Shelby County leader was largely by forces which for years had followed his leadership and dared not talk back. That made the setback more significant.

When the 1948 campaign started, Mr. Crump decided to ditch Senator Tom Stewart, who had been accused of being a tool of Mr. Crump and of Senator Kenneth McKellar. But many of the politicians over the state who anchor their future to Mr. Crump were not consulted.

Those who talked with Mr. Crump—and Senator Stewart admitted that he was among them—reported that the leader expressed fear that Mr. Stewart could not be re-elected.

The revolt in the Tennessee convention, therefore, had the Crump-Stewart break as a very potent background. In most sections over the state where Stewart was strong, the revolt against Crump was vociferous.

Civil-Rights Program

Tennessee Democrats, or most of them, were unwilling to bolt their party if President Truman is nominated. Nor are a majority of the state's delegation to the national convention willing to walk out if the President is nominated. Mr. Truman got support from areas where the Negro population preponderates over the white. And in those sections of the South opposition to the President's civil-rights program is violent.

In some quarters the theory is advanced that the Shelby County political leader is making a strong fight over the civil-rights program in order to salvage enough support from Negro-hating voters to avoid a cataclysmic defeat.

Three men are in the Senatorial race—Mr. Stewart, Representative Estes Kefauver of Chattanooga, and Judge John A. Mitchell. The last is Mr. Crump's choice. But many leaders who have followed along with Mr. Crump during the past sixteen years have rebelled and may help to hand their master a defeat.

News Notes: Bus fares in Chattanooga will be raised to 10 cents cash or three tokens for a quarter on May 1, the City Commission announced last week. Southern Coach officials had testified that the company lost $33,000 last year at the old rates.

PM on CR

Rains And Sparkman See Trouble Ahead For U. S. Education Aid

The News Birmingham, Ala Fri 3-26-48

Civil Rights, Amendments, They Say, Present Great Hazards To Measure

The federal aid for education bill will pass by a big majority in the Senate, but there's going to be trouble in the House, Congr. Albert Rains, Gadsden, declared this morning at a Jacksonville State Teachers College breakfast.

"When the President put out his so-called Civil Rights program it killed any hopes for federal aid to education this year," the Fifth District congressman declared.

He added that the opposition is going to come from newcomers in the House—congressmen from Texas and other Southern states—who fear that there will be federal control of the bill. He also said that opposition is coming from "the so-called professional Southerners and from the churches.

* * *

"EVEN IN ALABAMA we're beginning to get these letters of oppistion," he added. The News

Sen. John Sparkman, who was present at the breakfast, told the more than 400 present that amendments to the bill in the Senate will present the greatest hazards. He said he would hurry back to Washington, instead of carrying out a prolonged stay in Alabama, so that he could be in the Senate when the amendments come up Tuesday.

Sen. Sparkman declared there are indications there may be some danger of amendments to take control away from the states.

"I think we'll pass the bill," the Alabama senator added, "but I want to warn you not to bee too optimistic at this time."

Sen. Sparkman said he feared these amendments may come from "the over-zealous" who are interested in the minority groups.

"Oftentimes," Sen. Sparkman pointed out, "the amendments chart the fate of a bill."

Cong. Rains expressed fear that the bill would not be voted out by a House committee.

"We're going to lose it because of a baseless fear which stems from the South," he asserted.

Birmingham Ala

HE ADDED THAT he has first-hand knowledge of this "fear" because he was one of 10 members of the House asked by the National Education Association to contact newcomers in Congress regarding the bill. Fri 3-26-48

"Six months ago," Cong. Rains told the State Teachers College gathering, "federal aid for education wouldn't have had any difficulty in the House."

He then blamed "the so-called civil rights program" for killing it.

The Gadsden congressman predicted that $300,000,000 could be made available for federal aid for education if the opponents to the legislation could be convinced that it would be state controlled.

Boston Massey, DeKalb County, president of Jacksonville State Teachers College Alumni, presided at the breakfast at the Tutwiler Hotel. Brief talks were heard from Dr. Houston Cole, president of the college; Dr. John M. Gallalee, new president of the University of Alabama; Dr. John Caldwell, president of Montevallo, and Dr. Ralph Draughon, acting president of Alabama Polytechnic Institute.

Dances were presented by French students at Jacksonville State Teachers College.

Writer Predicts Civil Rights Bill Will Be Enacted

Daily World Atlanta, Ga

By ROBERT L. SMITH

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(SNS)—The outlook for the president's civil rights bill appears to have taken on brighter aspects today and some die-hard southern leaders have admitted temporary defeat.

A poll of several senators of whom the southern leaders had banked their hopes on revealed by a convincing majority today that the southern Democratic leaders have all but lost te fight defeat approval of the rights legislation in this session of congress. The

Dixie senators, after a count of a recent poll disclosed they had lost the Republican support they previously felt sure they had and admitted thereafter, that the Republicans have accepted the president's proposed bill for anti-lynch, anti-poll tax and anti-discrimination as a political challenge. It has cost extreme doubt that any Republican will vote against limiting debate on the bill. 3-26-48

The southern senators have found the senate rather than the house their chief line of defense in defeating several similar measures in the past because of the differences in debate rules in the senate and house. The practice of unlimited debate in the senate has defeated previous bills by permitting the senators to talk indefinitely against them.

But the southern leaders now fear with the full Republican force behind the bill they will be unable to muster up sufficient votes to retain the unlimited debate rule and that the Republicans can poll enough votes to limit debate to one hour speech on the bill and on any amendment by each senator. Daily World

The latest information discloses that the Dixie senators were able to assure only 25 votes for unlimited debate. This leaves them eight short of the number needed to defeat the limited debate. Fri.

The House committe was engaged in an intense fight against the entire measure. It has a plan for defeating the bill when it comes to the floor southern house members said. 2-27-48

Meanwhile the Republican lawmakers were rushing ahead with plans to enact the president's program. Atlanta Ga.

Five southern governors were present here Monday to broaden their drive against the bill. However, governor Tuck of Virginia, is one of the southerners believed to be opposed to the civil rights bill, disclosed that he was not here to discuss the civil rights bill.

What Other Pa

Lee County

Liberals at Election Time

A caller to our office, once upon a time told us a story. The story goes—that two white men who were joke tellers were competing at the county seat on election day for a prize. One white fellow said to his boss, "I see a gnat on a water tank." The water tank was a quarter of a mile away. The other fellow replied, "I see the same gnat of which you speak, he is picking his teeth." We wonder if this is the case of President Harry S. Truman and Mr. Henry Wallace on their question of liberalism. If they are joking, sensible and sane Negroes have been joked long enough.

Every election time, there are a few American liberals who stir up the Negro question. These political jokes date back to the days of Reconstruction when a few of these so-called liberals, often proved to be nothing more or less than vote baiters. They have done the Negro an inestimable amount of harm.

Mr. Wallace was one time Secretary of Agriculture, Vice-President of America, and Secretary of Commerce. Before he lost all of these positions, he toured the South and spoke on many occasions and during these speaking engagements, he was as quiet on the race question as Balaam's Ass. However, we don't dispute that he didn't make many helpful contributions to Agriculture when he was secretary, but the country knows now that he is not a good loser and he knows that he doesn't have a possible chance of winning, but he seems not to know how to take the middle ground and work himself out of his present situation. Somebody should counsel with him.

President Truman, with his vote baiting Civil Rights Bill, tops it off. Why didn't he come out strongly with these Civil Rights Bills before election year? No, Mr. Wallace told his joke and President Truman topped it off with his Bill of Civil Rights.

Everybody knows that something should be done with the Negro question. Everybody knows that in many instances that Negroes have been dealt with unjustly and grossly neglected. His education, his health, his income, and his opportunities to develop himself into clean and decent citizen have been unreasonably limited. The Negro should be educated and all of the rights accorded him that are given to any other person under the same circumstances and qualifications.

We don't believe that the sensible Negroes of America are going too far out on the Wallace and Truman limbs. For one, the writer doesn't believe that he means to pass such bills, but he does mean to put a pacifier into the mouths of thousands of Negro voters in America. We are ashamed of Mississippi becoming so excited over Mr. Truman's pretense idea. Not only Mississippi, but every state in the union should pass an Anti-Lynch Bill. The evil, the unjust, and the immorals of lynching destroys all of the righteous fiber of decent government and citizenship.

Now it has become a political issue and the writer also doubts very seriously that anything will be done about it in Mississippi or Washington as a legislative act under the present sectional and racial fight. Honest-to-goodness citizens, and Christ-loving people must shoulder the responsibility upon themselves and live down the evils of lynching and other unjust practices against helpless people. As for President Truman and other liberals at election time, we doubt their sincerity and we believe they are joking for votes. Thu. 3-18-48

NOTE: Segregate means to separate from others. This doesn't victimize the Negro in any way whatsoever for the Negro himself segregates other members of his own race, but God looks upon discrimination with displeasure.—Greenville (Miss.) Delta Leader (Negro).

* * *

Politics Again

Political differences of Southern Democrats over the civil rights commission have stirred both parties in the North and the South. Racial disunity has led to disruption before, has long governed the actions of people of this country in spite of the great universal need of understanding. Religious differences have reached a far better footing through efforts of Catholic, Jewish and Protestant organizations, working together for the common good. Brotherhood is stressed in all creeds, is pressed into usage by those who realize that only through brotherhood is the world to have peace. The flare-up over the proposal of anti-lynch, anti-poll tax and anti-discrimination laws which affect race relations has pushed Southern governors into taking a formal stand in protest. Each of us in the South knows how we stand on the subject of lynching, poll tax, discrimination. What we must remember is that this a presidential year, when such dissension and turmoil is apt to be turned into a major issue. Much can happen, politically, when the fight for office is on. We should bear in mind that it is difficult to convince the United Nations of our good works if we can't show them we are a United States.—Tallapoosa News.

Virginia Dailies Oppose Tuck Stand

Daily World

Atlanta, Ga.

RICHMOND, Va.— (ANP)— The firm stand of the Richmond Times dispatch and the Richmond News Leader editorially against Gov. Tuck's anti-Truman bill which was enacted by the Virginia General assembly last week has won the support of other white dailies in the state. Some of the dailies label the resolution calling for an investigation of the Richmond papers attempt to gag the press and to destroy freedom of expression in the interest of the Democratic machine in the state. Sun. 3-21-48

Virginius Dabney, editor of the Richmond Times Dispatch, morning paper, and Dr. Douglas S. Freeman, editor of the Richmond News Leader, afternoon paper, both published by Richmond Newspapers Inc., opposed Gov. Tuck's proposals to penalize President Truman for his civil rights program for Negroes. They described Tuck's election change proposals as "dangerous to the political and civic rights of Virginia voters" and "against the citizens." Daily World

FORCED TO ACT

Both Dabney and Freeman questioned editorially the wisdom of President Truman's proposals at the present time and asserted that the Democratic party in the south would be forced to take action against proposals which endanger, as they contended, states' rights which the south consider of first importance to the sovereign's rights of each state in the union. 3-21-48

Former Gov. Ellis Arnall of Georgia, who was forum speaker here at the Thomas Jefferson High School scored the legislators for their resolution. He also delivered an address to the Women's club on Monday. He assailed members of the house of delegates for their passage of the resolution requesting the state corporation commission to investigate the Richmond papers and said their act as prompted by men with "guilty consciences." Atlanta, Ga.

ANTI-LYNCHING LAW, CIVIL LIBERTIES UNIT SOUGHT BY TRUMAN

President's Plea to Congress Also Advocates Statehood for Hawaii, Alaska

Times 2-3-48

'JIM CROWISM' ASSAILED

Home Rule, Presidential Vote for Capital District Urged in 10-Point Proposal

The text of the President's message on rights, Page 22.

By ANTHONY LEVIERO

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 2—President Truman requested Congress today to implement his policy of civil rights, offering a ten-point program to outlaw lynching and Jim Crow practices, to establish a nation-wide Federal system of monitoring civil liberties, and to take other affirmative steps to increase the protection and dignity of the individual. Times

The broad program also asked for the permanent re-establishment of the war-time Fair Employment Practice Commission, statehood for Hawaii and Alaska, and home rule and the vote in Presidential elections for residents of the District of Columbia. 2-3-48

Thus, in a special message involving the high ideals of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, President Truman proposed to give effect to salient recommendations of his Committee on Civil Rights.

This committee, headed by Charles E. Wilson, president of the General Electric Company, issued a 173-page report covering every phase of civil rights under the title, "To Secure These Rights."

Filibuster Threat Looms

The Times

In his state-of-the-Union message early last month the Chief Executive had promised a special message on civil rights. He had listed it as one of "five great goals" toward which the nation should strive. Mon. 2-2-48

The President's proposals included a few which have stirred bitter controversies in the past. It was freely predicted on Capitol Hill that the revival of issues like the Fair Employment Practices Commission and anti-lynch and anti-poll tax legislation would inevitably bring the threat of filibusters. Tues. 2-3-48

These proposals are unpopular with the South's members in Congress, and the President has heard considerable criticism of his policies from the South recently. Some of this criticism, typical of a Presidential election year, has been pinpointed on Mr. Truman's civil-rights program.

Forty-nine South Carolina legislators denounced this program last week as "repugnant." In a similar criticism, Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi proposed that the Solid South withhold all its electoral votes to make possible the election of a "distinguished Southerner." The Times

Gov. James E. Folsom of Alabama also has assailed the President and has offered to challenge his for the Democratic Presidential nomination. Times (New York, N.Y.)

Acknowledging that Americans enjoyed a greater measure of freedom than any other people in the world, the President stated that nevertheless a breach existed between the ideal and the practice. The gap should be closed, he said, and he ended his message with these words: Tues.

"We know the way. We need only the will." 2-3-48

Points to Totalitarian Nations

This country's position of world leadership, Mr. Truman asserted, made it especially important to strengthen its civil rights, and he recalled that many millions of people of all races and creeds had helped to force the American democracy.

"We know that our democracy is not perfect," Mr. Truman said, "but we do know that it offers a fuller, freeer, happier life to our people than any totaritarian nation has ever offered."

The ten objectives of the program follow: 2-3-48

1. Establishing a permanent Commission on Civil Rights, a Joint Congressional Committee on Civil Rights and a Civil Rights Division in the Department of Justice.
2. Strengthening existing civil-rights statutes.
3. Providing Federal protection against lynching.
4. Protecting more adequately the right to vote.
5. Establishing a Fair Employment Practice Commission to prevent unfair discrimination in employment. The Times
6. Prohibiting discrimination in interstate transportation facilities.
7. Providing home-rule and suffrage in Presidential elections for the residents of the District of Columbia. New York, N.Y.
8. Providing statehood for Hawaii and Alaska, and a greater measure of self-government for our island possessions.
9. Equalizing the opportunities for residents of the United States to become naturalized citizens.
10. Settling the evacuation claims of Japanese-Americans.

The President told Congress that the Government had a clear duty to assure Constitutional guarantees, but that these could be fulfilled only if Congress enacted "modern, comprehensive civil-rights laws." Tues. 2-3-48

The proposed commission and Congressional committee would keep the country posted on the condition of civil rights and would work to improve them, the President suggested. To grant the vote and home rule to the people of the Federal city would be a first step in making it a "true symbol" of American freedom at home as well as to the world at large, he pleaded.

President Truman promised to issue soon a "comprehensive restatement" of the policy of nondiscrimination in Federal Employment, "together with appropriate measures to ensure compliance."

The Justice Department already has a civil-rights section, but legislation would be needed to enlarge it to a division and to provide an additional assistant attorney general to supervise it, as the President proposed.

SOUTH IN CONGRESS BACKS RIGHTS TEST

The Times

New York, N.Y.

Approve Plan of Governors for 40-Day Study of Pleas in Truman Message

Mon. 2-9-48

By CLAYTON KNOWLES

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 8—Southern members of Congress endorsed today the decision by the Conference of Southern Governors to let a committee study the impact of President Truman's civil rights message below the Mason-Dixon Line.

A good cross-section of Southern Democrats in the two houses, interviewed by telephone, approved the study, which would delay a concerted decision for forty days as a way to avert precipitate action and, even better, dispel the semblance of undue haste or ill-considered judgment.

While the resentment at the President's program appeared to be cooling off in some quarters, a good number of those interviewed called for a showdown with the Truman Administration at the Democratic National Convention in July. Others voiced the view that the study committee, perhaps in direct consultation with the President, could effect some basis of agreement.

Backers of Plan Hope for Gain

Southern proponents of the President's program, hopeful that a better understanding would come from the committee study, reasserted their belief that any solution must contemplate greater guarantees of civil rights, regardless of the difficulties. The Times

There was an inclination in some Southern Congressional delegations to construe the "cooling off" period, as it has been termed, as a victory for the Administration. Outspoken advocates of the President's program contended, however, that the consideration now being given to controversial problems inherent in the ten points of the President's message would make the final conference decision the more authoritative. New York

The President, at services this morning at the First Baptist Church, heard a sermon by the Rev. Dr. E. H. Pruden, the pastor, which was sympathetic to both the civil rights program and to Mr. Truman himself. N.Y.

"Those who pioneer in the social realm will always encounter 'contrary winds,'" said Dr. Pruden, whose topic was "In the Night Christ Came Walking." He asserted that there was nothing in the President's plan for which support could not be found in the New Testament or the United States Constitution. Mon. 2-9-48

Some Southern Views

Sentiments expressed by southern members of Congress include the following:

Senator Claude Pepper of Florida—"If we are to be democracy's champions we must practice it as well as preach it. Let us therefore seek to solve the problems of democracy in America out of deep and sincere earnestness and not out of anger or excitement." The Times

Senator Kenneth McKeller of Tennessee—"I am doing just what that resolution said—I'm thinking it over."

Senator Olin D. Johnston of North Carolina—"Sure, let's study the question, but, if people from outside the South are going to dictate how we take care of our problems weve got to take every advantage possible to protect ourselves." New York, N.Y.

Senator John J. Sparkman of Alabama—"It's a fine idea to have a committee study the situation and then find out where we stand."

Representative Ed Gossett of Texas—"We will still have to iron out our troubles at the convention." Mon. 2-9-48

While many of the opponents of the President's program refused to be quoted directly, they were willing to concede in off-the-record remarks that restoration of the two-thirds rule at Democratic National Conventions would be an acceptable redress in the present situation. Since 1936 Democratic candidates have been selected by a majority vote, which deprived the solid South of its strength as the balance of power in party councils.

10 1948

PM on CR

Air Time Given Solons For Rebuttal on 'Rights'

The Constitution
Atlanta, Ga. Sun. 3-7-48

WASHINGTON, March 6—(INS)—The Senate's "nearly solid South" was given radio time Saturday to answer network publicity for President Truman's Civil Rights program.

Robert D. Swezey, Vice President of the Mutual Broadcasting System, telegraphed the offer to Sen. Russell, of Georgia, who, with 20 other Dixie Senators, had protested the MBS dramatization of Mr. Truman's anti-Jim Crow proposals.

This new phase of the Southern revolt developed as a possible show-down battle loomed in the House.

The Constitution

The Southern Senators in their protest said:

"The definition of what constitutes a civil right or where the alleged right of one citizen invades the right of another is highly controversial. In the present circumstances this is a political issue.

Atlanta, Ga.

"We do not have available the professional talent of a large broadcasting chain to dramatize the presentation of our opposition to the report of the President's Commission (on civil rights) but we do wish to have accorded to us time to present our views equal to that used by this program."

A survey of the revolt picture showed some Southern delegations were being primed to take a walk at the Democratic National Convention if President Truman was nominated, leaders said.

Dixie lawmakers who declined to be quoted by name said it now seemed almost certain that delegates in a half-dozen States would be ready for this drastic action if some unforseen compromise was not reached in the battle over civil rights.

Sun. 3-7-48

These legislators said some delegations may be sent to the July Philadelphia meeting with explicit instructions to walk out if the party adopted a plank for enforced changes in race relations and picked Mr. Truman to head the ticket.

Sun,

Meantime, a high administration source said he was hopeful that time and "cool tempers" would heal the rift between President Truman and leaders of the Southern revolt.

3-7-48

Thus far, this source said, no peace feelers had been put out either by the White House or the Dixie leaders. But he predicted that before Democrats met July 12 for their Presidential nominating convention at Philadelphia, both sides would act to restore party harmony.

Sun.

Mr. Truman was expected to get the latest details about the Southern revolt early next week from Democratic National Chm. J. Howard McGrath. The White House said, however, that no date had been set.

3-7-48

AS THEY FLAY 'RIGHTS'

Dixie Governors Ask U.S. Help on 3 Points

Atlanta Constitution, Atlanta, Ga.
Tues Jan 24 1948

WASHINGTON, Feb. 23—(AP)—Southern Governors here to protest President Truman's civil rights program took time out Monday to let the Government know what else they want.

The Governors are asking for:

1. Congress to provide for regional education;
2. The Interstate Commerce Commission to put freight rates it ordered in 1945 into effect, and
3. Congress to settle a dispute over ownership of land under coastal waters.

Tues. 2-24-48

South Carolina Gov. J. Strom Thurmond said Congress must pass a law allowing States to enter into a compact for regional schools Gov. Millard Caldwell, of Florida, has invited legislators through their own Governors to a conference at the Capitol.

According to North Carolina Gov. R. Gregg Cherry, the South especially needs schools of forestry, dentistry, mining and textiles.

Gov. Thurmond also made known the Southern Governors' displeasure with the "slow progress" made by ICC in establishing its order lowering Southern freight rates 10 percent and jacking up those in the North 10 percent.

In the tideland dispute, Governors of Florida, Virginia and South Carolina were among early witnesses as a Senate-House Committee opened hearings. Federal ownership of tidelands is a step toward "the steady economic stranglation of the States," Gov. Caldwell observed.

How To Hurt Your Cause

Time Sun Tues

Some Alabamians are overreaching themselves in their fight against President Truman and his civil rights proposals.

For example, a weekly newspaper of Alabama (*The Collinsville New Era*) makes these astounding statements: "If President Truman's so-called 'civil rights' program is enacted into law . . . a Negro could come into a white cafe, demand service, and, failing to get it, could sue and collect damages from the cafe owner. Whites could also make themselves a nuisance in Negro cafes. . . . Truman's plan would remove legal barriers of intermarriages. . . . Whites and Negroes would be mixed . . . in picture shows, skating rinks, swimming pools, dance halls. . . . Separate schools for the races would be outlawed."

Sun—3-30-48

The Truman civil rights proposals seek nothing of the sort, unsound as they are. They attack segregation only so far as interstate traffic or commerce is concerned. It is inconceivable that the courts would sustain any law, even if it should pass, which would forbid segregation in such local matters as cafes, dance halls and swimming pools. The Supreme Court in its rulings has never suggested outlawing separate schools. It has merely insisted that there should be equality of educational opportunity. It has left it to the states as to how to achieve that equality.

It should not be necessary, however, to belabor the falsity of statements like those above. It should be sufficient to point out that making them is one good way to arouse sympathy for President Truman among fair-minded Alabamians.

THE WASHINGTON MERRY-GO-ROUND

The Times-Herald
Tuscaloosa, Ala.

By Drew Pearson

SOUTHERN politicoes say they are sore about the Truman civil-rights message because they had just begun to make strides to put their own house in order. . . . Governor Strom Thurman of South Carolina went all out to prosecute the white taxi-drivers who lynched a Negro near Greenville. . . . Georgia, under Ellis Arnall, had abolished its poll tax. South Carolina was getting ready to abolish its tax. . . . Now, say political leaders, this progress will be reversed. . . . Young Southerners don't seem worried about Truman's civil-rights program. Students at Stetson University, plus young reporters on various newspapers said they thought it was a political tempest-in-a-teapot.

3-24-48

Karl Bickel, who retired as head of the United Press because he wanted to take life easy, is now busier than ever running the town of Sarasota, plus the Ringling Museum, plus the Florida Historical Society, plus any other enterprise that helps the community. Regarding race relations, Karl says: "The thing that will solve the Negro problem is high wages for field hands. When they get paid well they want to buy things. They not only improve themselves, but they also help business."

Copyright.

Alabama Totalitarianism

The Birmingham News-Age-Herald

To the Editor of The News-Age-Herald:

Hugh Locke has been named chairman of a "state Democratic campaign for a full-scale shooting war against Truman and his civil rights program." This new organization, headed by 21 of our 28 candidates to the Democratic National Convention, has a three-barbed objective:

1. Mr. McCorvey to convene Democratic Executive Committee as soon as State Supreme Court rules on constitutionality of Bentley act. This act says: "Presidential electors must vote for the nominee of the Democratic National Convention."

(Editor's Note—The Supreme Court has held the law unconstitutional.)

2. Request convention delegates not to vote for Truman.

Sun 4-4-48

3. If national convention adopts a platform hostile to the South, Alabama delegates to walk out and report back to the State Executive Committee for further directives.

This, white citizens of Alabama, is the operation of a politburo, not in Moscow under the benign influence of the Kremlin with the whip swung by Stalin, but in our beloved Alabama. Eighty state political figures are members of this organization. Like Soviet Russia, he or she who wants political office had better conform to the wishes of our state politburo.

Democracy says, "Alabama voters and candidates may think and act as they wish about Truman's civil rights proposals." Our state politburo says, "We know what is best for the voters in this crisis." Just why should not voters and candidates express their own

Democracy is over.

It is not and should not be considered an unpardonable sin to vote for the Republican ticket if you disapprove of Truman.

Democracy won by blood and tears, is lost when we permit political leaders to direct the views and actions of voters and candidates. It is time we, the people, woke up to the menace of Alabama totalitarianism. Who wants to be a "yes" man for the State Executive Committee?

J. W. G. KITTS.

SUCH A MAN

Editor, The Advertiser:

The President has raised a race question here in the South. True there is a distinction between the white and the black races, and quite rightly so, but there is no race question in this problem. There is a distinction between the white man who enjoys that distinction quite as much as the white—even more there is a distinction between the white man who enjoys that distinction and the white man who would deny the Negro his social and political instincts upon the other, and there is mutual understanding and good will. Whoever would disturb that is an enemy of both races.

The President's "Civil Disturbance" program is the gravest threat to the peace and dignity of the United States since the so-called reconstruction period. If it is

gerated notions of his own greatness. A democrat possed of the immortal virtues, patience, faith, hope and charity.

The recurring annoyances every election year of disturbing factors imposed upon us by political leaders makes it obvious that we need a purge of such troublesome factors. A new emblem might be a picture, with Washington in the center and Jefferson and Madison on the sides. Underneath would be inscribed "The All American Democratic Party of Our Fathers." The appeal would be not to the political bosses, but to the people themselves, North, South, East and West.

A. C. SANDERS.

Goshen, Ala.

THOMAS L. STOKES

'Civil Rights' and the South

The Atlanta Constitution

WASHINGTON—The disturbing spectacle known as "the Southern Revolt" and the strange state of mind behind it are clearly illuminated, and unwittingly, by a single question put to Sen. J. Howard McGrath, Rhode Island, Chairman of the Democratic National Committee.

The question came from Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina, during Sen. McGrath's conference with five Southern Governors who came here to protest President Truman's Civil Rights legislative program. Here is the interchange from the stenographic report:

"Gov. Thurmond: 'Will you now, at a time when national unity is so vital to the solution of the problem of peace in the world, use your influence, as chairman of the Democratic National Committee, to have the highly controversial Civil Rights legislation, which tends to divide our people, withdrawn from consideration by the Congress?'

"Sen. McGrath: 'No'."

National unity? On what and whose terms? And who is dividing the people, and with what right?

Our nation has assumed a position of world leadership. Its influence springs from its strength, both material and spiritual. That spiritual strength derives from our freedom, from fair-play, tolerance, and the guarantee of civil rights in our Constitution. Though we have not achieved these things completely, that is the ideal we raise before the world.

For us to continue to have influence, our national unity must be on the basis of those things. That is what we must represent so far as possible to the rest of the world. That is surely what our people want in their own hearts.

It is serious enough, for our moral position in the world, to have even a small part of our nation or a segment of our population making a fight, at this late date and in these critical times, against the simple, essential liberties that we proclaim to the rest of the world.

What would the rest of the world think to see us now go back as Gov. Thurmond suggests? There can be no going back and no compromise if we would maintain our integrity as a people. We can only go forward, even if slowly. Gov. Thurmond and the other Southern politicians might as well recognize that now. National unity can only be on that basis.

Who is it dividing the people? Is it the great majority, not only North but South, who want to realize the ideals about which we boast? Or is it a few noisy Southern politicians and a minority of the Southern people? The answer seems clear.

Those who are trying to hold us back and compromise us as a nation probably would say it's none of the world's business. Just as, for example, they say it's none of the business of the rest of the country.

But it is the business of the rest of the country and, in that respect, the business of the rest of the world. It is the business of the rest of the country for instance, when some of its aspirations are thwarted by representatives from the South who do not truly represent the people of the South because of disfranchisement by "white primaries" and poll taxes. The nation can not have real representative government until those obstacles to the free ballot are removed. The right to vote is elemental. So, too, is the right to hold a good job without discrimination, the right of any citizen, white or black, to hold up his head as a free citizen, to move about as a free citizen.

Those are the principles of the President's Civil Rights program. They can be worked out by Congress in the usual give and take process, in the wisest and most practicable way.

But we can't go back, nor compromise the principles.

Sen. McGrath was right about that. And, with all their fulminations and threats, it is very likely that the Southern politicians will find out, eventually, that their own people do not intend to go back nor compromise the principles of justice and fairness.

Only A Dream?

To the Editor of The News:

Trying objectively to weigh the various decisions arrived at and actions taken by President Truman in the admittedly difficult task imposed by the death of his predecessor, I have, at least until recently, given him credit for sincerity, honest intentions and earnest desire to carry forward the program of his chief, who had been greatly admired and approved.

Although disappointed at times, on the whole I have believed him right more often than otherwise and found excuses of one kind or another for obvious errors. This approval extended to a willingness to grant him a full term in office wherein he would be "on his own."

However, along with thousands of others, I was dumbfounded when he made his now famous, or shall I say infamous," declaration anent civil rights. On its face, this uncalled-for declaration, extending beyond any party policy, in fact amounting almost to a contravention of party policy, tended towards stamping him as just another political "will-o'-the-wisp," willing to commit himself to any program calculated to gain support through appeal to class hatred or race prejudice even at the cost of injury to the beliefs, to say nothing of the rights to self-determination, of a large contingent of fellow citizens whose political support he felt he would receive regardless.

I have watched and tried to analyze developments since that time, definitely hoping to find it possible to reconcile his action in this regard with the much higher than average opinion I had managed to retain up to then. Last night before and after retiring I continued in this effort to find some circumstance to excuse him. Suddenly from my radio, which I had left connected for a late news broadcast, came the announcement, "Ladies and gentlemen of America, the President of the United States," followed immediately in Mr. Truman's unmistakable voice: "My fellow citizens, a position once taken by a distinguished American statesman which won the spontaneous approval of the entire nation, and for its author the admiration and love of every man within its confines, was expressed in this terse phrase, 'I would rather be right than be president.' I too hold that sentiment. At last I would rather be right than be the Democratic candidate for the presidency under conditions as they now exist.

"In the discharge of the duties of his high office, the president can make no exceptions in the enforcement of the statutory laws of the nation. They should be literally construed and not as they may have been intended to be construed by their authors. In applying literal construction, as I have come to understand the term, I probably have failed to realize the right of other Americans to their construction of certain laws relating to civic rights.

"Realizing the abhorrence with which my action is viewed by so large an element of the party to which I owe allegiance, and desiring to retain their respect, if not their faith, in my judgment, I hereby withdraw my name from further consideration as a presidential candidate of the Democratic Party, retaining, of course, my right as an individual to whatever political and moral beliefs I may now hold or adopt, but pledging my full allegiance to the Democratic Party and my support to its principles as expressed in party platforms, unless and until my personal convictions fall athwart those of the majority, and then I shall seek other association more in harmony."

With these words the president closed his speech and the applause was so loud and prolonged that I was awakened. I had been dreaming. Was my dream only the result of wishful thinking or was there possible prophetic implications? Time will soon tell.

D. W. C. YARBROUGH.

411 North 21st Street

Voice Of The People

Birmingham News

Racial Discrimination

To the Editor of The News:

Well, somebody's beginning to see the light. Thank goodness for the moment when every man, regardless of race, creed or color, will have equal rights.

Is a man to go through the "dregs" of life because of the color of the skin? If so, what will he profit out of life? Racial discrimination should have never been started. Will America progress or regress?

SUSIE ANNA BENNETT.

609 61st Street, Fairfield, Ala.

Let It Drop

To the Editor of The News:

I can't see to save me why any real Southerner would like to have his daughter marry a Negro or sit by one in school or church. Not that I think we shouldn't protect the Negro from abuse. We should.

Have you ever been in Los Angeles, New York, Detroit or Washington? Well, make the rounds and you will say, "Give me Alabama, where I am not pushed off the sidewalks and seats in buses, trains, etc."

Yes, the North would like to shove that down us because they envy us. Just talk to them and you will soon find out they would like to have the Jim Crow law there. The average Negro who is law-abiding does not want to associate with whites, so why cater to the lawless type? So let it drop at that. Why fuss?

T. N. TULLES.

Fort Payne, Ala.

Democrats 'Not Sincere,' --Dr. Craven

Dr. Avery Craven, Professor of American History at the University of Chicago, told a Negro audience Wednesday night at Atlanta University that in his belief the Democrats are "not sincere in their sudden protestations in democracy."

The educator, who is married to Georgia Watson, the favorite granddaughter of the late Sen. Tom Watson, of Georgia, was referring to the recent Truman declarations on civil right, which have caused a bolt of Southern Party leaders.

He said it is one of the worst things that could happen to the cause of world peace at this time to bring forth issues charged with emotionalism for the veiled purpose of seeking votes in an election year.

Dr. Craven said the prime issue confronting the American people today—North, South, East and West—is that of world peace and he said the Democrats, by playing politics at this time with controversial subjects which play up to one group of people at the expense of others—is committing a shameful act.

PM on CR

South Can Settle Worst Of Its Ills

A PRAYER FOR PEACE: 'From the murmur and subtly of suspicion with which we vex one another, give us rest. Mingle again the kindred of the nations in the alchemy of love, and with some finer essence of forebearance, temper our minds."—Aristophenes.

* * *

BY ALYCE BILLINGS WALKER

These are grievous days for those of us who love the South and believe in its goodness and potential greatness.

At a time when our country needs be more strongly knit than ever in its history, we're being caught in a terrible eddy of divisiveness. Sectionalism is hoisting its ugly head and lashing out its venemous fangs at us.

ALYCE WALKER

This is the South's hour—to rise or fall.

We've so much to gain and everything to lose by the manner in which we meet the situation growing out of the president's civil rights declaration.

Bitter words, born of fired tempers, aren't the answer. They brand us as hot-headed and childish before the rest of the country. They only serve to hurt our own cause in our own section.

We should know by now that few "outsiders" truly want to help us solve our race problem. If they did, they'd see that the leadership of the South—certainly the leadership other than political—is honestly working at it. Indeed, a substantial part of the political leadership is doing the same. We are not making as rapid progress as we would like, and as we must. We are not doing all we should, but many of us are trying.

We properly object to federal action to cover some of the sore spots. On the other hand, we must admit we are not doing all we should to take state action to relieve the worst of these ills. We must move a little more speedily as states in some of the things we are, for the most part, willing to do. Thereby, we shall automatically remove some of the pressure for federal action

But, apparently outsiders don't want to know about what progress we are making. They repeatedly turn deaf ears to both Negroes and white people who could cite facts to prove it.

We admit our failures of the past. We're not a whit proud of many existing conditions. Personally, I've never believed that any law-abiding, loyal citizen should have to pay for the privilege to vote. Even proponents of the poll tax must see, at least, the viciousness of the cumulative feature of it, which is peculiar only to our state.

But at least on the matter of race segregation the South has been in the main, honest. We've said there shall be no mixing of races in many phases of our lives, and meant it, certainly for the foreseeable future. Other sections boast no race segregation, but substitute tacit, practical segregation and frustration for it. That, to me, is far worse.

But there's no use arguing this point with "outsiders." They refuse to recognize that neither the Negro nor the white race in the South is psychologically or economically prepared for any immediate, drastic changes in their social pattern.

Indeed, this is the South's hour. We must hold tight to tempers, lest all the progress we have made be unravelled. Let's walk independent of party politics, if we must. But let the South be no party to anything that will hurt the United States.

South Expects To Filibuster In 'Ri[illegible]hts' Test

Elle[illegible] Plans [illegible] Asserts [illegible]ock Them

[illegible]ill Flayed

TUSKEGEE INST. RECORDS TUSKEGEE INST #RES

WASHINGTON, Feb. 29.—(AP) —Senator Ellender (D) Louisiana, Sunday night promised a Southern filibuster against "civil rights" legislation. Senator Ferguson (R), Michigan, declared the Republicans will "break it."

The subject of a filibuster came up in a radio debate here on the controversial legislative program laid down by President Truman. The President proposed, among other things, passage at this session of Congress of anti-poll tax and anti-lynch legislation and the establishment of a Federal Fair Employment Practices Code.

The program has been bitterly attacked by Southern lawmakers while generally receiving Republican support.

Pointing out that Southern senators have filibustered successfull against similar measures in the past, Ellender declared:

To Try Again

"We expect to filibuster again."

"We'll break your filibuster," Ferguson retorted.

He said the Republicans have enough votes to enforce "cloture" or limitation of debate.

Senator Stennis (D) Mississippi, Ellender's partner in the debate, called the FEPC bill "the most un-American bill ever considered by the Congress." He said there could be "no compromise" with it or the other proposed measures.

Ives, second Republican participant in the broadcast and author of the FEPC measure, said it is designed to provide "equality of economic opportunity." He added "it has nothing whatsoever to do with social equality."

Political Appeasers

Ellender charged that the civil rights legislation was "advocated for no other reason than to get political support from Negroes" in the northern states. He termed backers of such legislation "political appeasers."

Ferguson said this was not true. He said a need exists for a federal anti-lynch law and for the abolishment of the poll tax.

Ferguson, chairman of the Senate judiciary sub-committee which is now writing an anti-lynch bill, said the Southern states do not enforce their own anti-lynch laws.

[illegible]ime For Candidates [illegible] Qualify In Alabama Only Few Hours Away

72 Alabamians Seek 26 Delegate Posts

Monday midnight is the qualifying deadline for Alabama's May 4 Democratic primary—always important because of the one-party system, but more so this time because of the president's civil rights proposals.

The Democratic nomination in Alabama is tantamount to election. Not since the reconstruction days following the War Between The States, has Alabama voted a Republican ticket.

So far major interest has centered around the election battles for convention delegates and presidential electors. Candidates for these posts have come out in unusually large numbers this year.

The Banning Of Scholastic

Senior Scholastic is a magazine especially edited for use as discussion material in the nation's high schools. It is edited and published in New York. Its editor-in-chief is Kenneth M. Gould. He visited Birmingham last year at the invitation of a group of Birmingham's teachers and addressed them at one of their professional meetings. *Scholastic's* national advisory council includes Dr. L. Frazer Banks, superintendent of Birmingham's schools. The magazine has been used as a basis of discussion in the classrooms of city and county schools for more than a decade.

Last week a citizen, Frank Bainbridge, who has a child enrolled in one of Birmingham's high schools, took exception to some of the material in the issue of the magazine for Feb. 23, 1948. The general subject was Brotherhood Week. Mr. Bainbridge wrote a letter of protest to the Birmingham School Board. He asked the board to examine the "cheap political yellow sheet," declared that in his opinion it was devoid of any literary value, and that it advocates "the repeal of our segregation laws and endorses the president's so-called civil rights program." He asked the board if it approved the spreading of such ideas among the school children of the city. Mr. Bainbridge also pointed out that one section of the magazine featured questions and answers on problems of conduct of boys and girls together. He objected to the periodical's handling of questions about whether or not a high school student should kiss a girl after a date. His protest against the magazine is on the basis of morals and race presentation.

* * *

Last Friday the School Board took up the matter of Mr. Bainbridge's letter. President F. D. McArthur, after examination of the offending issue, agreed with Mr. Bainbridge's position. So did William J. Christian and Lawrence Stevens, members of the board. Mrs. J. A. Dupuy, another member, said that she did not agree with certain matters in the one issue, but stated that she did not approve condemning the magazine wholly on the basis of one issue. Dr. Banks agreed with Mrs. Dupuy and said that he did not recollect that such material as was objected to had appeared before. He urged that the board not condemn the magazine for use in the schools at this time. The board then voted on a motion objecting to further "circulation of the magazine in the public schools of the city." Messrs. McArthur, Stevens and Christian voted in favor of the motion. Mrs. Dupuy did not vote. Dr. Banks is presently formulating a letter to all high school principals banning the official use of the magazine hereafter in their schools.

A number of the school system's patrons have expressed regret at the action of the board in banning the official use of the magazine. At least a dozen high school teachers have indicated that they believe the magazine has considerable value. They object to the banning of it, believing that its presentation of any controversial material is always dispassionate. One teacher said that largely because of the magazine and other materials used, there had been every evidence in the schools that issues can now be discussed without hysteria. The feeling expressed by several others is that if the School Board does not feel that teachers can handle delicate matters satisfactorily in the classroom and in outside discussion groups, then the board is showing very little confidence in the teachers' abilities.

The News believes that the board acted hastily in banning the magazine without wider discussion and greater knowledge of its editorial policy over the years. Dr. Banks does not know of any other protest than that made by Mr. Bainbridge. Mr. Bainbridge's specific objection has to do with only one issue; he has not observed the magazine for a length of time. The board discussed the matter for about an hour and a quarter last Friday. Two of the members had seen the issue to which objection was made before the meeting. The other two, present may or may not have seen it before the meeting last Friday.

The board did not ask for competent outside opinion on the matter. It listened to what Dr. Banks had to say, but it did not call in any teacher who had used the magazine in the classroom and it did not ask the opinion of any students who had read it and discussed it.

The News believes that the action of the board was summary. It believes it should have withheld judgment till other opinion could have been consulted. It regrets the action of the board. It believes such action is not in accord with the American tradition of free expression. It believes that the action will be widely resented in the city by many of the schools' patrons, by many of the teachers in the system, and by many of the students thus deprived arbitrarily of discussion material which has been found useful and stimulating for many years.

Negroes And Indians

To the Editor of The News:

In The News some years back there was a letter written by Mrs. Roosevelt to a party in South Alabama. She stated she never had said she believed in social equality of the Negro. Also that it was a terrible thing that the Negro was brouht to this country, and that she found the Negro did not vote as a group any more than the whites. The vote, Mr. Editor, is what caused all the handshaking and visits to the schools.

From what I get from Drew Pearson, Mr. Truman's message was not his, but came from the party's vote-getter. But it seems to have backfired.

I cannot see where Negroes are so downtrodden. If they think they are, let them look at some American Indians. These people were herded onto a tract of land, dictated to as to what they could and couldn't do. The land has become crowded and, I read, is not worth a dime an acre. The death rate is high, caused by bad living conditions and is not their fault, but the fault of grafters, treaties and unkept promises made by man and government. They have to barter for what they want for their labor, do not have a vote, and naturally are stuck all around.

If this civil rights bill can be held up until after the election, it will die of its own death.

W M. MILLHOLLAND.
122 Elvton Court.

Civil Rights Win Round 1

By A... Press

WASHINGTON

Southern Democrats tried and apparently failed to win the support of Democratic National Chairman J. Howard McGrath in their all-out fight to kill President Truman's civil rights program.

McGrath did not immediately make public his answer to the five Dixie Governors who met with him in a face-to-face showdown session. But one of them, Gov. R. Gregg Cherry of North Carolina, quoted the National chairman as saying: "I'm sticking by the President."

Cherry told newsmen:

"It wasn't as much of a secession as some folks thought it was going to be. There was just a lot of talk, talk, talk. McGrath handled himself pretty well."

By "secession," Cherry referred to threats that Southern Democrats will secede from the National party over the civil rights question as it affects relations between white persons and Negroes.

Cherry said the governors who met McGrath "with blood in their eyes didn't get exactly what they were after."

Sent here as delegates of the Southern Governors Conference, the chief executives charged that Truman's program was "unconstitutional" and "may well sound the death knell of local self-government."

They demanded that McGrath strive to keep out of the 1948 Democratic platform the very proposals that the President has put before Congress—Federal laws outlawing, among other things, the poll tax and separation of white persons and Negroes in interstate travel.

The Governors told McGrath that the civil rights program, which also proposes laws against lynching and job discrimination because of color or race, "tends to divide our people" at a time when National unity is vital to solving "the problem of peace in the world."

Dixie Democrats Rail At Truman Again

Antiwar Effort Called More Vital Than Civil Rights

Washington, March 9 (AP)—The country "is on the verge of war," Senator Eastland (D., Miss.) said today, yet Congress is "asked to drop important things" to take up civil-rights legislation.

This, Eastland told the Senate Judiciary Committee, is a "terrible condition. The committee is considering a federal anti-lynching bill such as President Truman has ... as a part of a civil-rights p... am.

Drew Pears... writes on the back page of Section 2 that Southern politicoes say they are sore about Truman's civil-rights message because they had just begun to make strides to put their own house in order.

Without naming Truman, the Mississippian said the country needed as a President "a man who can unite this country against a common foe"—namely, Russia.

"What the people of this country want more than anything else is a man ... who will not sacrifice the good of the country for the sake of personal gain from organized pressure groups," Eastland said.

In the House, Representative Williams (D., Miss.) suggested that Truman "quit now while he is still just 20,000,000 votes behind."

Williams said in a brief speech that the President "wants the civil-rights program passed; he wants the South throttled; and, most of all, he wants to be President again."

Eastland, bitter critic of the civil-rights program, spoke out in offering four amendments to the antilynching bill.

He proposed that picket-line violence be included in the list of "mob" actions the bill would make a federal offense.

He moved to make a City or a County liable for deaths at the hands of gangsters or racketeers as well as for deaths in a lynching, as the bill now would do.

He would penalize peace officers who do not use "diligent efforts" to solve felonies. The bill does this in lynching cases.

He proposed that communities be liable for damages up to $10,000 for injuries or deaths in race riots. The bill would apply such a provision in lynchings.

Jennings Perry

Our Own Knitting

Perry

About the only thing we can do about Czechoslovakia, it seems to me, is to hope that what is happening there accords with the will of the majority of the people. We won't help the matter by slavering over it. The last time it was a question of the fate of the stout little nation, I remember, the question was decided, not in Prague but at Munich. On that occasion, the Western powers, now so disturbed by the passing of political power to the Communists, threw Czechoslovakia bodily to Adolf Hitler—as you would throw raw meat to an insistent lion. In the present instance, the Czechs themselves would appear to have had a choice. After Munich, there was no singing in the streets of Prague at all.

But if we can only wait and see what happens to liberty in Czechoslovakia, we can, while waiting, proceed with our attempts to legislate protection of the liberties in America. Only by so doing, it seems to me, can we underwrite the honesty of the reproaches we deposit upon other imperfect regimes.

Anti-Lynch Bill May Go Through

Our House of Representatives is about to pass the Anti-Lynching Bill again. Lynching, as almost all of us have come to agree, is a nasty crime—a crime against nature, since life is the first of the inalienable rights with which, we say, the Creator has endowed us, and a crime against our hallowed Constitution, which asserts to each living citizen the protection of due process of law. We have been out-growing the habit of lynching slowly, just as, further back, we outgrew the habit of living in caves. There is no reason, however, why we should not put against the crime the additional hindrances contemplated in the Federal Anti-Lynching Bill.

The law should be enacted because it is due, and because the objections to it, whether prompted by feeling or by habit, are spurious. And those who vote for the bill should be credited with a good deed.

But the enactment of this sole bill will by no means discharge the obligation of Congress under its oath of service to our form of government, nor the obligation of our society to the grand principles of liberty whose jeopardy, in Prague, stirs our hearty indignation. Indeed we need to be advised of the likelihood that grudging enactment of the Anti-Lynch Bill will be offered in the nature of a sop, as a pious political gesture calculated to butter the social conscience while saving to powerful interests in both major parties other existing conditions of far greater value to them and of far greater detriment to the social cause.

Anti-Poll Tax Bill Even More Important

I do not wish to suppose a condition between the Anti-Lynch raging civil rights debate be cen- sake of our not-less-precious liberties here.

... would mean the event- The Republicans' stake in the ...rement of many of those poll is second only to that of the ...ic Congressmen and bourbon Democrats: and that is ...whose "unholy alliance" why, while we are waiting to see ...ir Republican opposite how it goes with liberty in Eu- ...has usually enabled the rope, we cannot afford to let our ...ives to control the legis- eyes stray from the job of knit- ...en when the Democrats ting we have undertaken for the ... to restore the free suffrage in ... have been in the majority.

... but the South would ... the former bill than ... the latter, and that, if one ... ual replacement ... is unavoidable, ... the Democratic ... Senators who ... Bill rather than the ... Anti-Poll Tax Bill be allowed to ... with their Re- ... reactionary Anti-Poll Tax Bill be allowed to see ... both parties, who go on the statute books. ... Enactment of the former would numbers has ... forced to the conservatives ... cost little to the conservatives ... yield nothing unless forced to the ... would vastly prefer that the ... now in control of the legislature; ... Bill, which already has passed the ... House and stands in weary attend- ... nevertheless, that the ... elements of ...

As We See It

Southern Liberals and "Local Responsibility"

By Abner W. Berry

Ralph Emerson McGill is editor of the "liberal" **Atlanta Constitution,** and James E. Folsom is governor of the sovereign State of Alabama. Both men collaborated last Sunday afternoon in presenting the Southern liberal point of view to the nation on the Columbia Broadcasting Company's network. It was good.

They opposed an anti-lynching bill, and FEPC and an anti-poll tax bill, although both men were opposed to lynching, limiting the vote and the injustices suffered by the Negro.

Unlike the five southern governors who visited Washington this week they did not defend "states' rights." They developed a new pro-Jimcrow gadget—"local responsibility," they called it. "It's up to the southern communities," they said to curb injustices done the Negro.

•

NOW, I WAS WONDERING whether they meant **communities** or **white communities.** I'm afraid they meant the latter. Because the way things are rigged the Negro communities for whom federal legislation is needed could have no way of expressing themselves.

Now, let us just take a look at Walton County, Ga. A majority of that **"community"** are Negroes. In 1946, four Negroes were lynched there in one of the most brutal acts of mob violence on the record books. If a poll of that **community** were taken I wonder how the vote would go?

If editor McGill really believes in the Jeffersonian democracy he says he defends, here is a chance to apply it and keep to his formula of leaving things up to "local responsibility." There are 46 such counties in Georgia and 24 in Alabama.

Now it is all right to argue against a federal anti-lynch bill, an anti-poll tax bill and a FEPC. But please, gentlemen, do not say that that in so arguing you are upholding democracy.

Gov. Folsom is arguing for the 20,000 Negroes in Wilcox County, Alabama, to wait for their rights until the 5,000 whites in the county agree to "give" them. This doesn't sound quite **democratic** to me.

•

FROM TEXAS to Virginia there are 177 counties with Negro majorities. More than 2,600,000 Negroes live in these counties.

It is here that the lack of a vote deprives the Negro of a place in the civil community. It is here that he faces the poll tax. mob law and grueling exploitation. These millions and others around them go without any representation in local or national government.

These 2,600,000 Negroes have no representation at all, but 50,000 white voters in Mississippi sent seven Congressmen to Washington! These are men, led by John Rankin, who talk of defending "Jeffersonian democracy."

Indeed, let us get down to this "local responsibility."

O.K., Editor McGill and Gov. Folsom, we have nearly 200 local communities in which to begin our experiment with "local responsibility" and "Jeffersonian democracy." When do we start?

•

JUST ONE last word to the Governor of Alabama. In the 24 counties of southern Alabama where the Negroes are in the majority you have some of your worst enemies. From there have gone to Montgomery the plantation Gotrocks against whom you have fought—and are fighting.

The Black Belt Congressmen like Frank W. Boykin and Sam Hobbs are the perfect allies of the Wall Street bankers and the national Gotrocks. When you fight for the status quo concerning Negro rights you are guaranteeing these men a long stay in office.

Really, it is about time for southern liberals—and even more so the labor movement in the South—to stop shadow boxing with the Claghorns. The only way to free the South from the bankers and the Colonels is to strike the political and economic shackles from the Negro. There no such thing as progressive "local responsibility" if it is based on a slaveholder's mentality and interests.

20 U. S. Negro Groups Back Truman Program

New York, March 27 (U.P.)—Representatives of 20 Negro national organizations announced today that the 6,084,000 members they claim to represent will support congressmen who back President Truman's civil-rights program.

Meeting at the Wendell Wilkie Memorial Building upon the invitation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the delegates urged Negro voters "to avoid hasty emotional and sentimental political decisions" and to study candidates' platforms "with meticulous scrutiny."

Bonner Says Support Of Truman Withdrawn

CAMDEN, ALA., Feb. 8.—(AP)—Former State Senator J. Miller Bonner has announced that he was withdrawing his pledge to support President Truman because of Truman's recent "civil rights" stand.

Bonner, a candidate for delegate-at-large to the National Democratic Convention, had previously said he would support Truman for the party leader's post.

"Since that time," Bonner said, "Truman has recommended to Congress a civil rights program, which proves him to be the arch enemy of the white man of the South. In view of that, it becomes now my unpleasant, but solemn duty to withdraw my former statement, and say instead:

"I will never vote for the nomination of Truman for president."

He said, however, that he would abide by the result of the primary election next May and would support other Democratic nominees chosen at that time.

Truman Program Wins Sympathy Of Minister

WASHINGTON, Feb. 8.—(AP)—President Truman went to church this morning and heard sympathy for his civil rights program after it had undergone a week of criticism by Southerners in Congress.

Dr. E. H. Pruden, pastor of the First Baptist Church, observed that there is nothing in the President's plan that can't find support in the New Testament or the Federal Constitution.

"Those who pioneer in the social realm will always encounter 'contrary winds,' " said the minister.

This reference was to the storm which Jesus' disciples met when they were crossing a lake in obedience to His command.

And Dr. Pruden commented that we sometimes meet severest opposition when we are doing what we believe to be the will of God.

Mr. Truman arrived unannounced, accompanied only by a Secret Service guard, and took a seat always reserved for him about two-thirds of the way forward.

Dr. Pruden's sermon topic was "In the Night Christ Came Walking," and referred to his appearance among men "in the midst of history's darkest hour."

In those days, the pastor noted, social conditions were characterized by slavery and the "dignity of man was not generally recognized." He observed that humanity had made little progress in reaching Christ's ideal for human relationships.

Mr. Truman's civil rights message last Monday called on Congress to see that guarantees of individual liberties and protection are not abridged in the United States. Part of these proposals were assailed by Southerners as unduly raising racial issues involving Negro segregation, etc.

CIVIL RIGHTS AND POLITICS

There has been almost as much moral fervor in the Southern "revolt" against President Truman's civil rights program as there is behind the program itself. The Southern Governors who met recently at Wakulla, Fla., and their committee of four who yesterday descended on the Democratic National Chairman, Senator J. Howard McGrath, seemed to think they were defending something worth defending. Phenomena like this, coupled with the American defense of human rights in the international arena, must make foreigners wonder. Even an American may be baffled.

The truth is, we believe, that the South is not solid on the subject of civil rights, though it is reasonably solid on the subject of states' rights. A few Southerners accept Mr. Truman's program. Many more accept its ideals but don't believe they can be or should be imposed on any state by a federal force act. Finally there are those—we believe a small and diminishing minority—who strike out blindly against any change in the status quo. They simply don't wish to see any improvement in the Negro's political and economic standing.

This happens to be an election year, and this issue seethes with politics. Yet it ought to be possible to look calmly at its realities. In this field as in others we have to draw a line between the rights of the states and the superior rights of the nation, between what the states can best do and what only the nation can do. Mr. Truman asked for more adequate protection of the right to vote. If federal officials are being elected this concerns everybody in every state, and we believe the nation has a right to intervene. There is a good argument in favor of federal laws requiring equal facilities for passengers in interstate travel, regardless of race, creed or color. There is good argument not merely for appeal to the federal courts but for federal investigation when the individual, either by mob violence or under perverted forms of justice, is denied his constitutional rights.

A permanent Fair Employment Practices agency with enforcement powers raises some harder questions. The wartime FEPC made some progress, South as well as North, but its great victories were won by education and persuasion. We do not believe a federal law could force the FEPC ideal on communities in which majority opinion ran otherwise. The President's Committee on Civil Rights made a strong case for the economic value of FEPC principles. A more effective use of the labor force renders any community more prosperous, the white man as well as the Negro. Some Southern communities are learning this and others will have to if they are to compete. A federal FEPC with power to investigate, recommend and conciliate but no power to enforce might get further than one with a policeman's club.

The problem is not insoluble. Evolution works toward its solution. In a limited area national laws may assist in this evolution. It is a pity that in this political year the issue should be degenerating into a question of who is going to get what blocs of votes.

Civil Rights Plan Is Attacked By Alabamians

BY JAMES FREE

WASHINGTON, March 19—Alabama's two senators will be attacking President Truman's civil rights program over different national radio networks next Tuesday night, cast in favor of anti-lynching, anti-poll tax and FEPC bills. The broadcast will be from Washington.

Sen. John Sparkman will go to Sens. Richard Russell of Georgia, Clyde R. Hoey of North Carolina, New York City to participate in and J. William Fulbright of Arkan- the "Town Meeting of the Air" over sas, in a half hour Mutual Broad- ABC beginning at 7:30 p.m. (Bircasting Company program begin- mingham time). He and Donald ning at 9 p.m. (Birmingham time). Richberg, attorney and economist, Southern senators opposing the will attack the civil rights program, civil rights proposals asked the net- while Sen. Wayne Morse (R., Ore.), works for an opportunity to reply and Roger Baldwin, of the Ameriover different national radio broad- can Civil Liberties Union, will decasting systems to the President fend it.

TRUMAN ADVOCATES EDUCATION OF PUBLIC
IN LETTER TO WALTER WHITE

New York, N.Y., Feb. 19 - President Harry Truman, in a letter to Walter White, executive secretary of the NAACP, has expressed his belief that education, along with legislation, is needed to secure harmony between all groups of people.

In answer to Mr. White's recent telegram of congratulations on his civil rights message to Congress, President Truman wrote: "The objective, of course, is to implement a program of justice and fairness from the ground up and that is as much a matter of education as of legislation. The program which I sent to the Congress is the minimum one from a legislative standpoint but, unless we educate our people of all colors to live and get along together, all the laws in the world will not work, as the Fourteenth Amendment has amply proven."

As We See It

Civil Rights an Urgent Issue, But Truman Acts Don't Show It

By Rob F. Hall WASHINGTON

BYRD

SENATOR HARRY BYRD, THE VIRGINIA PLANTER, issued a solemn warning to Congress the other day. He said that if civil rights legislation is enacted, it will mean "bloodshed." One wonders how the senator would describe the shooting last month by Mississippi police of Leroy McGowan, a young Negro navy veteran. According to eye witnesses, McGowan lay in a pool of blood on a Jackson street..

Or what he would have to say about the bullets fired into the back of J. V. Williams, another Negro veteran of that city. Or of George Thomas, shot to death in Kosciusko, Miss. Or of the count less lynchings, reported and unreported, legal, according to Southern "law," or illegal.

What the obtuse old apple-grower refuses to admit is that the civil rights program is necessary to put an end to the blood letting and murder which is daily taking a toll of Negro citizens throughout the South.

This can be done only by federal action to enforce the constition and extend the full rights of democracy to all, regardless of color. We face in our nation today an emergency of tremendous moment which requires emergency measures.

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THERE IS NO HINT of this urgency in President Truman's approach to the problem. When a reporter asked the President, during his press conference Thursday, whether he planned to send legislation up to Congress to carry out the principles of his civil rights message, the answer was no.

Members of Congress do not not like to have bills prepared and sent down by the executive, he said. They like to write their own legislation. Mr. Truman made it plain that he did not feel the situation was in any sense an emergency.

The best comment I have encountered on Mr. Truman's dilatory attitude came from a housewife on my block. With two children to engage her waking hours, she must snatch at the news, via the radio, on the run. But she didn't miss the point.

It would be interesting to see what issues the President thinks are important enough to call for prepared bills," she said. "Some one ought to make a list of the bills he did send to Congress."

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I HAVEN'T HAD A CHANCE to compile such a list, but I do recall one sunny day in May, 1946, when the President prepared a bill and came up to Congress in person to plead for its enactment. That was the so-called "Temporary Industrial Disputes Act," otherwise known as the Truman bill to draft railroad strikers.

Newspaper reporters were given a text of the Truman speech and a mimeographed copy of the bill at the same time. The Senate and the House were called together in joint session. The President spoke briefly, his voice edgy with the anger he felt toward the railroad brotherhoods.

He told members of Congress in the most thorough-going detail the provisions he wanted in the legislation, including one declaring that the striking workers who had not returned to their jobs in 24 hours should be inducted into the Army on terms and conditions prescribed by the President.

Truman had hardly left the chamber before the administration's chief lieutenant in the House, Rep. John McCormack (D-Mass) asked for unanimous consent to suspend the rules so the bill might be passed. Forty minutes later, the measure was jammed through the House by a vote of 306 to 13, and would have become law had not cooler heads prevailed in the Senate.

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IN THE OPINION of Harry S Truman, that was an "emergency" requiring emergency methods. The abrogation of the Constitution of the United States in some 10 or 11 states in the South is not an emergency and can wait upon the normal routine of Congress, which experience has shown can become a very, very long wait.

In the latter case only lives are involved, the lives of men, women and children of a slightly darker skin pigmentation. But, in the former case, that of the railroad strike, profits, perhaps millions of dollars, were at stake.

Doris Fleeson, the columnist, declared recently that southern Democrats cannot understand how Truman ever brought himself to propose civil rights laws. "They say that the President is a Missourian, that he and his family actually think and behave as southerners do with respect to Negroes," Miss Fleeson reported.

Not being in the confidence of the Truman family, I wouldn't know about that. But I do know that despite the brave words of the Truman administration on the sacred rights of minorities, nothing is being done by the White House or the Democratic leadership to enact civil rights measures. The southern revolt has achieved its first objective—to guarantee that the civil rights program will not be pushed here or at the Democratic national convention.

Whether it will go on toward another objective, the capture of complete control of Democratic machinery by the southerners, I cannot say. But it appears possible.

Confused Geography, History

Editor Constitution: John Wesley Dobbs is as confused in his geography as in his history. The Spaniards and Portuguese called black Ethiopians "Negroes" for that is their word for black. To credit the blacks with the civilizations of Africa (as the Mediterranean shores of the continent were anciently called) is merely to display unfamiliarity with the facts; for these peoples migrated from Asia Minor, while the blacks were a thousand miles to the south, across the Sahara Desert. South of the Sahara was first generally known as Ethiopia, and the inhabitants as Ethiopians. Spain was conquered by Arabs and their kin; the Moors are not Negroes. One could as soon call Cape Town and Durban a black civilization as Memphis and Carthage.

The Negroes are entitled to vote and to have good schools: but they are no more benefited by Dobbs' claims than we are benefited by the so-called KKK and the "Columbians." Let's stick to facts. As the new KKK was first organized in Indiana and exported to Dixie, and as the "Columbians" was organized in Noo Joisey and exported to Dixie, Joseph Godbye's charge that they are the tools of Northern money men is a thought I have been expounding for three years past. It would be well to investigate their sources of income. The age-old principle of divide and conquer works internally as well as externally.

Athens. CHARLES G. BENSON.

In Defense of the South

To the Editor of The Courier-Journal:

I feel so strongly against so many of your editorials condemning the South that I can no longer remain silent. To begin with, 90 per cent of the people south of the Ohio, excluding the Negroes, are of Anglo-Saxon stock. I don't say that that makes them any better than any other people, but they are of the same blood as the founders of our country. The South has always done more than its part in war. It did far more than the North to win the War of 1812 and two-thirds of the armed forces in the War with Mexico were from the South. The South also did its part in the Spanish-American War and the first World War. And, if I am not badly mistaken, the South furnished more volunteers and bought more war bonds during World War II than any other section of the country of similar population.

There are few of us who support wholeheartedly the policies of the Talmadge and Long machines. No right-thinking person believes in mobs. But let's take a look at the North: the Tweed ring; the Haymarket anarchists; the Battle of Herrin, Illinois; the Chicago gangsters; the corrupt political machine that broke Chicago; Tammany Hall and the Pendergast machines; the race riots in Detroit in 1943.

You criticize the South for fighting President Truman's civil-rights program and for threatening to bolt the party. It seems to me that President Truman is trying to change the traditions of the Democratic Party. Why can't the North leave the South alone? It seems to me that in these troublesome times we should not fight each other.

JOHN ELDER.

stick together and not fight each other.
Paducah, Ky.

Dixie Solons Mass To Fight As Anti-Lynch Bill Gains

WASHINGTON, Feb. 25—(AP)—Southern opposition to President Truman's proposed Civil Rights Bill grew Wednesday as 74 House Democrats massed themselves into a finish fight against the President's recommendations involving race relations in the South.

In the face of this opposition, a federal anti-lynching law was approved by a House Judiciary Subcommittee.

Now striving openly to prevent Mr. Truman's nomination for a full term in the White House, "rebel" leaders focused their attention on Richmond, onetime capital of the Confederacy, where Gov. Tuck plans a special message to the Virginia General Assembly Thursday.

They considered it certain Tuck would call for State action against the Truman program. And there were indications he would propose that the name of the Democratic presidential candidate be left off the Virginia ballot next November

This would mean that Virginia's 11 electoral votes would not have to be cast for Mr. Truman if he is nominated by the Democratic National Convention next July. A similar half-secession threat is being considered in other Southern states.

The anti-lynch law, introduced by Rep. Case, Republican, New Jersey, was approved by an unofficially reported three-to-two vote. Rep. Cravens, Democrat, Arkansas, said he voted against it.

The measure now goes to the full Judiciary Committee, scheduled to meet Thursday. This Committee could send it to the House floor for an early vote. Of the 26 Committee members, six are Democrats from the South.

The bill is similar to others which have been passed by the House but "talked down" in the Senate. It would permit the Federal Government to prosecute persons accused of taking part in a lynching or law officers charged with failing to do all they could to prevent a lynching.

Those accused could be tried in Federal courts far from the scene of the lynching. Jail sentences up to 10 years and fines up to $20,000 could be imposed. And lynch victims—or their survivors—could be awarded damages up to $10,000 from the city or county where the violence occurred, if there was any negligence by police.

REPORT FROM BALDWIN

EDITOR, The Advertiser:

Since I have not seen any letters to your paper from this section of the State pertaining to the much talked of "civil rights" flare that is disturbing the people of the South, I want to assure you that we are not going to let President Truman, or any other man get by with it without a determined fight. We are not saying much, but are waiting on our leaders for a program, and when that is announced you will see what we will do.

I was much interested in Dr. A. Harman's letter of March 26, and there have been many others that were to the point on this subject. As so clearly brought out by Dr. Harman, the Republicans have always had a civil rights plank in their platform. But I might add, they have never tried to force it upon us. You would be surprised to know of the many lifelong Democrats who feel as I do that the election of a Vandenberg or Stassen would serve a better purpose for the entire country at this time of threatened war, than to take a chance on Wallace slipping in. These men are Americans first, and Republicans second.

However, as stated, we are waiting on our leaders, and we are fortunate in having such wise leadership in such men as Hon. Gessner McCorvey, Chauncey Sparks, E. C. Boswell, Brewer Dixon, Norman Harris, Horace Wilkinson and many others. It is a relief to know that we can depend upon these men when some of our elected representatives have so miserably misrepresented us in Washington. My guess is that the voters will settle with them at the proper time.

In conclusion I might add, that there is no fight on the Negro, or any other race or creed in this county. I have served as a member of the Baldwin County Board of Education for more than 20 years, and the Negro has his school center with modern buses. So it does not take a civil rights bill to make us do for the Negro all that can be done with the money that we have for that purpose.

W. S. MASON, D. D. S.

Fairhope, Ala.

Civil Rights? Why, Man, This Is Election Year

THE politicians are playing their usual cynical game with civil rights. In Congress, there is clear proof that they would rather have partisan advantage in an election year than stand up for principle. It may be a little sickening to those who want justice done and decency upheld.

The demonstration came as the House roared down a proposal to withhold Federal funds from States where laws or customs discriminate against Negroes in public services, opportunities or voting rights. The members took cover in a voice vote, so that nobody could tell from a printed record how any individual voted. A crowd of Republicans voted with the Southern Democrats, but the point is that you can't prove it. All you can do is to look at the plain evidence, fortified by anonymous but credible confessions by Republican spokesmen, that what they are after right now is to keep the Southerners mad at TRUMAN, and not put out the fire by passing any civil-rights legislation.

As reported in dispatches from reliable sources, the confessions have a gleeful tone. What's the point, the unnamed spokesmen are quoted as asking, of making the Southerners mad at the Republicans, so that they will turn in their volatile rancor back to the alliances of their traditional party?

It is an obvious strategy. It is a revelation of the political mind as people generally have come to see it, in discouragement and a sense of frustration and betrayal. Not only does the vote on this proposal strengthen and help perpetuate the discrimination in education and health services, in voting and in all benefits, that is an historical part of the Southern scene. It also tears at the foundations of faith and hope. Civil rights? What are they, you seem to hear suggested, but something to beat HARRY TRUMAN with?

How It Might Work

The Shreveport Times

The report that President Truman might ease up on his so-called civil rights legislation as a result of the Southern revolt was of short duration. The president issued a denial through his press secretary, Charles G. Ross, reiterating his stand for federal legislation on FEPC, against poll taxes, for a so-called anti-lynching bill, and to prevent states from enforcing segregation in interstate transportation. The report had been that Mr. Truman would drop the latter demand.

If Mr. Truman sticks to his present stand—and of course he may not—then there seems to be little chance of the revolt ending through a compromise deal with the President. The South apparently will be in the position discussed here yesterday—of either having to go ahead with a genuine political revolt regardless of the political results, or of once again crawling back behind the Democratic Party label on election day regardless of what principles the label may represent under those who now control the party.

Senator Eastland of Mississippi contends that if the South will get its revolt fully organized before the Democratic national convention, that convention will not nominate anyone for whom Southern election opposition—united opposition—is certain in advance. He may be right, but any president of the United States who is a candidate for nomination for an additional term pretty well controls the party convention, whether it be Democratic or Republican. There was a big Southern splurge in 1940 about blocking nomination of Mr. Roosevelt for a third term but it did not get even as far as the convention.

The point we are making is this: If there is to be a revolt, it won't get anywhere through halfway measures, or secret compromise, or things of that kind. If a revolt is desirable—mind you, we say "if"—then it must be carried on in full fledged manner and without any pulling up anywhere along the way.

Many observers in Washington seem to feel that the revolt is merely being put forth as a threat to Mr. Truman and without intent to go all the way if the President stands pat on his anti-South program. Even Editorial Research Reports, a non-political fact-finding organization for newspapers, implies rather directly that the purpose of the revolt would not be to houseclean the Democratic Party leadership, but merely to get enough legislative promises from Mr. Truman so that the Southern electors could vote for him in the House of Representatives if the presidential election should wind up there next Fall through lack of an electoral majority for any candidate. Referring further to the revolt plan, that organization offers this enlightening background:

"The practical difficulties of any such plan seem almost insurmountable. First of all, it assumes the failure of the Republican candidate to gain a clear electoral majority. Second, would Congress allow electors chosen for one candidate to vote for another?

"The Constitution does not specify when the electors shall cast their votes for president, and the date is always fixed by Congress. The date for 1948 will be fixed by this Congress, both houses of which are controlled by the Republicans. With the 20th amendment setting Jan. 3 as the date for the newly elected Congress to convene and Jan. 20 for a new presidential term to begin, the three preceding electoral votes have been transmitted to the newly elected Congress, but the present Congress could nevertheless provide that it, not the new Congress, should receive the 1948 votes.

"As to the count itself, the Constitution prescribes only that it shall be before a joint session of the Senate and the House. Under the circumstances, Congress has full power to decide what electoral votes to accept and what to reject. It is true that an act of Feb. 3, 1887 (11 years after the Hayes-Tildren electoral contest of 1876), forbids Congress to reject electoral votes of a state certified by its governor to Congress at least six days prior to the counting of theelectoral votes of all states.

WOMEN, STUDENTS, TEAMSTERS DEMAND CIVIL RIGHTS

Revolt Threatens Southern Revolt

The Worker New York, N.Y. Sun. 3-21-48

HOUSTON, Tex.—As Governor Beauford Jester of Texas prepared to leave for a Washington meeting of Dixie Governors to confer further on their "revolt" strategy against the passage of civil rights legislation, there were unmistakable signs of what the REAL grass roots sentiment of Texas is on this question.

At a recent meeting of the Texas Council of Churchwomen, representing 800,000 women in Texas of all denominations, a resolution was passed putting the body on record in favor of the passage of anti-lynching, fair employment practices and anti-poll tax legislation by Congress.

Reactionary elements around the state, alarmed at this stand, have been attacking the resolution with the argument that this is "political," not daring to take an open stand on the questions involved. However, the Women's Society of Christian Service of the South-Western Texas Methodist Conference, meeting in Kerrville March 10, approved the program.

AT THE MOMENT of Governor Jester's departure for the "revolt" conference, he received a petition from seven major University of Texas campus organizations urging him to support passage of civil rights legislation.

Signing were John Gibbs, Austin, University YMCA cabinet; Dick Rainey, Houston, University Chapter AVC; Alfred L. Laborde, San Antonio, the Alba Club; Helen Tackett, Greenville, the Mortar Board; Mary Nell Gibson, Amarillo, University YMCA cabinet; Virgilio G. Roel, Laredo, the Laredo Club and Rafael H. Flores, Laredo, the Newman Club.

These developments come on the heels of the blast issued at the revolting Dixie Governors by the Southern Conference of Teamsters, AFL, at their Houston meeting attended by over 100 delegates, where they passed a resolution demanding enactment of civil rights legislation.

The Worker

THE SO-CALLED "Southern revolt" headed by the Dixie Governors is more plainly seen every day as, in the main, a desperate effort to head off and crush the rising militant struggles of the Negro people, and the great unity movement of Negro and white developing in the South and coming to a head in the Third Party formation.

Governor Jester of Texas cynically revealed this when he declared of President Truman's advocacy of civil rights, that the "revolt" is aimed at "his (Truman's) advocating it at a time when it has the chance to pass." It is not President Truman as a "staunch fighter" for civil rights that worries Jester and his friends; they are under no illusions about that. It is his poor "political strategy" as they see it, which concerns them.

It is the united, forward movement of the Southern people which they are trying to divide and destroy.

Civil Rights In South

The News

SOUTHERN POLITICOES say they are sore about the Truman civil-rights message because they had just begun to make strides to put their own house in order. Gov. Strom Thurman, of South Carolina, went all out to prosecute the white taxi-drivers who lynched a Negro near Greenville. Georgia, under Ellis Arnall, had abolished its poll tax. South Carolina was getting ready to abolish its tax.

Now, say political leaders, this progress will be reversed.

Birmingham Ala.

Young Southerners don't seem worried about Truman's civil-rights program. Students at Stetson University, plus young reporters on various newspapers, said they thought it was a political tempest-in-a-teapot. Mon. 3-10-48

Karl Bickel, who retired as head of the United Press because he wanted to take life easy, is now busier than ever running the town of Sarasota, plus the Ringling Museum, plus the Florida Historical Society, plus any other enterprise that helps the community. Regarding race relations Karl says: "The thing that will solve the Negro problem is high wages for field hands. When they get paid well they want to buy things. They not only improve themselves, but they also help business."

The Worker New York, N.Y.

MEETING TO MAP THEIR FIGHT against the Presidential nomination of any "Civil Rights" candidates, southern governors are shown in Washington as they voted to "fight to the last ditch" against the Democratic nomination or election of President Harry S. Truman. Seated (l. to r.) are: Jim Folsom, of Ala.; Preston Lane, of Md., who did not vote. Standing (l. to r.) are: M. E. Thompson, of Ga., and Beauford H. Jester, of Texas. Sun. 3-21-48

Republicans on Civil Rights

A dear lady wrote in to say that we were deliberately maligning the Republican Party by saying that it, too, had advanced a program of so-called civil rights like that of Mr. Truman's. This, she said, was not true. Only Mr. Truman was stabbing a defenseless South in the back.

Constitution

There are many activities we could name, but the planks from the 1944 Republican platform will do for a starter. They are:

Atlanta, Ga. Wed. 2-11-48

"Racial and religious intolerance: We unreservedly condemn the injection into American life appeals to racial and religious prejudice.

Demos Lose 'Anti-Gag'

Aid of GOP

Atlanta, Ga.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 21—(AP)—A secret Senate poll has convinced some Southern Democratic leaders they have almost no hope of blocking approval of civil rights legislation in this session of Congress. Sun. 2-22-48

A veteran Dixie senator who helped count noses told a reporter the Southerners now appear to have lost the Republican support they need to prevent adoption of a gag rule on Senate debate. Sun 2-22-48

He said President Truman's demand for anti-lynch, anti-poll tax and anti-discrimination laws has been accepted as a political challenge by the GOP members. As a result, he said few, if any, Republicans will vote against limiting debate.

This prospect arose as some 50 Democratic House members from the states of the Old Confederacy broadened their drive against the Truman Civil Rights program.

They and five Southern Governors will slam down their criticism of the program Monday before Sen. J. Howard McGrath, of Rhode Island, the Democratic National Chiarman. Governors Laney, of Arkansas; Jester, of Texas; Tuck, of Virginia; Thurmond, of South Carolina, and Cherry of North Carolina were heading for the Capital.

The only promise McGrath has given is that he will pass their protests to Mr. Truman. The President Saturday night was en route to the Virgin Islands where he was to be given an official reception by William H. Hastie, Negro Governor of that Caribbean outpost.

Southerners have found the Senate, rather than the House, their main line of defense in fighting similar race-relations legislation in past sessions. That is because of a difference in the rules of the two bodies. The general practice of unlimited debate in the Senate has enabled them to talk the bills to death.

But there is a chink in that defense—the cloture rule. Cloture is a device by which two-thirds of those voting can limit each Senator to a single, one-hour speech on a bill and all amendments.

The Southerners were said to be able to tally at this time only 25 sure votes—eight short of the strength needed if all 96 Senators voted—to ward off the cloture rule.

Traditionally the Southerners have been able to avoid adoption of the gag rule because of Republican help.

In the last previous test, July 31, 1946, seven Republicans joined the Southerners to ward off cloture on a bill to outlaw state poll taxes. They were Sens. Bridges, of New Hampshire; Guerney, of South Dakota; Hart, of Connecticut; Millikin, of Colorado; Moore, of Oklahoma; White, of Maine, and Young, of North Dakota. All except Hart now are members.

But the Southerners say they have found several of this group unwilling to go along this year. They also have lost from the Senate two Democrats who came to their aid in 1946, Gossett, of Idaho and Gerry, of Rhode Island.

Another Reason For Civil Rights

Sun 3-21-48

The action of the Ku Klux Klan in trailing and tracking down election paths in Georgia for the purpose of intimidating and preventing Negroes from voting is just one more reason in the long list why the Truman civil rights program should be welcomed by southern white leaders. The Klan is making the rounds. They happened in Wrightsville on the eve of an election some weeks ago and not one of the 800 registered Negroes of Johnson county cast a ballot. Last Wednesday in Montgomery county, only about 20 per cent of the 600 registered Negroes cast ballots in the election, following intimidation through notes of warning found in mail boxes of Negro citizens of the county.

Daily World

We repeat, these things, if Klan spokesmen were called to explain, just happened. And what is worse, it appears that many more such incidents will happen between now and the statewide primary in September. There is nothing that can be done about these little incidents, so claim the enforcement officials. They just happen. In Georgia the statute books have laws governing every conceivable act of individuals and groups, but we have no law which can prevent an individual or band of organized rowdies from coming together, making threats and violent speeches to keep another group from exercising their constitutional privilege of voting. And therein lies the need for laws which can and will protect individuals and groups from encroachment by others traveling under the cover of darkness or under a white sheet. Any argument to the contrary by our southern politicians is but a shibboleth behind which they seek to hide the real reason for not wanting to support a civil rights program. In the terse words of the Crisis Magazine editor:

"These southern professional politicians and officeholders do not want the kind of America set up by the Constitution. They do not want freedom and equality for all. They do not want universal suffrage, either of whites or of Negroes. They do not want education for the masses, either of whites or Negroes. They do not want freedom from terror and death by the mob. Atlanta, Ga.

"They do not want any Government in Washington or anywhere else, to tell them they shall not lynch human beings, or exploit labor on a virtual slave level, or execute or imprison men with mock trials, or perpetuate the system of guns and taxes and trickery in elections." Sun. 3-21-48

Notwithstanding these threats, it is good to know that some Negroes of Montgomery county had the courage to do their plain duty by voting. We keep telling Negroes that they have a strong case against the Klan or any other group, only if and when they appear at the polls, they are stopped. And no Negro is entitled to vote if he will permit a sorry note in a mail box or a dirty sheet covering a coward's face the night before to keep him away. There will be other demonstrations by the Klan, but they need not prevent a single Negro from voting. The Klan does not face up boldly to any group. Let Negroes who are qualified vote. Forget about cross-burning and Klan parades. They usually end with these idiotic demonstrations.

We Shall Watch And See

Daily World Atlanta, Ga. 3-10-48

A Washington correspondent for an Atlanta newspaper reported that a southern Negro educator, who had traveled to the Nation's Capital for the purpose of seeking an RFC loan, had expressed the opinion that President Truman's Civil Rights Program had done the Negro harm. This confused educator, who is out of step with the thinking and sentiments of the New South, cited some mythical and doleful reactions which would develop here in the South, if the Federal Government put teeth into the Constitution, through legislation guaranteeing full civil rights. Now, there is a possible belief that this educator put personal accomplishments and his institution's gain through an RFC loan above the welfare and progress of millions of Negroes here in the South. Wed 3-10-48

So, it is not surprising when we read that Sen. Richard B. Russell of Georgia, "feels it would be good to have some outstanding Southern Negro educator, who feels as he does about civil rights legislation, to speak with the idea vigorous prosecution of the civil rights program is endangering the cause of the Negro in the South."

Now, granting that similarity and solidarity of opinion holds true, the Negro educator who applied for the RFC loan, and the Negro educator sought for a rebuttal to the President's civil rights program on the Mutual Network "To Secure These Rights" program are not one and the same in fact, they are scapegoats and tools of interests alien to our welfare. Daily World

No one Negro, or white educator for that matter, can speak for the millions of Negroes in the South. No credence can be put in any statement made by any individual Negro educator who expresses opposition to the President's program. Such an individual would represent his personal views, interests, and gain. Atlanta, Ga.

We'll be glad when this (or these) Negro educator's full identity, interests and motives are revealed in the spotlight of public opinion. Who is he? We shall watch and see if such a Negro educator appears.

Revolt Against "Rights" Develops

Fri 2-27-48

Daily World

WASHINGTON, D. C. -(SNS)- A full-fledged "rebellion "against President Harry S. Truman's civil-rights proposals loomed as a certainty Thursday as Southern Democrats levelled their big guns at the President's recommendations on anti-lynching, anti-poll tax, FEPC, and the ban on Jimcrow in interstate travel. Atlanta, Ga.

WASHINGTON—The House judiciary committee is expected today, (Friday) to consider the anti-lynching bill which was approved Wednesday 3 to 2 by a judiciary subcommittee. Southerners blocked the advance of the bill Thursday. Fri. 2-27-48

The open break between Southern and Northern wings of the Democratic Party came when 74 Democrats geared themselves for a finish fight on the controversial civil-rights legislation.

Despite this wholehearted opposition, a House Judiciary Subcommittee has approved a federal anti-lynching law. The measure now goes to the full Judiciary Committee. Proponents of the measure expected to give it the "Green light" and send it to the House floor for an early vote. Of the 26 Committee members on the full Committee, six are Democrats from the South.

VIRGINIA PROPOSAL 2-27-48

In Richmond, Va., Gov. Tuck opened a special session of the General Assembly and called upon delegates to pass a law excluding the name of President Harry S. Truman from the state ballot. This would mean that Virginia's 11 electoral votes would not be cast for Mr. Truman if he is nominated by the Democratic National Convention next July. A similar half-session threat is being studied in other Southern states. Daily World

The anti-lynching bill reported out of the House Subcommittee provides for accused lynchers trials in

Mr. Kent Philosophizes On the Imposition Of Civil Rights

The Courier-Journal

Sat 2-21-48

By FRANK R. KENT

BEFORE this session of Congress is over there will be another organized filibuster on the part of Southern Democratic senators against two proposals of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, both of which already are in the form of bills. The first provides for "the elimination of segregation based on race, color, creed or national origin from American life." The second urges "enactment of a Federal fair employment practices act, prohibiting all forms of discrimination in private employment, based on race, color, creed or national origin."

Always with a majority against them, the Southern Democrats have prevented the enactment of these proposals at previous sessions. Because this is an election year and both parties are exceedingly anxious to attract the large groups of voters against whom "discrimination" is claimed, it will be more difficult this time. But the effort will be a determined one and may be again successful. In any event, the fight will be bitter and prolonged and more than the usual amount of bad feeling will be engendered.

Hypocrisy and Insincerity

The Courier-Journal

It will be alleged—and correctly—that the motive back of the filibuster is the deeply rooted unwillingness in the South to accept for the Negro the doctrine of social, political or industrial equality, so ardently advocated by the left-wing elements and acquiesced in solely for reasons of political expediency by the politicians in both parties above the Mason and Dixon line. However, the truth is that no other legislation with which Congress deals breeds among its supporters such hypocrisy and insincerity. A considerable number of senators and representatives annually vote for this legislation, disbelieving in it altogether and hoping it will not prevail.

Afraid to express opposition lest they be accused of being anti-Semitic or inspired by race prejudice, some of these men have stultified their judgment and smothered their consciences year after year—filled with the dread that to do anything else inevitably meant political suicide. It is possible—but not likely—that at this session such men may find, in an article recently written by Donald R. Richberg, ground for regaining their self-respect and freedom to vote

their convictions. This is the second time Mr. Richberg has written on this subject. He, a Democrat and former New Dealer, characterizes the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights as "an honorable example of civil rights hysteria," and "probably the most mischievous document since Marx and Engels produced the Communist manifesto 100 years ago."

"We can," declares the committee, "tolerate no restrictions upon the individual which depend on irrelevant factors such as race, color, religion or social position to which he was born." Says Mr. Richberg: "Race and color may seem irrelevant to the committee, yet differences of race and color have divided mankind for centuries. They may fade in time but they cannot be wiped out by State or Federal law, and every such foolish effort only intensifies prejudice and intolerance, creates disrespect for law and is itself an intolerant violation of individual liberty."

Assuming that every like or dislike based on race, color or religion is unreasonable and unfair, and that such prejudice should be eliminated from human thinking, nevertheless, Mr. Richberg argues, it is neither right nor constitutional for the government of a free people to attempt to prevent men and women in business or social life from acting in accord with their prejudices. To do so is to strike at the very roots of individual liberty and to make a joke of the freedom of an American citizen to select his personal companions and business associates because of his individual tastes and judgment.

Rights and Impositions

Political equality in the right to vote, in the administration of justice and in the rendering of public services is due all citizens. But, unless Government is to destroy the economic system of competitive freedom and a social system of free association, it cannot undertake to level down the inequalities that result from differing abilities and opportunities or interfere with the voluntary selection of one's associates in work or play. The catchy slogan of the "civil rights hysteria" Mr. Richberg asserts is "Equality," though the declared purpose of the Constitution was not to achieve an impossible equality among unequal human beings but to "secure the blessings of liberty" so that men could be free to be different and to realize their differing ambitions with their differing abilities.

Every law,, contends Mr. Richberg, which gives a man a "right" to something which as a free man he cannot gain for himself, imposes restraints upon the freedom of other men. "We may," he contends, "reasonably tax the fortunate to aid the less fortunate; to protect the right of every citizen to equal participation in government and equal treatment treatment by government, and to restrict those who heedlessly or ruthlessly injure others in the pursuit of selfish gain. But let us be watchful against laws creating a 'right' in one man to compel others to associate with him or to accept obligations to him in the domain of private enterprise or private life. Let us realize that freedom of association in work or play is the most precious of our liberties." All of which seem exceedingly sound observations.

IN THE FIELD OF POLITICS

Worries Sitting Heavy On Demos This Vote Year

WASHINGTON, Feb. 21—(AP)—Southern Democrats converged on Washington this weekend waving a "white supremacy" big stick.

They want no part of President Truman's civil rights program. They regard most of it "anti-Southern" and Federal interference with Dixie "tradition."

This is only one worry for the Democratic party as it approaches the 1948 election preliminaries.

Henry A. Wallace's "new party" forces got a big lift out of their victory over the Democrats in a New York special House election. They capitalized on it immediately by stepping up organizations for Wallace's Presidential bid in States from Maryland to California.

President Truman avoided a direct clash with both the Southern and Wallace elements in his Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner speech. If this meant appeasement, as Republicans claimed, it failed to appease.

The Southerners went ahead with plans to send a five-man Governors' committee here to talk things over Monday afternoon with Chairman J. Howard McGrath, of the Democratic Committee.

McGrath made no advance promises to the Southern Conference Committee. He did tell reporters, though, that he would pass on their arguments to the President.

The five Governors, who have an appointment to see McGrath Monday, are J. Strom Thurmond, South Carolina, Chairman; Beauford Jester, Texas; Gregg Cherry, North Carolina; William Tuck, Virginia, and Ben Laney, Arkansas.

They were appointed recently in Florida to represent all Southern States.

Backing them in their complaints are Democratic Congressmen from all 11 Southern States. They adopted a resolution Friday pledging "co-operation" with the Governors opposing the President's program for anti-lynch, anti-poll tax, and anti-segregation legislation.

There have been no indications that the administration would back-track on its civil rights proposals. The Southerners say they were made in an election year to corral Northern Negro votes.

Four moves are open to the Southerners. As outlined by them to date, they include:

1—Demand that a Southerner be selected as the Democratic Vice Presidential candidate. Names suggested include Sen. Byrd, of Virginia, and Sen. George, of Georgia, and James F. Byrnes, of South Carolina.

2—A fight against a "specific" civil rights plank in the national platform, and an accompanying drive to restore the two-thirds nominating rule at the national convention.

3—Withholding of funds from the campaign chest, such as those raised at Jefferson-Jackson dinners.

4—Naming of anti-Truman electors for the November ballot.

Wallace was cool to a speech by McGrath interpreted as a virtual bid to the former Vice President to return to the Democratic Party. Wallace said he would consider such an invitation "if the Democratic Party proves it's a peace party." He added that "There is no present indication that it is."

Wallace supporters, meanwhile, were organizing in Maryland, Virginia, Alabama, California, Illinois, New Hampshire and West Virginia.

The former Vice President preceded the President to Florida by several days. He campaigned in Tampa and Miami. He said he saw "no comfort in sitting at home hugging the very fine principle of the Marshall Plan while the martial plans are carried out." He plans to stump Minnesota next week.

Democratic leaders had feared that the Wallace Victory in New York might give his Minnesota supporters an advantage in a meeting Thursday of the Minnesota Democratic-Farmer Labor Party Central Committee.

However, the Truman forces gained control and set up a steering committee for a June 12-13 State convention looking to control of Minnesota's 26 votes in the national convention.

New Vice Presidential candidates suggested during the week:

Democrats: James A. Farley. He said it would be "presumptuous" for him to comment.

Republicans: Rep. Frank B. Keefe, of Wisconsin. "Stranger things have happened," commented the five-term Congressman.

Majorities And Minorities

To the Editor of The News-Age-Herald:

In your issue of March 28 there appeared an article on the subject, "Our Minorities," by Charles C. Brian, of Birmingham, who stated that America, built up by great American citizens, led on by George Washington, Andrew Jackson, Woodrow Wilson and others. He implied that the Japanese, Jews, Negroes and others, who make up the minorities, cannot be said to help form the great majority which built this country. I want to deny the indication that these minorities had little or nothing to do with the upbuilding of this great country. It is well known that the Jews have done a very great part in helping to build our great cities like New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Birmingham and hundreds of others, with their great department stores, banks and other business enterprises. We think of the Loebs, Lovemans, Gimbels, Steiners, Davidsons, Obendorfs and thousands of others. They belong to the minorities. The Negroes, another of the minorities, came to America in 1619, about as early as any of those of the majority group. They began, pretty soon, as slaves, to plant and raise tobacco, rice and cotton, the great asset of the South. These same Negroes and their brothers and descendants felled the trees, cleared out the forests and as the burden-bearers, with shovel, pick and ax, helped build the railroads.

Mr. Brian is quite right in his rather common and inept comparison, that "the dog should wage the tail and not the tail wag the dog." But please let me say that the Negro in his work on the farm, on the railroad, in the shop, at the sawmill, paying taxes and rents, has made it mighty convenient for the "majority," represented by the "dog," to "shake the "tail," rather than the "minority," represented by the "tail," to shake the "dog."

There is another mistake indicated in Mr. Brian's letter when he says that Missouri, New York and Illinois do not have Negroes in large numbers to come and try to take over their churches, theaters, etc. The Negro does not try to take over or attend a church, theater or any other organization owned or occupied by the white race anywhere. There have been a very few Negro applicants for place in schools of higher learning, such as law and medicine, because there is no such school for his race in his home state. However, in the states named by Mr. Brian, Negroes are not barred from their schools of higher learning. The Negro does not ever want to go into the home of the white man as an associate. He wants only to live and grow unhampered as others do. Give him equality of opportunity, please.

Centreville, Ala. H. D. DAVIDSON.

Drop Stokes?

Editor Constitution: In addition to those two great unsolved mysteries of "How old was Ann?" and "Who struck Billy Patterson?" there is another poser that has me guessing. Why would a responsible Southern newspaper like The Atlanta Constitution carry on its editorial page the drivel that is put out by Thomas L. Stokes, who claims to be a Southerner but is definitely a mental expatriate?

I know he was recently awarded a citation for reporting, but under the cock-eyed New Deal we have become accustomed to men receiving awards when they should have been incarcerated. He undoubtedly has reportorial ability but his supposed facts are so often colored by his "left wing" ideology that they cease to become facts and are purely propaganda.

As an illustration: A short while ago he devoted a column to President Truman's Civil Rights Program, ascribing the motivation purely and simply to Mr. Truman's high ideals, without the slightest suggestion that his move might have

strip, and then, to emphasize his ingrained antipathy toward the South, he proceeded to hold up to derision all Southerners who disagree with the President's program. It would be extremely interesting to know whether his is a case of simple venality, or rancor ever having been born "on the wrong side of the tracks."

W. G. OEHMIG, JR.
Chattanooga, Tenn.

I fully realize the need of a paper being liberal in opening its columns to a diversity of thought, but the payment of good hard cash by Southern newspapers to allow a disgruntled and disloyal Southerner to vent his spleen against the South does not really fit in with good common sense. You can understand that when they collide with his animosities. That South haters of the North thoroughly relish and

Dixie Senators Ask Time To Air Gripes

BY JACK BELL

WASHINGTON, March 6—(AP)—Twenty-one Dixie senators today demanded equal radio time to answer a broadcast dramatizing President Truman's civil rights program.

The group, representing 11 Southern states, made the request in a telegram to Edgar Kobak, president of the Mutual Broadcasting Company. Noting that the Mutual system is broadcasting a series of programs, "to secure these rights" the senators asked Kobak to give them equal time to explain their stand on the civil rights proposals.

The Southerners said they are opposed to the measures recommended by the president's committee on civil rights "as are millions of American people whom we represent."

* * *

"IN VIEW OF THE FACT SO many of your outlets are located in the South we feel you will gladly comply with our request," the telegram said.

Mutual's offices in New York reported that Kobak was on vacation "touring the South." In his absence, Robert Swezey, vice president and general manager, issued this statement:

"In the true American spirit we naturally want the subject matter of our broadcasts to receive the fullest possible treatment in the public interest. We will be very glad to consider the request of this group to comment on the president's committee report, which is the basis for these broadcasts."

Senators who signed the telegram included many of the Southerners who organized a Senate guard set to filibuster at a moment's notice against any civil rights bill.

* * *

SEN. PEPPER (Fla.), a Truman supporter, did not sign, but Sen. Hill (Ala.), who is running as a pro-Truman candidate in his state for delegate to the Democratic National Convention, did.

Other senators who signed were Russell and George of Georgia, McKellar and Stewart of Tennessee, Connally and O'Daniel of Texas, Byrd and Robertson of Virginia, Overton and Ellender of Louisiana, Sparkman of Alabama, Maybank and Johnston of South Carolina, Eastland and Stennis of Mississippi, McClellan and Fulbright of Arkansas, Hoey and Umstead of North Carolina, and Holland of Florida. The ready-to-filibuster guard was set up at a secret session of Southerners who agreed to keep one of their number on hand at all times the Senate is in session.

The group arranged, it was disclosed, to have speakers ready to start talking whenever any of the anti-discrimination measures is brought up.

Sen. Russell (D., Ga.) was named chairman at the meeting in the office of Sen. Byrd (D., Va.). Byrd has been mentioned as a possible Dixie candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination.

However, Sen. Hoey (D., N. C.) told a reporter the senators did not link their filibuster plans with any move to depose Mr. Truman as the party's candidate.

* * *

"THERE WAS NO RELATION to supporting or not supporting Mr. Truman," he said. "We met solely to determine our actions in regard to stopping civil rights legislation."

Sen. Johnston (D., S. C.) said: "We're solid Southerners in the Senate, all right. We will work as a unit against civil rights proposals."

And Sen. Maybank (D., S. C.) predicted "Southerners in Congress will continue to stick together for all principles of the South which have been or may be attacked."

A similar Democratic rebel group already has been organized in the House to join forces with the Southern governors' conference, which first sparked the organized "revolt."

And House Minority Leader Rayburn (D., Tex.) announced he will vote against the civil rights program.

Not-So-Solid South?

On Feb. 2 President Truman sent to Congress a program for safeguarding civil rights. His proposals mainly affected the South. They called for Federal legislation against lynching, poll taxes, discrimination in employment and racial segregation in interstate travel.

In Congress, most Republicans backed the President's proposals. Southern Democrats reacted angrily. One said: "Truman is worse than Wallace." The Governors of Southern States named a committee to confer on the question with national Democratic leaders.

In Washington on last Monday a delegation of six Southern Governors conferred for ninety minutes with J. Howard McGrath, Senator from Rhode Island and Democratic National Chairman. The Governors fired a series of questions. Mr. McGrath's answers were firm, even abrupt. To the big question—Would he move to have the President's program withdrawn?—he answered with a flat "No." The Governors stalked back to their hotel and issued a statement declaring: "The present leadership of the Democratic party will soon realize that the South is no longer 'in the bag.'"

On Tuesday the Governors met with Southern legislators on Capitol Hill, and the outlines of their next move began to emerge. On Thursday Gov. William F. Tuck of Virginia delivered a special message to the Virginia General Assembly in Richmond. He asked that names of Presidential candidates be omitted from ballots next fall. Instead, the ballots would list slates of electors without specific commitment to any Presidential ticket. Mississippi Democrats are expected to press for similar action this week and other Southern states may follow.

Dangled Threat

The reasoning behind the electoral tactic is this. Technically the Constitution does not provide for a direct popular vote for President. Instead the people vote for electors, who in turn choose the President. By withholding any commitment for its electors, the South would hold over the President's head the danger of loss of the South's 127 electoral votes—a virtual guarantee of defeat.

But observers noted that the Southern move was still only a threat. There were doubts that it would be carried out; it would cost Southern politicians any hope of Federal patronage. Instead, the Southerners were thought to be preparing the ground for a bargain that would increase their power within the Democratic party. In exchange for a promise of support for Mr. Truman, they may demand a return to the rule requiring a two-thirds vote for any action in the national convention. This rule, before it was abolished in 1936, gave the South a virtual veto power and a decisive voice in party councils.

THE BETTER APPROACH

Widespread indignation in the South over President Truman's "civil rights" recommendations goes to something deeper than the immediate cause. It is the expression of accumulated irritation over the continual jabbing, prodding and patronizing to which this section has been subjected for decades.

It is time to say that nagging gets on the nerves. The incessant harping on short-coming, deliberate misrepresentation involved in [illegible] isolated lawless acts as typical and approved usage, has definitely gotten on our nerves down in Dixie. It has developed a feeling akin to that voiced in one of Shakespeare's classics by Cassius, fed up with a friend who saw only his bad side: "All his faults observed, set in a notebook, learned and conned by rote to cast into my teeth."

Resentment in these parts is aggravated by the knowledge that the crusading upcountry role is frequently dictated by political expediency, and in addition is strongly tinged with hypocrisy. More than one nonsouthern writer has called attention to the latter trait—the Yankee bent of giving lip service to practices and ideals which in practice he ignores.

In the midst of understandable resentment we should not overlook the fact that not all of our fellow Americans north of Mason and Dixon's line are infected with the nagging complex. Nor do all of them have the all-too-frequent patronizing, colonial approach to matters relating to the late Confederacy.

Our attention has just been called to an editorial in Collier's of Feb. 14, captioned "Good News On Lynching." It points out that there was a total of only one "indisputable" lynching in the United States in 1947; that there were 39 incidents which might have degenerated into lynchings but were kept from doing so by the action of resolute and conscientious public officials.

Collier's notes that substantial and influential people are denouncing lynching and throwing their influence against it, and that as a result there has been a stiffening of the backbones of public officials.

The editorial concludes: "In our opinion this is the only method whereby the lynch-law barbarity ever can be sponged completely off the American scene. Attempted compulsion from outside — a federal anti-lynching statute for example—might easily retard rather than hasten the cleansing. Here is a heartfelt salute to the lynch-area people who are working this improvement from the inside and from the grass roots; and may their tribe increase."

There is one reference in the above that can be labeled as a slip. With only one lynching recorded in 1947, the designation of any section as a "lynch-area" appears off-color. And the records show the crime

problem he will be supplying the proponents of the federal anti-lynching bill with another argument for its passage. Columbia, S.C.

What he has done, therefore, is a foolhardy thing. And it is based upon a misconception of the realities of lynching prevention, may even constitute a precedent which will lead to another lynching in Georgia. For Georgia officers acted correctly in moving the two men to the penitentiary. This is the one device developed over the years for preventing lynchings by removing prisoners beyond the reach of lynch mobs until passions die down and good sense may prevail. It should be encouraged and not misinterpreted into a reflection upon the state. Ibid.

And would Governor Thompson send the two prisoners back to Swainsboro or even allow them to be taken back to Swainsboro without an adequate guard were they Negroes? 3-9-48

The advocates of the federal anti-lynching bill, both in and out of Congress, know the answer to this question even if Governor Thompson doesn't answer it.

Civil Rights Program Has Sharp Critics Among Editors

The Courier-Journal
Louisville, Ky.

THREE legislative projects have claimed priority recently in Kentucky editorial columns. They are President Truman's civil rights program, Governor Clements' gasoline tax for rural roads, and Kentucky's new local option law. Reactions were by no means unanimous. Mon. 2-23-48

Said THE ROWAN COUNTY NEWS: "Probably the 'threat' of the Southern Democrats is a 'tempest in a teapot' and will soon blow over. We hope so. The South has too many real problems to spend its time and energy on a movement (opposition to the civil rights program) that is certain to work against its best interests. A little less prejudice and considerably more tolerance constitute a formula that could well be given more attention by all."

Said THE ANDERSON NEWS: "Sometimes, as with the Ku Klux Klan, Fascist propaganda is carried on in the name of white supremacy."

Said THE JESSAMINE JOURNAL: "It would now seem that the worm is in the process of turning—perhaps for the good of the nation and certainly for the good of Southern economy. President Truman's recent stand on anti-lynching bills, the 'Jim Crow' laws and other Southern laws which seem to those who live in the South to be necessary, has brought this situation to a climax."

Said THE FALMOUTH OUTLOOK: "He (the President) knows such a law will not be enacted and if it should it is very doubtful that he would sign it."

Said THE CAMPBELLSVILLE NEWS-JOURNAL: "County Judge Truman should know that most any County Judge would know better than to stir up the social problem of a nation such as ours for no good reason or result. . . . This nation of States must start a trend back to States' Rights."

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SAID THE SHELBY NEWS: "There can be no argument against the Governor's announced objectives of taking remote rural sections out of the mud. There is definite basis, however, to fear that a proper proportion of the $8,000,000 anticipated revenue (from the added two-cent gasoline tax) may never find its way into the most needed channels."

Said THE BEREA CITIZEN: "We sincerely hope that the money will be properly allocated. There are rumors that the recently-enacted gasoline tax for rural highways is only a shrewd political move for the purpose of building political fences." 2-23-48

Said THE FLEMINGSBURG TIMES-DEMOCRAT: "We believe that good Kentuckians will pay this additional tax without too much dissension and that few of them will be disloyal enough to slip across the river to buy gas at a reduced rate rather than helping get our State out of the mud and out of the red." Mon.

Said THE LANCASTER CENTRAL RECORD: "This is one tax that is calculated to do good where very little good has ever been done before. That is why it received so much support in the legislature."

Said THE MURRAY LEDGER AND TIMES of the liquor bill: "Forcing legal whisky on Kentucky counties that don't want it indicates the liquor industry is 'feeling its oats' even to a greater extent than it did immediately preceding national prohibition in 1918. These methods resulted in outlawing the traffic. They will do it again." The Courier-Journal

Said THE EDMONSON NEWS: "A lot of water will be going under the bridges in the next two years and the county unit law which was emasculated this year will be a live issue in the years to come—so live, in fact, that candidates for office from Governor down will be forced to take a stand on the issue."

Said THE (SHIVELY) KENTUCKY GAZETTE: "We don't begrudge any merchant a penny of his business volume, but we do feel that now is a good time for support . . . of a law banning State-wide sale and use of fireworks." Louisville, Ky.

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SAID THE BALLARD ADVANCE-YEOMAN: "The opinion of this paper is that Ballard County will remain dry. The sentiment against whisky is too strong in some parts of the county for the wets to gain the encouragement they need to go ahead."

Said THE CARLISLE MERCURY, referring to the gasoline and liquor bills: "If our lawmakers down at Frankfort continue to operate the legislature in the same high-handed manner . . . it may be a prime idea to propose a bill urging that this section of the nation be renamed the State of Despair rather than have it called the Commonwealth of Kentucky."

THE PADUCAH SUN-DEMOCRAT supported the legislative proposal to remove R.E.A. from jurisdiction of the Public Service Commission: "The Public Service Commission was created as an agency to represent the public in the supervision of rates charged and service rendered by private utility corporations. The customers served by these corporations have no direct control over them, and there is need for some agency to protect their interests. In the case of the R.E.A. co-operatives there is no such need." The Courier-Journal

THE LEXINGTON LEADER opposes emancipation of R.E.A.: "There is no excuse for such a bill as is pending. It is an attempt to differentiate between co-operatives and regular business enterprises, though the former make and distribute profits and are free from the Federal Income tax." Lexington, Ky.

THE PARK CITY DAILY NEWS condemned Senator Ollie Montgomery's superhighway bill: "The biggest piece of boondoggling to come out of the present session . . . a superhighway from Louisville and Covington with the sections converging in Metcalfe County and running off in the general direction of Chattanooga, but ending at the Tennesse border."

Said the Sandy Bluff correspondent of THE NICHOLASVILLE NEWS: "The weather continues rough and ready. It is eating up coal bins, diminishing the contents of smoke houses, and consuming the corn and wheat supplies. If it continues to be bad weather until the first of April all manner of feed for livestock and food for the people will be scarce as hens' teeth and high as a cat's back." Mon. 2-23-48

THOMAS L. STOKES

A Speech In the New Deal Way

WASHINGTON—Those were fine, brave words that the man—Harry S. Truman—used in his message to Congress. It was an eloquent appeal for a dynamic, expanding America. An America protecting its human resources, its people, by measures to improve health, to rehabilitate our educational system, measures for decent housing, higher wages, expanded old-age security, and to guarantee equal opportunity under the law to a job and to the right of the ballot without discrimination on account of race, color, or creed Truman.

An America protecting the natural resources by developing them for the whole people and conserving them against the raids of selfish private monopolists, including the utility interests, which again are more active than ever. Greed never seems to sleep.

Those are splendid aspirations. It was a speech in the Franklin D. Roosevelt New Deal tradition, the same sort of speech that President Truman has delivered to Congress before, with the same catalogue of unfilled national needs. This time they were clothed in warmer words, instead of marching by like so many cold statistics.

HOWEVER, the fact that the list of proposed measures is the same as he submitted last year and the year before that—revealing the failure thus far to realize any of them—poses the real problem that Harry Truman faces.

His critics called it a "political" speech. Whether it was only "political" will depend upon two things, and those two things, in themselves, depend upon Harry Truman and his party use it as the basis for performance.

Congress received the message more coolly than any this observer ever heard delivered in person. The President was like a man beating vainly at a closed door. This, of itself, is an ominous portent, for it seemed to indicate how closed this Congress is to progressive ideas. You could feel the hostility.

The President was talking over the heads of Congress to the people. The people have it in their power to choose a Congress that will be more receptive.

First, whether the President meant it all to the extent of rousing his party lieutenants in Congress to fight for his objectives. The party, admittedly, is under certain handicaps because it does not have controll of Congress. But party managers can offer a program of their own on every issue as it arises and try to amend Republican measures to make them conform as far as possible to the President's objectives. Negatively, too, they can rally to check measures designed to break down basic New Deal reforms, of which there will be many this session, at last. They will be brought forward under the cloak of "revision" or "economy." The public should be able to detect if Democrats are lying down or merely carrying on a sham battle.

Second, the President's message will be only "political" if he continues, himself, by administrative acts, to compromise the high objectives he laid down so eloquently to Congress. His fine language will mean little, for example, if he continues to surrender able and progressive public officials to appease big private interests, as in the sacrifice of Dillon S. Myer, Public Housing Administrator, to private real estate interests, and James M. Landis, Civil Aeronautics Board Chairman, to big airline interests. Government, in the last analysis, can be no better than those who administer it.

THE PRESIDENT'S speech was, of course, "political" in the sense that most speeches by politicians are. It was contrived to serve as the "master copy" from which paragraphs may be lifted by campaign speakers in the quest for votes. If the words are backed by performance, then quotations from the speech will mean something. He has said most of it. The extent of the exodus to him may depend upon whether Mr. Truman and his party use it as the basis for performance.

Those who heard the President were conscious of a figure constantly in the background, Henry A. Wallace. He was designed, among other purposes, to check a procession of liberal and left-wing voters to Mr. Wallace and his third party movement. Mr. Wallace could subscribe to most of it. He has said most of it. The extent of the exodus to him may depend upon whether Mr. Truman and his party use it as the basis for performance.

Truman Will Not Budge On Civil Rights Stand

WASHINGTON, March 12—(INS)—President Truman bluntly warned Southern Democrats Friday that he refuses to budge one iota on his anti-Jim Crow program despite threats of a Dixie party bolt.

The President's "no retreat" stand was revealed at the end of a White House "harmony" luncheon with the Democratic Executive Committee, the Cabinet and administration leaders in Congress.

Mrs. Lennert Thomas, National Committeewoman from Alabama, reported that Mr. Truman read for her his dynamite-laden civil rights message, and said that he backed it 100 percent. Mrs. Thomas said the President told her at the luncheon:

"I do not take back one word I said.

"I stand squarely on the Constitution of the United States."

Mr. Truman's reiteration that he wants his civil rights program pushed through Congress came less than 24 hours before Southern Governors were to meet in Washington for a political war council.

There were recurrent reports that the Governors may decide to hold a Southern convention to name their own presidential candidate in view of the President's stand.

Some Democratic leaders are advising Mr. Truman to refrain from pushing the civil rights issue, and letting the matter be "toned down" when the Party platform is written next July at the National Convention in Philadelphia.

Mrs. Thomas said that she asked Mr. Truman whether she could return to Alabama and tell the voters that he is "everybody's President." She said the President answered:

"I am everybody's President."

The Committeewoman said that she was convinced by Mr. Truman's statements that the anti-discrimination program is not aimed at ending social segregation in the the South.

She declared that the members of the Committee were going home to work for a Truman victory in November on a "peace and prices" program. Mrs. Thomas added:

"We feel that we have it all settled within ourselves.

"We know that what works in Pennsylvania would not work in the South. We are all for Harry S. Truman."

The White House luncheon climaxed a two-day, secret session during which committeemen urged a "get-tough" policy against the Third Party presidential canddacy of Henry A. Wallace, which Mr. Truman has publicly ignored.

House Democratic Leader Rayburn, Texas, often mentioned as a possible running mate for Mr. Truman, left the Executive Mansion observing that "Democratic prospects are always good." House Democratic Whip McCormack, Massachusetts, remarked:

"The Democratic Party always is dangerous when things look bluest."

Army Secretary Royall, a North Carolina Democratic leader, observed that "I have never attended a more harmonious luncheon."

First to leave the White House was Secretary of State Marshall, who makes it a practice not to attend political gatherings.

Meantime, Southern Governors, including Acting Gov. Thompson, of Georgia, moved on Washington, to air their differences with the President's program at a conference Saturday.

With the majority of those to attend the conference already committed to critical views on the program, the front was far from united. Some have expressed the desire to denounce President Truman, even to the extent of bolting the Party, others want to settle the issue within the Party and two Governors, of Louisiana and North Carolina, are "staying home."

In Virginia the General Assembly all but completed action on an anti-Truman bill. It would prevent him from running in Virginia on the "Democrati Party" ticket, but would allow his candidacy under some other name. The intention is to threaten him with the loss of Virginia's electorial votes.

DEMOCRATS HELD FAILING ON RIGHTS

Reece Says Only Republicans Have Produced Results in Enlarging Liberties

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 15 — Carroll Reece, Republican national chairman, charged tonight that the Democratic party has "produced nothing tangible to support its professions of devotion to the cause of civil liberties."

The real champion of civil liberties and individual freedom, he asserted, has been the Republican party. He said that the party, founded to "wipe out human slavery," had continued for almost a century "unswerving in its efforts to protect such liberties and to enlarge them."

"Time after time," he said, "Republicans in Congress have sought the enactment of laws against lynching, laws to abolish poll taxes and of laws to establish a fair employment pratices commission. Anti-lynching and anti-poll tax bills have been passed by the House of Representatives with overwhelming Republican support and against deteermined Democratic opposition on several occasions.

"But in each case they have been prevented from becoming laws by Democratic Senators who have not hesitated to paralyze the nation's law-making machinery by resorting to filibusters against these bills. They were even willing to tie up the Senate and prevent it from discharging its lgislative duties in time of war, as demonstrated by filibusters against anti-poll tax legislation in 1942 and 1944."

Mr. Reece's statement was made in a letter to 20,000 Republican officials at the state, county and precinct throughout the country. It apparently was meant to give party workers material with which they could answer arguments raised in behalf of President Truman's civil rights message.

GOP Scored on Rent Curb

The broadside was delivered as the Democratic National Committee in its weekly newsletter berated the Republican Congress for what was called its plan "to sink rent control under a barrage of legislative doubletalk."

"If the Republicans propose to pass a bill which ends rent control completely," said the newsletter, "they should do it honestly in a one-sentence bill which says what it means in plain words."

The newsletter cited contemplated provisions of the rent bill which were said to end control in areas where 1 per cent of dwelling units are available for occupancy and permit landlords to ask tenants to sign leases running through December, 1949, providing for unrestricted rent increases.

In his attack on the Democratic attitude toward civil rights legislation, Mr. Reece said the party's record over the past fifteen years was "the best possible refutation of any claims it may make to being the party of liberalism." He said that during nearly all of that period the Democrats had substantial majorities in both Houses, including a two-thirds majority in the Senate which could have been used to cut off a filibuster.

FEPC Advances Noted

He said the Republican party, on the other hand, had demonstrated in concrete affirmative fashion what it could achieve by action at the state level that had produced FEPC legislation in four states.

"In New Jersey, New York and Connecticut," he said, "these laws have been put into force under state Republican administrations. Massachusetts, which now has a Republican Governor, adopted its FEPC law in 1946 when it had a Democratic government but the law was enacted by a Republican legislature.

"Not a single state with a Republican administration has the poll tax system, and there has been no suggestion of the need for anti-lynching laws in any state with a Republican administration because such states enforce existing laws for the benefit of all their citizens regardless of race or color."

Wright Lambasts Civil Rights Again

MEMPHIS, TENN.—(AP)—Gov. Fielding Wright of Mississippi said Tuesday that "chaos and strife would be with us for years to come" if President Truman's civil rights program becomes law.

He told the Rotary Club that "one can not help but wonder how our national leaders can be so blindly unaware that they are lending the greatest possible aid to our enemies.

"In every country we see that those who would conquer do first undertake to divide."

Wright said such laws "could not be enforced against the public opinion of the Southern people, even by the combined military and political power of the Federal government."

He referred to a conference in Jackson, Miss., on May 10 as a meeting "to consider ways and means of more fully utilizing the strength of our electoral votes to accomplish our aims."

The South, Wright said, "will never again leave the union, but by God's guiding grace and with the help of our fellow Americans throughout this mighty nation, we will save it from destruction."

Take Fight to Truman, Southern Leaders Advised

WASHINGTON, Feb. 21—(AP)—Leaders of the Dixie revolt against the President's civil rights program are spinning their wheels when they protest to the National Democratic Chairman, says a former official.

"Take it to President Truman himself," Charles M. Galloway, Civil Service Commissioner in the Wilson administration and a counsel to the comptroller general for 16 years, said Saturday.

He advised Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina:

"You and your Committee should present to President Truman in person the protest of Southern Governors against his so-called civil rights proposals and demand of him that he withdraw them.

"The Chairman of the Democratic National Committee has no more to do with Truman's recommendations to Congress than you or any other Democrat. . . .

"Chairman McGrath cannot undo what the President has done. He has no power to withdraw Truman's proposals. Neither can McGrath commit the Party as to what the next platform shall contain. . . .

"What I think the people of South Carolina and the South want is a firm—no condescending—demand of Truman to withdraw his civil rights proposals."

Five Southern Governors will call on Democratic National Chairman McGrath Monday afternoon to learn what, if anything, can be done to combat the President's proposals. He has urged antilynch, antipoll tax, antisegregation and fair employment practice legislation. They will be joined by members of the Southern Congressional legislation.

At Jackson, Mississippi Gov. Fielding L. Wright continued to hold a policy of "no comment" on a scheduled meeting here Sunday of Democratic leaders from 11 States.

However, Democratic leaders of Mississippi who declined to be identified said the meeting was being held to organize a solid front of "true white Jeffersonian Democrats."

An estimated 50 party leaders from other States are expected to meet with approximately 200 Mississippians Sunday at 10:30 a. m. Some Georgians are expected.

At Greenwood, S. C., Rep. Wil- South Carolina, predicted that President Truman's civil rights program "can not only destroy the Democratic Party, but the nation as well."

The youthful representative from South Carolina's Third District charge dthat "this segregation business is another design that came, I believe, from the Kremlin in Moscow to drive a wedge between the races of America."

He spoke at a special convention of Greenwood County Democrats discussing the administration's civil rights program.

Recommending that Southern States send unpledged delegates to this year's National Democratic Convention, Dorn also urged a

right "inside the party" against the President's antipoll tax, anti-lynching and fair employment practices recommendations.

The Greenwood meeting concluded with unanimous adoption of a resolution that South Carolina Democrats "should endeavor to work out matters in a manner satisfactory to the people of this State within the Democratic party." The Constitution

But if this fails, the resolution added "we should plan and proceed with the matter of the election of a president and vice president . . . by the house of representatives." Atlanta, Ga.

"Now you are being run and governed by a minority group" Dorn declared. "We in South Carolina and the South will take whatever steps are necessary to preserve our form of government." Sun. 2-22-48

Dorn advised that the South's electoral vote be unreported to the electoral college. If that is done "there is a good possibility that we can throw the election into the house of representatives."

Under the Constitution, if a presidential candidate does not receive a majority of the electoral college votes, the house is empowered to choose from among the three highest candidates.

"Some of the leaders of this country sold us down the river at Yalta" and "sold the country down the river to Communism" Dorn declared. "I am not going to follow these people any more. They're not Democrats."

Dorn said that if no "concessions are made at the convention to the real Democratic party, which is us," two courses would be possible there.

"You can compromise or you can nominate a Southern Democrat, a real Democrat." In this connection he mentioned the names of Sen. Harry Byrd of Virginia, Sen. Walter George of Georgia, and former Secretary of State James Byrnes of Spartanburg. 2-22-48

Hastily Yours

The Worker

New York, N.Y.

Southern Governors Ignored These Facts

By MASON ROBERSON

Sun. 3-7-48

THE RECENT and sudden interest of President Truman in civil rights — after all, Negroes hold the balance of voting power in and around a dozen states—was met by indignant southern leaders with a variety of replies, none of them flattering.

Most of the Dixie spokesmen fell back on the lame claim the whole affair was none of Truman's business. They implied Jimcrow was a southern problem and could only be solved by southerners, "who understand these things best."

Following a conventional amount of bull noises around the subject, the governors of several southern states met at Wakulla Springs, Fla., to discuss bolting the Democratic Party.

One of the subjects under discussion there—a plan to pool finances among southern states to set up regional schools—offers an interesting measure of the justice of their claims to being best able to handle the issue of civil rights.

A study was recently completed comparing the educational opportunities of Negroes and whites in the 17 states, and the District of Columbia, where segregation in schools is maintained by law.

The study covered 15 years, 1930-1945.

* * *

THE VALUE of school property per pupil was, in 1930, for whites, $166; for Negroes, $32. In 1945, for whites, $224; for Negroes, $52.

Amounts spent per pupil in elementary schools in 1930 was, for whites, $43.50; for Negroes, $11.26. In 1945, for whites, $73.67; for Negroes, $32.46. The Worker

The average salary of elementary school teachers showed, in 1930, for whites, $958; for Negroes, $510. In 1945, for whites, $1,307; for Negroes, $959. New York, N.Y. Sun. 3-7-48

There were other wide differences shown in the study, among them a shorter average school-year for Negroes and three times as many undergraduate courses for whites in colleges. Most interesting conclusion of the study was that it showed clearly that in 13 years no progress has been made in wiping out the difference in educational standards between Negroes and whites.

Another measure of this difference is found in a study of the professions in these same states which so loudly claim a better ability to solve the Jimcrow problem. The Worker

In 1945, in the southern states, there was one white doctor to every 843 white persons. There was one Negro doctor to every 4409 Negroes. New York, N.Y.

* * *

THERE WAS one white dentist to every 2,795 white persons; one Negro dentist to every 12,101 Negroes. Sun. 3-7-48

Pharmacists: One white to 1,714; one Negro to 22,815.

Lawyers: One white per 702; one Negro per 24,997.

Social workers: One white per 2,654; one Negro per 11,537.

Engineers: One white per 644; one Negro per 130,700.

There were 42 times as many white engineers in Oklahoma; 900 times as many in South Carolina; no Negro engineers in Delaware and Florida. The Worker

Despite the loud talk about states rights, the South has proved itself not only a disgraceful failure in democracy, but also unwilling to correct that failure. Whatever the governors promise at Wakulla Springs, the record of the last 18 years makes a mockery of any claim to either the ability or intent to bring equality to Dixie. 3-7-48

Louisiana's Governor Is Not In Dixie Revolt

Courier-Journal Louisville, Ky.

Brownwood, Tex., April 3 (U.P.)—Earl K. Long, Louisiana's Governor-elect and brother of the late Huey "Kingfish" Long, said today he wanted no part of the Southern Democratic revolt.

Long, here to visit an old friend, said President Truman was being "pushed too hard." Sun. 4-4-48

"I'm not in any revolt," he said, "though I am opposed to the Federal Employment Practices Commission."

GLADSTONE WILLIAMS

The Constitution

Mr. Truman Invited Trouble

Atlanta, Ga, Sat. 2-28-48

WASHINGTON—Where President Truman put his foot in it on the civil rights issue was by wrapping all his proposals into a single package and then sending a formal message to Congress on the subject. Had he acted differently he might have accomplished the same purpose, politically, without the attending furore and the threats of Southern revolt.

There is very little difference, for example, in the position of the late President Roosevelt and Mr. Truman on the civil rights question. At one time or another Mr. Roosevelt indorsed all the proposals his successor has presented to Congress.

There is this one difference, however: Mr. Roosevelt, with his greater political mastery, never went to the extent of formally asking Congress to approve such a program. He gave lip service to various parts of the program from time to time. When special groups would come in to discuss civil rights with him he usually would listen and then pass it over with a wave of his hand, as if to say: "Of course, that is something we are all for; I am for it."

But he was careful to avoid a direct and positive issue by calling upon Congress formally to take action on a comprehensive program. Sat. 2-28-48

In that way he was able to shift the onus of the issue to Congress. It was up to proponents of the legislation to get bills through Congress before the issue could blow hot on the White House. The Constitution

President Truman has caused himself to be made the focal point of all the bitterness aroused by the controversy by the way he handled the program. His position would have been much better if he had refrained from sending Congress a special message on the subject.

No one can doubt that the President was guided by a certain amount of political expediency in what he has done. He felt the necessity for offsetting some of the issues being raised by Henry A. Wallace in his third-party bid for the Presidency. Atlanta, Ga.

Wallace is out fanning the flames of racial prejudice. He is shouting for anti-segregation laws, anti-poll tax measures and an anti-lynching bill. He is also an ardent advocate of Federal fair employment practices legislation.

It is obvious what his purpose is. He is seeking to draw away from the Democratic Party those elements of liberal support which have gone to the ticket in past elections, hoping thus to bring about the defeat of President Truman for a second term. The Constitution

Realizing all of this, the President felt compelled to counteract the Wallace move. Where he underestimated the situation was in not foreseeing the effect his civil rights program would have in the South. He had probably been led to believe Southern Democratic leaders would take the pill without making too much fuss about it.

Now Mr. Truman finds himself in a real dilemma. If he goes forward with the program he seems certain to provoke a Southern revolt. If he repudiates or soft-pedals the question he opens the way for many liberal groups of voters to be drawn away from the party ticket this Fall.

It is not a very happy position to be in, any way you look at it. Atlanta, Ga.

Meantime, the Republicans, with nothing to lose and all to gain, may be relied upon to keep the issue alive. They will do this by bringing out bills dealing with various parts of the President's program. The first, an anti-lynching bill, is already on its way, having been approved by one of the subcommittees of the Lower House.

If the President should be spared the necessity for signing the legislation, through a successful filibuster, the situation might be saved for him. The issue would then be forgotten—for the time being, at least. Sat. 2-28-48

But the point of it all is that the President might have avoided much of the controversy that has arisen by handling the matter as Mr. Roosevelt would have. He invited trouble when he sent Congress that special message.

10 1948 PM on CR

Dems Now Worried by Dixie 'Revolt' on Rights

PM New York, N.Y. Wed 2-25-48

By Willard Shelton
Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON

A belated but definite sense of apprehension is seizing Democratic leaders here following the Southern governors' trek to Washington to protest President Truman's recent Civil Rights message. 2-25-48

Prominent Southern Congressmen, who formerly felt that the threatened Dixie "revolt" was merely "normal election year talk," now say Truman's popularity has dropped tremendously in the South.

A Senator who two weeks ago said that "nothing serious would happen" if general and "compromise" language were adopted for the convention platform has changed his mind.

Boiling Anger

This Senator—a man of outstanding intelligence and good will—says that even repetition of the 1944 convention platform language would not appease his fellow Southern Democrats, who are boiling with anger over Truman's proposal for enactment of anti-poll tax, anti-lynch, anti-segregation and FEPC bills.

The 1944 platform language on civil rights expressed a Democratic party belief that racial and religious majorities "have the right to live, develop and vote equally with all citizens and share the rights that are guaranteed by our Constitution."

McGrath's Stand

National Committee chairman J. Howard McGrath, who on Monday bluntly rejected Southern governors demands for a "States rights" plank on racial issues in the platform, said that the 1944 convention plank would be acceptable to him.

The Southerners now object that the "meaning" of this plank has been "changed" since the President spelled out the minority rights which his Administration advocates.

Both on Capitol Hill and in Democratic National Committee headquarters, many insiders feel that Truman's Civil Rights message was a political liability. 2-25-48

"Truman can't outbid Henry Wallace (for minority votes) in the North," they say. "And there is now danger that he has lost the South—or a good part of it."

Leadership among the Southern governors here has been taken by Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and Gov. Ben T. Laney of Arkansas. 2-25-48

Some observers think that both in South Carolina and Virginia, as well as in Mississippi, where State legislatures now are in session, machinery may be created whereby the votes of the Presidential electors of these states may be withheld from President Truman.

Possible Strategy

There is also a possibility that some Southern states will send delegates to the Democratic Convention instructed to vote against Truman's nomination. New York N.Y.

The Southern governors met yesterday with Dixie Congressmen to plan introduction of legislation authorizing interstate compacts under which regional schools of higher education could be created for segregated education of Negroes from several Southern states. Wed

Sen. Robert A. Taft (R., Ohio), asked what the probable Republican attitude toward such legislation would be, told PM he had not heard of the plan before and therefore could not comment. 2-25-48

Southerner Calls Truman 'Dead Bird'

Courier-Journal Louisville Ky. Wed. 3-3-48

Republicans Push 2 Bills On Civil Rights

From Wire Dispatches.

Washington, March 2.—A cry that "Harry Truman is a dead bird" was raised by a Southern Democrat today as Republicans piled new fuel on the Dixie "civil-rights" revolt.

Representative Rivers (D., S. C.) beat the anti-Truman drum after:

1. The House Judiciary Committee, dominated by Republicans, approved a federal anti-lynching bill.

2. Seven senators, five of them Republicans, pressed for Senate action on a bill to set up a permanent fair-employment-practices commission to outlaw job discrimination against Negroes and other minority groups.

'Losing Opportunity.'

The antilynching and F.E.P.C. bills are among the Truman hecommendations which have touched off a revolt among Southern Democrats, with threats to break with the national party if the President is nominated for a full term in the White House.

The grand dragon of the Ku Klux Klan says in a story on Page 4 that Truman faces certain defeat unless he alters his stand on civil rights.

Rivers said in a House speech that the antilynching bill would "lynch the Constitution." He added: Wed 3-3-48

"It is a sad commentary that Republicans in their eagerness to embarrass Truman are losing an opportunity to make friends with the South.

"You are burning down the house to get rid of the rats. You are shooting at the wrong bird. Truman is already a dead bird. We'll see to that in the South. Don't lose your first chance since 1864 to make friends with the South. I counsel with you, in your eagerness to get Truman, not to lose this opportunity."

Committee Meets.

A committee of Southern Democrats in the House who are fighting the Truman program met later in the day. Chairman Colmer (D., Miss.) told reporters afterward that no decisions were made. Wed 3-3-48

In New York, Henry A. Wallace's campaign manager said there would "no doubt" be Negroes among the Congressional candidates on Wallace's third-party ticket. The spokesman, C. B. Baldwin, denied reports that the party itself would run Negro candidates in specific districts. That's "entirely up to our state organizations," Baldwin said.

Today's developments came after Mississippi and South Carolina Democratic organizations had threatened a clean break with the party's national leaders and had taken steps to raise money for possible separate campaigns this fall.

Governor J. Strom of South GCarolina told reporters here that a report on the civil-rights issue would be ready for Southern Governors March 13. Thurmond is chairman of a delegation from the Southern Governors Conference which tried and failed to head off the Administration program in talks with Democratic National Chairman J. Howard McGrath.

Republican Hopes Rise.

The Democratic rift was steadily raising Republican hopes of capturing the White House for the first time since 1928.

Governor Dewey of New York announced he would give up his usual spring vacation and personally lead his campaign for the G.O.P. presidential nomination.

And Senator Vandenberg (R., Mich.) apparently failed in his attempt to keep his own name off the ballot in Nebraska's April 13 presidential-preference primary. Raymond A. McConnell, chairman of the Nebraska primary committee, said Vandenberg's name would be entered despite what the Michigan senator called an "appeal and earnest request" to keep it out.

McConnell said the senator, in a telegraphed request, did not rule himself out as a possible nominee.

Won't Speculate.

"I decline to speculate with utterly improbable contingencies," Vandenberg wired McConnell in answer to the bald question: Would you accept if you were nominated?

Vendenberg has said over and over that he is not a candidate. But this latest statement, like the others, caused some to believe he would not resist a bona-fide draft.

Former Governor Harold E. Stassen of Minnesota, an avowed presidential aspirant, was ready for a three-day campaign for delegates in New Hampshire, where Dewey will be his chief opponent.

Stassen planned to fly east from St. Paul, Minn., but a storm and the illness of his daughter delayed his flight temporarily.

Chelf Opposes Bill.

The antilynching bill cleared the House committee by an unofficially reported 18-to-8 vote. Members said two Republicans, Representatives Fellows of Maine and Gwynne of Iowa, voted against it along with these Democrats: Chelf of Kentucky, Hobbs of Alabama, Kefauver of Tennessee, Bryson of South Carolina, Cravens of Arkansas, and Gossett of Texas.

It now needs only clearance by the G.O.P.-dominated Rules Committee before it comes up for full House action. Republicans, along with Democrats who are backing Truman's civil-rights stand, are almost certain to push the measure through.

Southern Democrats are fighting it as an invasion of State rights. The bill makes lynching a federal offense. It permits accused lynchers, or peace officers "negligent" in preventing a lynching, to be fined or imprisoned, or both, upon conviction in Federal Courts.

Rivers' "deadbird" speech followed another Democratic prediction that Truman would be "overwhelmingly defeated" if he runs—because of the civil-rights program—and a plea that he withdraw from the presidential picture.

Representative Murray (D., Tenn.) said he indorsed yesterday's statement by Tennessee Democratic leader E. H. "Boss" Crump, who said he would "vote for a Democrat next November, but it will not be Truman."

"I would like to see the Democrats nominate either Senator Byrd of Virginia, Secretary of State Marshall, Senator Tydings of Maryland, or General Eisenhower if he could be drafted," Murray said.

The seven U. S. senators who called for action on the F.E.P.C. bill are members of the Labor Committee. They said the bill "is needed to close the gap between our professions and practices of democracy."

One of them, Senator Ives (R., N. Y.), charged opponents with "confusing the issue by bringing up the question of social equality" between whites and Negroes.

Ives said the bill would provide "equality of economic opportunity only" and was not aimed solely at the South. Job discrimination exists in Detroit and on the West Coast, the New Yorker said.

Senator Russell (D., Ga.) offered, meanwhile, to vote with Republicans in slashing any funds the President might ask to carry out his civil-rights program. Russell's offer was made as a Senate appropriations subcommittee began to study a House-approved $991,518,551 independent-offices supply bill. The bill provides money for the White House and a score of independent agencies.

ROBERT QUILLEN

What Does He Mean by 'Segregation'?

If Mr. Truman does not realize it, somebody should tell him that "segregation" is not a simple word, to be defined in one brief sentence. Like charity, the word covers a multitude of sins. People use it in its narrowest sense, as if it had only one meaning, when they are trying to win an argument; but you can't use words that way and still be loyal to the dictionary.

Another word much abused by partisans is "lynching." Its definition is not determined by the color of the victim; the offense of which he is accused; the place, the nature, or the result of the attack upon him. Many white men have been lynched in America—a few for not joining unions; a greater number for stealing horses.

As commonly used in recent years, the word segregation refers to race and nothing else. It means, among other things, that people are segregated, usually in slum districts similar to the familiar ghetto of Europe, because they are a minority race not accepted as equals by the majority.

Laws and rules are always made by the strong. Who else could enforce them?

The meanest kind of segregation, and the most hurtful kind because it leaves lasting scars, is that imposed by children. We are told that children are free of race prejudice, and that appears to be true. Ask any man who grew up on a farm in the "deep South," and he will tell you he had a colored playmate who went hunting and fishing with him.

Children learn about segregation by listening to the talk of adults, and this is especially true of economic segregation. "Nice" children, who use good grammar and wear proper clothes, may play with poor kids for a while, but soon learn to give them a scornful brush-off. This is one lesson, learned in grammar school, that is seldom forgotten. Can law change it, Mr. Truman?

A Negro Pullman porter, who won fame as a poet a few years ago, was invited to the homes of New York's white literary elite. But he said in one of his books that he never would be able to enter the homes of Harlem's rich Negroes except at the back door. What would Mr. Truman do about that kind of segregation?

New York's most famous columnist said recently that two of the swankiest Winter resort hotels have signs near the register bearing the single word, "Restricted"—which means, as all tourists know, "No Jews are admitted." The owners adopted the policy that would be most profitable, yet they are Jews of New York's underworld. They couldn't be guests in their own hotels.

Segregation is fundamentally economic. A dark-skinned Indian prince who is worth millions can sleep in the finest hotel.

As We See It

Truman Talks Civil Rights, While Pals Do a Job on Negroes

By Abner W. Berry

LOVE—AND MARSHALL PLAN politics—will find a way. Consider the present wooing of the white-supremacy rebels, who almost daily have been announcing a political secession, by the bi-partisan leadership in Congress. The "Johnny Rebs" began their rampage last February, following the Supreme Court decision in the Ada Lois Sipuel Fisher case. They didn't like the idea of Oklahoma having to provide "equal educational facilities" to Negro citizens at all levels.

They growled at President Truman's civil rights proposals; they demanded appeasement—or else. Gov. Jim McCord, of Tennessee, thought up the bright idea of "regional segregated schools," in order to get around the Supreme Court decision.

On last Feb. 8, the Southern Governors Conference, meeting in Tallahassee, Fla., formalized Gov. McCord's proposal into a "Compact for Southern Regional Colleges." Not long ago, a bill was introduced by southern representatives in both Houses of Congress granting the 15 signatory states the right to honor the governors' agreement. The 15 states are: Florida, Maryland, Georgia, Louisiana, Alabama, Mississippi, Kentucky, Virginia, Arkansas, No. Carolina, So. Carolina, Texas and Oklahoma. Take a look at your map, and you will see that this is a sizable piece of the United States.

THE PRESENT leaders of these states are not joking when they talk secession. They've written their sentiments into the compact.

It is to "form a geographical district or region consisting of the areas lying within the boundaries of the contracting states . . . for . . . regional education supported by public funds derived from taxation by the constituent states. . . ." A Board of Control for Southern Regional Education is established by the compact which will act as a sort of super-Southern government in the field of education. Plain enough, isn't it?

When the bill to authorize this compact was introduced in the Senate guess whose minority leader was among the introducers? You guessed it. It was none other than Alban W. Barkley, the gentleman from Kentucky and administration leader in the Senate.

The Republican - controlled House Judiciary Committee, a little over a week ago approved the bill and placed it on the House calendar. In this the Republicans were one-up on the administration in appeasing the pouting Claghorns.

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NO TO BE outdone, Sen. J. Howard McGrath, head of the National Democratic Committee and campaign spokesman for the President, helped steer the bill through hearings in the Senate Judiciary Committee. As a member of the committee, McGrath either helped badger opponents of the bill or he ran in and out of the committee room just as though he and the President had not announced a program for civil rights at all.

The big business press is silent on this three-way game of footie being played in Congress with the rights of southerners, Negro and white. The kids seems to be to allow the noise of "revolt" to drown out the betrayal by appeasement.

But the country needs to be told that we are dangerously near a southern secession by congressional consent. If that comes about education for 40,000,000 Americans — 10,000,000 of them Negroes—will be in the hands of men whose methods and philosophies belong in the early 19th century. Local school boards will be by-passed. Many schools now run for whites will be closed.

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TRUMAN IS talking pro-Negro while he allows his party machinery to be used as an instrument to place federal support behind the schemes of lynch-inciters and Negro-baiters. The Republican Party is tickled at the opportunity to win a few white-supremacy voters in the present campaign. But there's more to the planned sell-out than that.

I should imagine that Sen. McGrath and his GOP colleagues reason like this: These southerners are about as good a bunch of anti-Communist fighters to be found anywhere, not excluding DeGaulle, ex-king Michael, and the assortment of well-fed striped-pants "peasants" we've imported from Eastern Europe. We can't afford to lose the support of such men by doing rash things for the 10 million southern Negroes. Most of them don't vote anyway. And we're not too sure of their anti-Communism.

You must admit that there is a logic in their position, if you've been following the P[illegible]ential speeches and the papers lately. And if we allow the Claghorns to carry through their counter-revolution-by-consent we will learn, first-hand, about the kind of democracy we are exporting. This Marshall Plan love match will have to be broken up.

Texans Support Truman's Plan

FORT WORTH, Tex. — (ANP) — At a meeting of representatives from more than 50 states cities and towns, the Texas Council of Negro organizations passed resolutions to support President Truman's civil rights program, and to fight segregation, and oppose southern regional colleges proposed by the Southern Governors' conference.

Actions taken by the TCNO included:

1. Appointment of a committee to work with the Gilmer Aikens legislative committee and make recommendations on educational proposals.
2. Reaffirmation of policy of non-
3. Full support of President Truman's civil rights and higher education committee.
4. Set up machinery for alerting the people of Texas to send letters and telegrams to President Truman letting him know they support
5. Commended NAACP for its fight against segregation and voted to give 100 per cent support to its fight.
6. Endorsed NAACP $100,000 freedom bond drive to finance lawsuits and commended the regional office on its work.

The committee on educational proposals will also set up machinery to combat the regional university proposals.

Speakers included W. J. Durham, NAACP regional counsel; Donald Jones, regional executive of the NAACP, and Dr. J. J. Rhoads, president of the Texas Council.

White Southerners Familiar With It Oppose Civil-Rights Plan By 9 to 1

Courier-Journal-Louisville, Ky
Sun-4-4-48

32 pct. haven't heard about it; foes make accusations, or claim North doesn't understand South

THE SOUTH SPEAKS By George Gallup

Sun-4-4-48

PRINCETON, N. J., April 3.—Southern voters who have heard about President Truman's civil-rights program are overwhelmingly opposed to it, and there is a general feeling throughout the South that the present Administration in Washington has not dealt fairly with their section.

How far the anti-Truman revolt will progress in the South remains to be seen. In February polls the American Institute of Public Opinion found that the number of Southern whites favoring his nomination had dropped from 73 per cent to 60 per cent. It was on February 2 that President Truman announced his civil-rights program, which irritated many Southerners by recommending a federal anti-lynch law, action against poll taxes, a federal F.E.P.C. law and other civil-rights measures.

The poll of the South was conducted among a cross-section of the white voting population. It was found that 68 per cent had heard or read about the civil-rights program. These people were asked:

How do you feel about Truman's civil rights program? Do you think Congress should or should not pass the program as a whole?

The vote:

Should	6%
Should not	56
No opinion	6
	68%
Had not heard of program	32%

In summary, more than nine times as many Southern whites familiar with the program oppose it as favor it.

The Southern voters also were asked:

Do you think the present administration in Washington has dealt fairly, in general, with the South?

Their vote:

Yes	34%
No	51
No opinion	15

The main reasons given by those dissatisfied were that the Administration is trying to bring equality between whites and Negroes, that Washington has been attempting to interfere with states' rights and that the civil-rights program was proposed without a full understanding of the situation in the South.

Outside the South, the opinion of the country on the civil-rights program is favorable, among those who have heard about it. The proportion who are aware that such a program was proposed is 55 per cent, and their attitudes follow:

Congress should pass program	21%
Should not	15
No opinion	19
	55%
Had not heard of program	45%

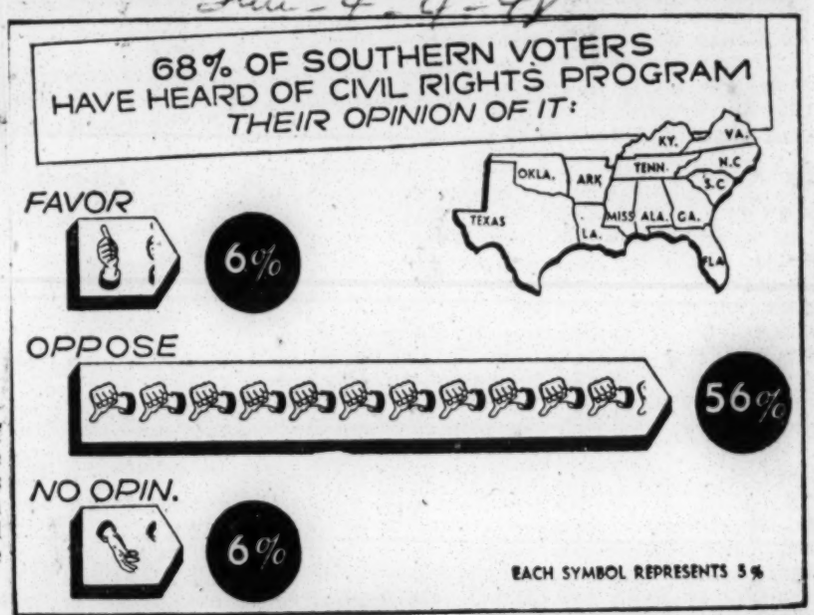
Overwhelmingly in favor of passage of the program are Negroes outside the South, as might be expected. More than seven out of every 10 have heard about the program, and their vote follows:

Pass the program	58%
Opposed	2
No opinion	11
	71%
Have not heard of program	29%

In President Truman's civil-rights program announced February 2 the following were the major points affecting the South:

1. Federal law against lynching.
2. Abolish poll taxes.
3. Establish a federal fair-employment practices commission (F.E.P.C.)
4. End race discrimination in interstate transportation facilities.

The message also called for creation of a civil-rights division in the Justice Department and civil-rights commissions; suffrage for residents of the District of Columbia; statehood for Hawaii and Alaska; removal of restrictions barring some Orientals from obtaining citizenship; strengthening existing laws to assure equal treatment to all residents, whether citizens or not, and prompt settlement of claims involving Japanese-Americans.



President Truman
Plan irks Southerners

Here are some typical comments from Southern white voters polled on President Truman's civil-rights program which is stirring up so much Southern opposition:

AGAINST

"Trying to stir up feeling between blacks and whites, and it is so unnecessary." Texas.

"Those Yankees forget that the whites are superior to the coloreds." Texas.

"Negroes should not be treated the same as whites. Should be considered two separate races and treated accordingly." Alabama.

"The civil-rights program was made without understanding our peculiar situation down here." Alabama.

"Truman is just playing for Northern votes at the expense of us Southerners." South Carolina.

FAVORABLE

"Truman is an honest man and tries to be square." Virginia.

"Truman wants the little man to live better. What's so wrong in that?" Virginia.

"It is the right of free men to vote free and to live in a democracy as free men." North Carolina.

Sun-4-4-48

NEUTRAL

"Too much politics mixed up in this—needs to be approached fairly, and not as a political football." Texas.

Dixie Leaders Seek To Stall Debate Brake

Montgomery Advertiser

Hope Built On Results Of Quiet Lobbying For Anti-Gag Rule Support

Only For Tim

Even Optimist... One Or M... Bills Wi...

By JACK ...
WASHINGTON ...1.—(AP)—Dixie Dem... ...me up with the fresh h... ...nday that they may be able t... beat off first attempts to limit Senate debate on civil rights bills.

Their hope was built on the results of quiet lobbying for anti-gag rule votes among the Republicans and Western Democrats.

Even the most optimistic of the Southerners conceded, however, that at least one of the anti-lynching, anti-poll tax and anti-job discrimination proposals now pending is likely to be passed.

They say they are afraid they can't hold the line against repeated attempts to gag debate.

Hearing Today

The anti-poll tax measure gets an airing before the Senate rules committee in two-day hearings beginning Monday. Senator McKellar (D), Tennessee, and Gov. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina will lead off the opposition witnesses.

The anti-lynching measure is in the hands of a judiciary subcommittee headed by Senator Ferguson (R), Michigan. GOP members may bring it up first—either in April or May.

That will be the signal for a filibuster by the Southerners.

Republican leaders may let the South or Republicans. (D), Ne... McCarran ...has voted with the ...in the past, indicated ...along again.

...egard to the civil ... McCarran said he ...rote for cloture.

...only protection that ...state that is small in ... he said.

...tor Millikin (R), ...who sided with the ...lina will go along ...witnesses.

The anti-lynching measure is in the hands of a judiciary subcommittee headed by Senator Ferguson (R), Michigan. GOP members may bring it up first—either in April or May.

That will be the signal for a filibuster by the Southerners.

Sun-3-22-48

Need Assistance

The Southerners need outside help to stop the adoption of the required two-thirds vote. They have a minimum of 21 votes, need 10 or 12 more among Democrats outside the South.

Solid Line-Up

Each cloture vote stands on its own merits, so far as he is concerned, he said.

Millikin heads the conference of all Senate Republicans. That conference is likely to line up almost solidly in this presidential year for passage of one or more of the civil rights measures when they get to the floor.

"It's the only way left of a state ... population," he said. But Senator ... Colorado, who will never vote ... Dixie members ... enough votes to block the gag rule in 1946 debate on the anti-poll tax proposal, was none committal.

Civil Rights Bill Likely to Pass, Poll Indicates

G.O.P. Aid Against Cloture Apparently to Be Withheld To Defeat Dixie Democrats

By JACK BELL
Associated Press Staff Writer.

Washington, Feb. 21.—A secret Senate poll has convinced some Southern Democratic leaders they have almost no hope of blocking approval of civil-rights legislation in this session of Congress.

A veteran Dixie senator who helped count noses told a reporter the Southerners now appear to have lost the Republican support they needed to prevent adoption of a gag rule on Senate debate.

He said President Truman's demand for an antilynch, anti-poll-tax, and antidiscrimination laws has been accepted as a political challenge by the G.O.P. members. As a result, he said few, if any, Republicans will vote against limiting debate.

Rebel Democrats Confer.

This prospect arose as some 50 Democratic House members from the states of the old Confederacy broadened their drive against the Truman civil-rights program.

They and five Southern Governors will place their criticism of the program Monday before Senator J. Howard McGrath of Rhode Island, Democratic national chairman. Governors Laney of Arkansas, Jester of Texas, Tuck of Virginia, Thurmond of South Carolina, and Cherry of North Carolina were heading for the capital.

The only promise McGrath has given is that he will pass their protests along to Truman. The President tonight was enroute to the Virgin Islands where he was to be given an official receptino by William H. Hastie, Negro Governor of that Caribbean outpost.

Senate Easier to Stall.

Southerners have found the Senate, rather than the House, their main line of defense in fighting similar race-relations legislation in past sessions. That is because of a difference in the rules of the two bodies. The general practice of unlimited debate in the Senate has enabled them to talk the bills to death.

But there is a chunk in that defense—the cloture rule. Cloture is a device by which two-thirds of those voting can limit each senator to a single, one-hour speech on a bill and all amendments.

The Southerners were said to be able to tally at this time only 25 sure votes—eight short of the strength needed if all 96 senators voted—to ward off the cloture rule.

Traditionally the Southerners have been able to avoid adoption of the gag rule, because of Republican help.

Seven Republicans Joined.

In the last previous test, July 31, 1946, seven Republicans joined the Southerners to ward off cloture on a bill to outlaw State poll taxes. They were Senators Bridges of New Hampshire, Gurney of South Dakota, Hart of Connecticut, Millikin of Colorado, Moore of Oklahoma, White of Maine, and Young of North Dakota. All except Hart now are members.

But the Southerners say they have found several of the group unwilling to go along this year. They also have lost from the Senate two Democrats who came to their aid in 1946, Gossett of Idaho and Gerry of Rhode Island.

Meanwhile a committee of 12 House members was established to keep up the fight against the President's entire civil-rights program.

Purposes Are Outlined.

Representative Colmer of Mississippi, the chairman, said the committee has three purposes:

1. To plan strategy in case one or more of these "vicious and unconstitutional" bills come to the floor.

2. To co-operate with the Governors.

3. To serve note on party leaders that inclusion of the President's proposals in the 1948 Democratic platform would "definitely jeopardize the party's success" in the South.

Representative Harris of Arkansas will serve as secretary of the new committee. Other members are Gregory of Kentucky, Hobbs of Alabama, Sikes of Florida, Cox of Georgia, Larcade of Louisiana, Clark of North Carolina, Richards of South Carolina, Murray of Tennessee, Gossett of Texas, and Howard W. Smith of Virginia.

Committee Parley Called.

Calling the first meeting of the new committee for Monday morning, Colmer said:

"It is my positive conviction that the boys from the South are in dead earnest and will fight to the finish this type of doctrine by its party leader. We love our party, but we love our country more, and the love of country should always transcend the loyalty to party."

The Republican majority in Congress was represented as determined to get at least one civil-rights law passed this session. Their previous inclination has been to try the antilynching issue first.

Policy Group to Decide.

Senator Taft of Ohio, chairman of the Republican policy committee, told a reporter his group will talk the matter over soon. He said it will be up to the conference of all Republican senators to decide which bill to try first.

Because of the threat of a filibuster, the Republicans may find it necessary to attach any such proposal as a "rider" to some other bill. The cloture rule does not apply to an effort to take up a bill, in most cases, and the Southerners often have used that avenue to talk at length. With about 20 members on tap, they have proved they can go on day and night for a long time.

The rebellious Southerners had some advice today from Senator Byrd (D., Va.), who has opposed similar civil-rights legislation in the past.

He told them to hold their fire, but keep their powder dry.

The Virginian explained to a reporter that he wants the South to be sure where it is going before it breaks any traditional political ties.

"We must make a calm, deliberate decision, on the basis of events as they happen, and then be prepared to go through with it to the end," he said.

Danger to Party Cited.

Meanwhile Clark Foreman, president of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, telegraphed the five Governors that they appear to be calling upon the President to "ditch the Democratic Party."

"The party," he said, "will certainly succumb if you Governors insist upon the denial of civil rights to that large part of our population which is colored.

"Thousands of members of the Southern Conference who live in your states oppose the announced purposes of your visit. You cannot speak for them."

...res.

The Southerners also got support in 1946 from Senators Hayden and McFarland, Arizona Democrats. But whether they will go along again in the face of President Truman's stand for passage of a full civil rights program is uncertain.

Besides Millikin, the Dixie Democrats enlisted 1946 backing from Republican Senators Bridges of New Hampshire and Moore of Oklahoma. GOP pressure is likely to be brought on them to vote in favor of a gag rule this year.

Even if they get enough votes to keep the debate open, one Southerner pointed out that they can't get a civil rights bill off the Senate's docket except by unanimous consent or by a majority vote.

If Republican leaders decide to hold the Senators' noses to the grindstone, the debate would develop into a physical test. Even 21 Senators, allowed two speeches each, will wear out in time, all agree.

In the meantime, they would have to fight off repeated efforts to invoke the gag rule. They would be almost certain to lose one of these, they admit.

Rebels Looking Forward To Meeting In Jackson

JACKSON, MISS., March 21.—(AP)—Southern Democrats staging a revolt within the party were looking forward Sunday night to May 10 when those in accord with them will gather here in a national meeting to map concerted action.

A call for the meeting was issued here Saturday by the chairman of the Mississippi and Arkansas State Democratic Executive committees.

Originally it had been planned to invite State executive committee members to attend the conference. But Southern leaders who found much vocal support for their revolt found few Southern party leaders were willing to lend their names to the call for the meeting.

Most of them, Mississippi leaders said, felt they could not speak for party members in their states until state conventions are held to determine what the party's policy will be in their respective states. So the call was issued to all "volunteer" party members who espouse the cause of those leading the revolt.

Meanwhile, plans are being pushed to make the revolt, which originated among state leaders here, a southwide and mid-west

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Dixie Rebellion Called South's Opening Wedge

THURMOND COMMENTS

Dixieland's rebellion against President Truman and his civil rights program represents the opening wedge to the South's independence, Gov. Strom Thurmond declared today.

The chief executive expressed his anticipation of crystallizing sentiment more strongly against Truman; and the Southern governors' strategy during the forthcoming Southwide convention of Southern Democrats in Jackson, Miss., May 10.

"I'd like for the nation to know that South Carolina is not in the bag at all times. We will be independent and stand for principles."

Thurmond said that resentment at being "pushed around" had been smouldering for some time and that "Truman is the first opportunity to express ourselves by this united action."

Announcing that he planned to attend the Jackson, Miss., convention, Thurmond said that should the convention not affect the Truman nomination, he hoped the Southern Democrats would move for independent candidates by naming independent electors who will vote against Truman.

He reiterated his statement that he thought Gen. Dwight Eisenhower would make a fine President.

The convention in Jackson, Miss., Meanwhile State Senator W. P. Baskin of Lee, chairman of the Democratic party, has made no announcement on a proposed conference of Southern Democratic leaders seeking a coalition of Southern states to influence the national party.

This was authorized by the state executive committee here several weeks ago.

10 1948

PM on CR

McGILL, FOLSOM ADDRESS NATION

'Local Responsibility' Said 'Rights' Answer

Atlanta Constitution, Atlanta, Ga.

By JOHN COURIC

Racial reforms cannot be forced upon the South, two nationally known Southerners declared Sunday in a nationwide broadcast on President Truman's civil rights program.

In a WGST-CBS broadcast of The People's Platform, Editor Ralph McGill, of The Constitution, and Gov. James E. Folsom, of Alabama, drummed the idea that a successful solution of the race problem can be accomplished only through "local responsibility."

They disagreed on only one fundamental point.

Folsom called the President's proposal a "side issue" to be used to "smokescreen" the Democratic Party's present international policy, including advocacy of the European Relief Program.

McGill disagreed. He termed the civil rights proposals, which have Southerners chagrined, upset or angry, a "basic problem." But in the President's proposals he saw no solution to the poser of giving Negroes equal economic and political opportunities.

The Constitution Editor commented he did not believe he spoke for the majority of Southerners. Rather, McGill said, he spoke for a growing group of Southerners and for articulate persons of the South.

These, McGill commented, have no quarrel with Truman's objectives in themselves. Instead, they find fault with the methods he would employ.

Congressional passage of legislation prohibiting the poll tax, making lynching a federal offense, eliminating economic discrimination and abolishing Jim Crowism in inter-State transportation would be of no practical value. For violations of these offenses would be tried by local Federal juries. In effect, any offense against the Negro would be transferred from a State jury to a Federal jury, both composed of local people.

Reforms must come through the will of the people, he said. And he cited figures to show they are coming. Last year, 28 lynchings were attempted, but 27 were thwarted by local law enforcement officers. And the poll tax is on its way out in the Southern States, already having been abolished in Georgia.

Folsom, who says his political strength lies with "the people at the branchheads," declared he spoke for a majority of Alabamans.

These are more interested in international problems and fear Federal interference in all phases of their activities. He pumped for "local responsibility" and told of the better degree of understanding between Southern whites and Southern Negroes than is found elsewhere in the country.

As for liberalism, Folsom remarked, "the true liberal is the man who believes in leaving government close to the people." This he continued, applies in solving racial problems as well as other questions confronting a democracy.

Folsom hopes to win a campaign in Alabama pledging the Democratic National Convention delegation to him. He hopes delegations pledged to favorite sons, or unpledged, will be able to bargain in the convention for a platform which would differ from present Democratic policy.

The Alabama Governor thinks this bargaining will apply to European aid and to conscriptions, which he opposes, as well as other legislation aimed at the South.

Pitt Tyson Maner, of Montgomery, Ala., past President of the Young Democrats of America, accompanied Folsom to Atlanta.

Dwight Cooke moderated the People's Platform, which was broadcast nationally over Columbia Broadcasting System at 12:30 p. m. WGST aired the program by transcription at 2 p. m.

OPPOSITION TO CIVIL RIGHTS STRONG IN TEXAS

Atlanta Daily World

Atlanta, Ga.

AUSTIN, Tex. — (ANP) — Texas seems to be one of the leading southern states not in favor of President Truman's Civil rights program—that is, as far as white Texans are concerned. In a recent state-wide opinion survey, it was discovered that opposition to the program among white voters was so strong that a "white supremacist" would stand better than a 50-50 chance of becoming the President in a popular election.

However, the poll found that Negroes, as a group, supported the President's idea. By majorities ranging from 71 to 99 per cent, they opposed poll tax as a requirement for voting, favor no discrimination role in fighting for the civil rights of all groups and persons, as well as carrying on its struggle for Christianity", Rev. Hicks declared.

Al Caplan, Warehouse and Longshoremen union, CIO, urged white Americans to join ranks with the Negro people in their fight for liberation in education, removal of jim crow rules on trains and buses and equal job opportunities.

More than two-thirds of the white people polled stated flatly they did not think Negroes should have equal rights, no matter what the President believes.

QUESTIONS ASKED

Seven questions were asked in the opinion survey. They were:

"President Truman believes Negroes should have the same rights as white people. Do you agree or disagree or just how do you feel?

"Have you heard or read anything about the President's recent message on civil rights?"

On the first question whites voted 66-44 against and Negroes 98-1 for. Fifty-five per cent of the whites said they had heard of the President's proposal as against 45 per cent. Negroes voted 94-6 "yes."

"Are you for or against the poll tax as a requirement to vote?"

Whites were 56-34 for with ten per cent not giving an opinion. Negroes voted 20 per cent for, 71 per cent against, nine per cent "don't know."

"Are you for or against Negroes and whites going to the same universities?"

SOME "DON'T KNOW"

Negroes voted 78-11 per cent for, with 11 per cent, "don't know," against an 85-11 per cent opposition by whites.

"Are you for or against Negroes having the right to sit next to white people on street cars, buses and trains?"

The percentages for whites were 10 for, 85 against, five "don't know." Negroes were 86 for, five against, and nine "don't know."

"Are you for or against qualified Negroes having the same chance as whites to work at any job in any business?"

Ninety-nine per cent of the Negroes were for this, against one per cent opposing. Whites voted 28 per cent for, 64 per cent against, eight per cent, "don't know."

A majority of the Negroes—51 per cent—chose Truman for President, with Henry Wallace running second. White voters placed a "southern Democrat who believes in white supremacy" just above President Truman, by seven points.

The One Effective Southern Protest

The weakness of the Southern governors' revolt is that it is, of necessity, a revolt of the politicians and there is always something dubious or uncertain about a politicians' revolt.

Take the statement of Governor M. E. Thompson of Georgia Saturday, assailing the Republican party, rather than President Truman, for the proposed civil rights legislation.

Columbia Record

"Traditionally the Republican party has been the enemy of the South while the Democratic party has been its friend," Thompson said.

Thompson described the pending bills as "similar to the force bills passed by the Republicans during Reconstruction days" and declared that they are being forced to the front again "by the Republican party for political purposes."

Columbia S.C.

Now much of what Governor Thompson had to say is or was true. Traditionally the Democratic party has been the friend of the South, but Governor Thompson ignores the fact that the Democrats have broken with their own tradition and are now advocating the same bills that the Republicans advocate for the same political purposes. His charges cannot be leveled against one party without being applicable with the same force and effect against the other. But Governor Thompson calls himself a Democrat and attacks the Republicans.

Take the recent action of the House judiciary committee in approving the federal anti-lynching bill. The vote was 18 to 8. Six Democrats voted for the bill and six voted against it. The six voting in opposition were all from Southern states who could not win a single Democratic member from other states to vote with them. There were only two votes against the bill by members from outside the South. Both of these were Republicans—Representatives Frank Fellows of Maine and John W. Gwynne, of Iowa.

"That is as usual also—any time a member from outside the South shows any understanding of Southern problems and votes with the Southerners he is bound to be a Republican," comments Peter Molyneaux, editor of the Southern Weekly. A good case might even be made out for Mr. Molyneaux's thesis. Senator Taft of Ohio voted against the FEPC bill.

These Republicans are, of course, mavericks as was Senator Borah, ablest defender of the Southern point of view in the years that he served as a Republican Senator. The Republicans have no reason to speak for the South or to vote with the South. The South denies them this excuse by counting itself in the bag for the Democrats. The Southern Democratic governors do not even threaten that the South will vote Republican in order to express its displeasure, in the only effective way open to it, with the leadership of the Democratic party which has repaid their loyalty with its querulous quaking before the threat of Henry Wallace's third party.

There is, however, only one avenue of escape for the South. And it is escape to the Republican party, so as to give both parties a reason to court the South and an excuse for listening to the South.

Here's Resolution Text Adopted by Dixie Demos

Atlanta Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 20—(AP)—Following is the text of the resolution a group of Southern Democrats adopted Friday on President Truman's civil rights program:

Whereas, the President has transmitted to Congress a special message proposing the enactment of a so-called anti-lynching law, an anti-poll tax law, a so-called Fair Employment Commission and the enactment of a law forbidding the separation of the races in interstate travel, and the establishment of a division in the Department of Justice for their enforcement, either one or all of which would constitute an invasion of the sovereignty of the states and enlargement of Federal power far beyond its clear limitation by the Constitution of the United States and would most unfortunately interrupt the progress being made by the several states in the adjustment of difficult and troublesome problems naturally arising from interracial differences; and

Whereas, the Conference of Southern Governors has appointed a committee to give special attention to these proposals and recommend action in keeping with the best interests of the Southern states, which committee has suggested the establishment of a like committee from the Representatives in Congress of the Southern States to co-operate with the committee from the Conference of Southern Governors;

Now, therefore, be it resolved by the undersigned members of Congress Sat 2-21-48

1. That we will oppose to the finish the enactment of any such legislation mentioned above herein.

2. That the Chairman of the Conference be and he is hereby authorized and directed to appoint a committee from each delegation to co-operate with the Committee from the Conference of Southern Governors. Sat 2-21-48

3. That the leaders of all who are interested in the success of the Democratic Party be urged and respectfully, but firmly cautioned, against putting into its platform that which would assuredly jeopardize its success in the South where it has been nourished and sustained throughout its existence.

ANNUAL STATEMENT
For the twelve months ending Dec. 31, 1947
Of the condition of the
PHILADELPHIA FIRE AND MARINE INSURANCE CO., of Philadelphia, Pa.
Organized under the laws of the State of Pennsylvania, made to the Comptroller General of the State of Georgia in pursuance to the laws of said State.
Principal Office: 1600 Arch Street, Philadelphia 1, Pa.

TOTAL ASSETS (actual cash market value)	$37,010,029.80
LIABILITIES:	
Cash Capital Paid Up	5,000,000.00
Surplus over all Liabilities	17,500,154.87
TOTAL LIABILITIES	37,010,029.80
Income 12 mos. 1947	13,209,003.78
Disbursements 12 mos. 1947	10,490,144.70

A copy of the act of incorporation, duly certified, is in the office of the Insurance Commissioner.
STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA, County of Philadelphia.
Personally appeared before the undersigned, J. K. Eisenbrey, who, being duly sworn, deposes and says that he is the Secretary of Philadelphia Fire & Marine Insurance Company, and that the foregoing statement is correct and true.
J. K. EISENBREY, Secretary.
Sworn to and subscribed before me this 3rd day of February, 1948.
(Seal) LEONA LATIMER, Notary Public.

Truman Holds Fire in Face of Southern Revolt

P.M. New York N.Y. Fri. 3-12-48

By Willard Shelton
Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON

President Truman indicated yesterday that he has no plans for backing up his hotly disputed civil rights message with Administration-sponsored bills designed to put the program into effect.

The result is virtually to remove all Administration steam from behind the civil rights program, which has been violently attacked by Southern Democrats and has led to threats of a "revolt" directed toward depriving Truman of Southern electoral college votes.

The President's statement may also have two effects in the coming Presidential campaign:

¶ It may remove some of the heat from the Southern rebellion and smooth Truman's path to Democratic nomination for a full four-year term to succeed himself in the White House.

¶ It may equally increase the appeal for minority groups of either Henry A. Wallace's Third Party or the Republicans, or both—particularly if the Republicans force through some civil rights legislation, such as an anti-lynch bill, over fierce Southern Democratic opposition.

Informed Democratic sources say the President is not "appeasing" the Southerners and has no intention of backing up an inch on his recommendations. They explain his failure to present specific bills as merely a practical recognition that the bills at present, would be rejected by the majority of his own party membership in Congress.

Result Of Question

Fri 3-12-48

The President made his statement at a news conference when asked what plans, if any, he had for sending specific bills to Congress to implement the civil rights program.

Congress never feels happy, Truman replied, when the Executive Dept. sends bills up to Capitol Hill for passage. In his own time in Congress, he said, it was customary for Congress to write its own bills.

He would be happy to make suggestions to Congress, he added, if his advice was asked.

The President did not explain why the Administration nevertheless felt justified in drafting price-control and rationing bills for consideration of Congress during the special session last year.

To support the President's anti-inflation message of Nov. 17, Commerce Secretary W. Averell Harriman presented specific bills—one of them backed by other cabinet members as well as himself—and Harriman was given the task of "carrying the ball" for the Executive Dept. in Congress.

On the civil rights program, apparently, President Truman has decided not to do any "ball carrying" at the moment but to stand on the fact that he has officially presented his civil rights recommendations in broad terms.

All Is Harmony

The Democratic Executive Committee meeting, summoned to Washington for a meeting timed immediately after Truman's announcement of his candidacy for nomination and election, gave only passing attention to the civil rights program yesterday. Fri 3-12-48

National Committee Chairman J. Howard McGrath, who announced Truman's candidacy last Monday, rallied the committee to support of Truman against Communists and Republicans, by whom Truman is being "viciously pursued."

In the "middle of a world crisis, a struggle for leadership," McGrath was quoted as telling the closed-door meeting, Democrats should "get out and tell the people about it."

laws through" even to the extent of insisting on a "gag" rule to choke off a Southern filibuster.

He also said the question of a racial plank in the Democratic platform would be important "when the time comes." He said that a "difference in emphasis" would be involved.

Laney said his section of the country was "nearer to leaving the Democratic Party" than at any time in his memory, but hastily added, "I'm not saying we're going to bolt." Mon 2-23-48

Gov. R. Gregg Cherry, of North Carolina, differed with the "fighting mood" view taken by Thurmond. He said he was here as a "pacificator" and did not have his "fighting clothes on."

Thurmond said he would be "glad" to have the press sit in on the Southerners' meeting with McGrath if the Democratic Chairman was willing. He said the Governors had not discussed the question of a Southerner for President to abandon Truman's running mate.

Govs. Beauford H. Jester, of Texas, and William M. Tuck, of Virginia, completed the five-man delegation. Gov. J. Preston Lane, of Maryland, Chairman of the Governors' Conference, would Jr., whether Democratic Southern Governors' Conference, going to "push the sat in with them at their meeting.

Dixie Governors 'In Fighting Mood' Close Ranks for Call on McGrath

Atlanta Constitution

WASHINGTON, Feb. 22—(AP)—Five Southern Governors announced they had reached agreement on the Civil Rights "presentation" they will make Monday to Democratic National Chairman J. Howard McGrath.

Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina, said the Governors' strategy on the same issue. Thurmond said the Governors had said in a "fighting mood" for carrying out the threat to withhold their presidential electors in the 1948 election—all two-hour session at the Congressmen—would be welcome which recently voted a 40-day "cooling-off period. The group is scheduled to meet McGrath Monday afternoon.

As the State Executives conferred, Southern Democrats in Congress called a meeting for Monday at 10 a. m. to plot their own

Thurmond refused to say what the "presentation" had been agreed on. He said the Governors had discussed "several plans of action" for getting the President to abandon for antilynching and antidiscrimination for antipoll tax laws.

But Gov. Ben T. Laney, of Arkansas, said the Governors would ask McGrath whether the Democratic Party will stand on its platform pledges.

$61,500 Pledged to Fight "Rights," Story on Page Two.

Governor Caldwell on Southern Progress

The Constitution

Florida's Governor Caldwell is no demagogue.

During his tenure in Congress, he was recognized as one of the ablest statesmen in either house, his record of service having won the plaudits and commendation of fair-minded commentators from every section. Atlanta, Ga.

Governor Caldwell was understandably reluctant to pop off against the President's politically-inspired Civil Rights proposals. But when he did speak, it was with characteristic incisiveness.

Moreover, instead of endeavoring to defend all the aspects of the Southern situation, Gov. Caldwell pointed first to the progress which the South is making. And progress is being made. Lynchings have virtually disappeared. The poll tax is rapidly being eliminated. Equality of educational opportunity is becoming an actuality. Negroes are voting in ever-increasing numbers, a fact which will in time eliminate the injustices against them. Thurs 4-15-48

"The South is making great progress," Caldwell declared. "We covet your good will and your assistance. We hope that you will not make our task harder by foisting upon us your moralisms and your dogma. . . .

"We read of the gang wars, crimes and riots of the North, but we would certainly never attempt to tell you how to correct these conditions. We know that you are better advised and know more about the problems than we do—and give you credit for earnestly endeavoring to correct the evils. The Constitution

"Be just as fair with us—acknowledge that here in the South we are living with these problems and that we are assiduously trying to better our standards in an effort to oust all iniquities. We are handicapped by outside interference, but we are succeeding. Atlanta, Ga.

"The people have never been told, that in all the non-segregated medical schools of the East, North and West, there are only 86 Negro medical students whereas in the South, at Meharry of Nashville and Howard in Washington, something more than 1,000 Negroes are being educated in medicine. Thurs 4-15-48

"Nor do they know that in the South several thousand Negroes occupy high places in education, as presidents and professors of institutions of higher learning, whereas in the North only a scant handful are so recognized."

OPPOSITION TO CIVIL RIGHTS STRONG IN TEXAS

Columbia, S.C. The Lighthouse and Informer

AUSTIN, Tex. — (ANP) — Texas seems to be one of the leading southern states not in favor of President Truman's civil rights program—that is, as far as white Texans are concerned. In a recent state-wide opinion survey, it was discovered that opposition to the program among white voters was so strong that a "white supremacist" would stand better than a 50-50 chance of becoming the President in a popular election.

However, the poll found that Negroes, as a group, supported the President's idea. By majorities ranging from 71 to 99 per cent, they opposed poll tax as a requirement for voting, favor no discrimination in education, removal of jim crow rules on trains and buses and equal job opportunities. Sun 4-4-48

More than two-thirds of the white people polled stated flatly they did not think Negroes should have equal rights, no matter what the President believes.

QUESTIONS ASKED

Seven questions were asked in the opinion survey. They were:

"President Truman believes Negroes should have the same rights as white people. Do you agree or disagree or just how do you feel?

"Have you heard or read anything about the President's recent message on civil rights?" 4-4-48

On the first question whites voted 66-44 against and Negroes 98-1 for. Fifty-five per cent of the whites said they had heard of the President's proposal as against 45 per cent. Negroes voted 94-6 "yes."

"Are you for or against the poll tax as a requirement to vote?"

Whites were 56-34 for with ten per cent not giving an opinion. Negroes voted 20 per cent for, 71 per cent against, nine per cent "don't know."

"Are you for or against Negroes and whites going to the same universities?" Sun 4-4-48

SOME "DON'T KNOW"

Negroes voted 78-11 per cent for, with 11 per cent, "don't know," against an 85-11 per cent opposition by whites. Columbia

"Are you for or against Negroes having the right to sit next to white people on street cars, buses and trains?"

The percentages for whites were 10 for, 85 against, five "don't know." Negroes were 86 for, five against, and nine "don't know."

"Are you for or against qualified Negroes having the same chance as whites to work at any job in any business?" The Lighthouse and Informer

Ninety-nine per cent of the Negroes were for this, against one per cent opposing. Whites voted 28 per cent for, 64 per cent against, eight per cent, "don't know."

A majority of the Negroes—51 per cent—chose Truman for President, with Henry Wallace running second. White voters placed a "southern Democrat who believes in white supremacy" just above President Truman, by seven points.

WalterWhite

PEOPLE'S PLATFORM

THE EFFECT of southern pressures and the distortion of the truth which those pressures create was never more tragically audible than on a recent coast-to-coast broadcast of CBS's "People's Platform." The speakers were Governor James E. Folsom of Alabama and Ralph McGill, Editor of the Atlanta CONSTITUTION. The subject was President Truman's message to Congress urging immediate passage of civil rights legislation.

Although Governor Folsom was supported by labor and some other liberal groups as a liberal the manner and language of his recent nomination of himself as Democratic candidate for President has created in the minds of a good many people the belief that he aspires to be another Huey Long. But much more was expected of Ralph McGill who has been widely publicized as a "southern liberal." The performance of both men was sickening and infuriating to a lot of listeners, which included F. E. DeFrantz of Indianapolis with whom I listened to the broadcast in his home in that city.

'NEGRO AND NIGRA'

It wasn't so much that McGill and Folsom started out saying "Negro" and then lapsed into "Nigra." But both men indulged in false statements or in highly inaccurate versions of what is causing certain changes in the South and the nation today.

One of the fundamental principles which governs the newspaper business is that a reporter should be accurate in giving the facts. Mr. McGill, Editor of one of the South's leading newspapers, stated that the Southern Regional Council had gone on record in opposition to Federal legislation against lynching, the poll tax, and job discrimination. Thinking that such action might have been taken without being released to the newspapers or that I had overlooked the story, I telegraphed the Southern Regional Council to get the facts. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director of the Council, Promptly wired in reply, "MR. McGILL DID NOT STATE THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL'S POSITION IN HIS RADIO BROADCAST OVER CBS LAST SUNDAY. THE COUNCIL HAS NEVER OPPOSED FEDERAL LEGISLATION IN THE AREA OF CIVIL RIGHTS. AT THE SAME TIME, WE HAVE ALWAYS URGED THE SOUTH TO ASSUME THE CIVIL RIGHTS OF SOUTH TO ASSUME ITS RESPONSIBILITIES IN GUARANTEEING THE CIVIL RIGHTS OF ITS PEOPLE."

Thus, falsehood No. 1.

Governor Folsom asserted bluntly that the people of the South, and particularly Negroes, were opposed to "Federal legislation" and "northern interference." President Benjamin E. Mays of Morehouse College, Atlanta, wires unequivocally that he and Dr. Ira Reid of Atlanta University do not agree and they are issuing a statement of their position. P. B. Young of the Norfolk JOURNAL AND GUIDE who is also a member of the BOARD OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL WIRED "RALPH McGILL DOES NOT SPEAK FOR ME AS MEMBER OF SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL," **ONLY PART OF THE STORY**

primary, educational discrimination, and job inequality. Who has actually done the job? The

. Both speak-

reason and the ONLY reason the white primary

ously that the has been wiped out is because the NAACP has

tax, the white carried to the United States Supreme Court

I am beginning to wonder what Negroes, if any,

ers asserted repeatedly and vigorously

South itself is wiping out the poll tax, t

Governor Folsom consulted and by what authori-

and won three smashing victories against the white primary. In addition, it won the case in South Carolina in which Judge J. Waties Waring vigorously outlawed the white primary and his decision was unanimously upheld in a brilliant decision written by Judge John J. Parker of the Circuit Court of Appeals.

Similarly, lynching has diminished and the poll tax is on the run wholly and solely because of the campaign for Federal legislation against those twin evils. As for the reduction of the still great differential in educational opportunity for Negro and white in the south ranging from kindergarten to the post-graduate schools, all of that has been done through legal battles Waged by the NAACP. Does even Governor Folsom dare assert with a straight face that anything would have been done had not there been the pressure of legal decisions and public opinion?

Lying is bad enough when it is done cleverly or at least slightly masked by the semblance of reason or truth. But the attempt, including a gratuitous smear of President Truman by both speakers in alleging that his current concern for civil liberties is motivated wholly by political ambitions, does not even have the merit of plausibility.

He Dared Speak Truth

We know the columnists and sayants will point out to us that President Truman's message to Congress, asking passage of federal laws to prevent lynching and discrimination against citizens on account of race, creed or color, is political bait But, so far as we are concerned, he is still the highest executive in America, stripping out fictions and complacencies to their naked hides, and telling not only Congress, but the whole of America and the world, that we need laws to correct evils to minorities.

It is a great message, and it is a courageous stand. If one were concerned in arguing the extent to which politics may have prompted the statement, one would have to weigh the adverse political effect that the statement and position that the President takes may have in the South.

But in our opinion the whole question of political significance is entirely beside the point. The fact is, one of the most conspicuous personalities in our present day life has spoken, where all will hear, words which move this question of discrimination and abuse against minorities into the middle of the arena and the center of American activities and thinking.

The Democratic South will be embarrassed to have their Democratic President virtually charging and exposing their discriminations from a platform as conspicuous as the White House.

Incidentally, whether he had a slant toward politics or not, anyone can recognize that the President's open, clear-cut, unequivocal stand challenges the Republicans on the question of fairness to minorities. The President is through with temporizing, through with expediency, through with gradualism, through with worrying himself to death trying to make some show of right, at the same time that he avoids offending the proponents of discrimination and injustice to minorities. The President is a free man for having taken his stand, and by having abandoned all pretense at subterfuge or at trying to placate.

It is almost certain that Congress will not pass all of the things the President asks, and probably will pass only a few from a numerical standpoint. But this statement will make it a lot easier for Congress to pass legislation as a beginning toward eliminating these discriminations than it would have been if the President had not spoken.

His statement is not going to make the Southerners who believe in white supremacy change over night. But it is going to make it easier for a lot more liberals to speak up and to take positive stands without being proscribed for it.

Indeed, it puts the Southerner further on the defensive in his attempt to hold to segregation and discrimination. We pointed out during the war that the scales had turned, and that the Southern proponents of state-endorsed discriminations were on the defensive and would never get off the defensive again.

The President's statement is far more significant than any impact it may have upon his political opponents, or even upon the thinking and action of the current Congress.

It means that the Chief Executive of the nation boldly left the side of the Southerners in their tradition, placing himself squarely in opposition to them. With so many liberals springing up in the South, and the Chief Executive and the government's influence massed against the traditions of the South, it leaves the embittered and embattled Southerner almost backed up against the wall in his attempt to defend segregation and discrimination.

We predict that Truman's rating in the Gallup poll will leap tremendously as a result of this message to Congress. Not because of what Negroes will do, but because the great majority of American citizens know that what he said is true, they know that it should have been said, and they will respect him and have confidence in him for his having dared to speak the truth.

White Supremacy Bloc Tries New Strategy Methods

By JAMES EDMUND BOYACK
(Special to The Pittsburgh Courier)

WASHINGTON—As Southern white supremacy champions planned new rebellion strategy against President Truman's civil rights demands, over the week-end the revolt threatened the Administration's entire legislative program.

1. Georgia State Treasurer George B. Hamilton resigned as finance director of the Democratic National Committee in protest against the President's insistence on spreading the blessings of democracy to all Americans regardless of race, color, creed, or national origin. Hamilton said, "it would effectuate untold damage to equitable solutions to racial problems."

2. Veteran Senator Tom Connolly of Texas announced that "it would be a lynching of the Constitution."

3. The Southern Governors Conference was summoned into session in Washington, March 13, to hear a report from their special committee, which last Monday unsuccessfully demanded that Democratic National Chairman McGrath get the President to withdraw his anti-discrimination legislative program.

4. McGrath scheduled a meeting March 12 with the new executive committee of the Democratic National Committee, at which plans will be laid to placate the Dixie revolt. The writer learned that "practical politics" in a Presidential year will be at the top of the agenda.

5. The Virginia General Assembly prepared to act on Governor Tuck's proposal that the Old Dominion strike President Truman's name from the Virginia ballot.

6. Mississippi democratic demagogues called a meeting Monday to establish headquarters for the "true Jeffersonian" movement, which is in fact the "white supremacy" movement.

WOULD BAR TRUMAN

Five Southern States already have laws which would legally permit the removal of Truman's name from the ballot in November. This is a scheme to throw the election into the House of Representatives. However, some of the most astute parliamentarians here flatly state that this maneuver is unworkable in the present situation, and will result in disaster for the South.

The Constitution provides that the House shall elect the President by majority vote if no candidate succeeds in obtaining a majority of the Electoral College vote.

The present breakdown in the House is: Republicans 245 seats, twenty-seven more than a majority.

Two key measures of the President's legislative program are up for Congressioal action this week. The House Judiciary Committee will send the anti-lynching law to the floor for action. In spite of an expected Dixie onslaught against it, this law will pass and be sent over to the Senate.

The Senate Rules Committee will approve the anti-poll-tax bill which also will pass to the Senate floor. This legislation already has passed the House.

PLAN CLOTURE

Republican Senate leaders were in conference over the week-end planning strategy to invoke the "cloture" rule, which automatically would limit debate, and choke off the expected filibuster by Dixie rebels.

CIO Steel Union Backs Truman Rights' Plan

By HOWARD B. WOODS
(Staff Correspondent)

KANSAS CITY, Mo.—A strongly worded resolution supporting President Truman's Civil Rights proposal was passed unanimously here by the delegates to District 34, United Steelworkers, CIO convention here last Friday and Saturday.

Declaring that whereas the Chief Executive's report recommends "the adoption of a Fair Employment Practices Act, an anti-lynching law, a law abolishing the poll tax and other laws mak-ing [illegible]

An East St. Louis Negro, John Brooks, was elected permanent secretary of the convention.

James Carey assisted in the formation of the Presidential Committee's Civil Rights report: that it 'points out that despite the protection afforded by the Constitution, minority groups are being denied the rights and privilege to which they are entitled as American citizens.' Attention is also called in the resolution to the implementation of the report by "members of our union carrying out in act as well as in spirit."

Cite Minority Suffering

The resolution pointed out that delegates CIO president Philip Murray and

The Right To Citizenship

(From Report of the President's Commission on Civil Rights)

Daily World 6-15-48

Since it is the purpose of government in a democracy to regulate the activity of each man in the interest of all men, it follows that every mature and responsible person must be able to enjoy full citizenship and have an equal voice in his government. Because the right to participate in the political process is customarily limited to citizens there can be no denial of access to citizenship based upon race, color, creed or national origin. Denial of citizenship for these reasons cheapens the personality of those who are confined to this inferior status and endangers the whole concept of a democratic society.

To deny qualified citizens the right to vote while others exercise it is to do violence to the principle of freedom and equality. Without the right to vote, the individual loses his voice in the group effort and is subjected to rule by a body from which he is excluded. Likewise, the right of the individual to vote is important to the group itself. Democracy assumes that the majority is more likely as a general rule to make decisions which are wise and desirable from the point of view of the interest of the whole society than is any minority. Every time a qualified person is denied a voice in public affairs, one of the component of a potential potential majority is lost, and the formation of a sound policy is endangered.

To the citizen in democracy, freedom is a precious possession. Accordingly, all able-bodied people must enjoy the right to serve the nation and the cause of freedom in time of war. Any attempt to curb the right to its defense can only lead the citizen to question the worth of the society in which he lives. A sense of frustration is created which is wholly alien to the normal emotions of a free man. In particular, any discrimination which, while imposing an obligation, prevents members of minority groups from rendering full military service in defense of their country is for them a peculiarly humiliating badge of inferiority. The Nation also suffers a loss of manpower and is unable to marshal maximum strength at a moment when such strength is most needed.

Committee On Rights Honored

By Associated Negro Press

WASHINGTON, D. C. — The President's Committee on Civil rights was the recipient of a citation and an award given by the American Political Science association during its evening session in Hotel Statler here last week.

The award, presented by Louis Brownlow, president of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Memorial Foundation, was received by Robert J. Carr, executive secretary of the committee.

In making the citation, Dr. Charles E. Merriam, professor emeritus of the University of Chicago, praised the civil rights report "for its appreciation of the American heritage, its painting of lights and shadows, and strengthening of democracy."

Not Necessarily Right

The Constitution

Editor Constitution: When Collier's "reiterates" your convictions on civil rights for Negroes it does not necessarily make you correct in your viewpoint. Viewpoints to the contrary could obtain as many publications with records of "liberality" as you can with articles quite different from Collier's. For, if it took the South 80 years to come thus far in "its own way," it may take 80 years more to give everyone all his constitutional rights. Atlanta, Ga.

So, when you use Collier's for your criterion you neglect a source higher than you, or any other publication, the teachings of Jesus. Sat. 4-24-48

CALVIN L. CALHOUN.

Atlanta.

Let's Keep Cool

The Constitution

Editor Constitution: I want to commend you and The Atlanta Constitution for your column of April 14 titled "Revolt and Realities." You have not yielded to the dangerous and politically popular subterfuge of blaming all our racial troubles on the Northern press and other "do-gooders." Atlanta, Ga. Mon 4-26-48

We in the South have been facing this and other related problems since the days of Reconstruction, and even our vilifiers will admit great strides have been taken in the direction of a better standard of living and education for the colored people during the past 10 years. The remaining problems must be solved by clear-thinking leaders of the South, both white and colored. It may be a slow and long-drawn-out process, but in the end we will have a solution acceptable to both factions. Equal rights by Federation legislation is not the answer.

Let us hope you will continue to advocate coolness and clear thinking in dealing with these and other problems. The eyes of the country are focused on the South for political and economic reasons. This is our opportunity to demonstrate we have the capacity for national leadership.

THOMAS BOECKMAN.

Atlanta. Atlanta Ga. Mon. 4-26-48

What Civil Rights Means

To the Editor of The News:

I was taught that democracy was an equal voice in government of all citizens. Democracy in America to some people means that only certain races, creeds and religions are entitled to a voice in our great government. Negroes and Jews are widely discriminated against and their rights violated. Let us not delude ourselves, this is not democracy.

Richmond, Va. News

The first sentence in the second paragraph of the Declaration of Independence quotes thus: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, and among those are life, liberty and pursuit of happiness." The statement all men are created equal does not mean that they are all alike. What it does mean is that they should be equal before the law, that everyone should have full opportunity to develop their powers, and that no one should be allowed to advance himself at the expense of someone else.

Giving the Negro his civic rights means giving him the rights all human beings deserve as members of the human family —the right to justice in the courts, the right to a fair share in the distribution of tax money for purposes of education, health and public improvements. It would give the right to earn a living, to be paid according to his profession and skill and not his color.

Wed-6-3-48

If American democracy is to survive, everyone will have to play a part of the builder. He will have to recall more often to himself the old proverb of doing unto our fellow man as we want them to do unto us.

LONNIE STERLING.

60 Broadway, Marvel, Ala.

'It Shall Not Pass' Is Cry Against 'Rights' Program

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga. Fri. 4-9-48

WASHINGTON, April 8—(AP)—"It shall not pass," was the cry raised Thursday by Rep. Colmer, Democrat, Mississippi, against President Truman's civil-rights legislation.

He told the House that Southern Democrats:

"Expect to do everything humanly, parliamentarily and politically within our power to see that this program does not become the law of the land." Tue.

Colmer is Chairman of a Committee of Southern House members formed to oppose the President's program, which includes antipoll tax, antilynch, antisegregation and fair employment practices legislation. 4-9-48

He said Southern Democrats "would prefer to see the Party go down in ignominous defeat than to surrender the high principles of States' rights of free men, freedom of private enterprise and individual initiative which have not only made the Party a great party, but have made the Nation a great nation."

A Southerner's Advice

The Nation

Dear Sirs: I address myself to the people of the South: Believing in the Christian ideals of the brotherhood of man and also having faith in our democratic processes, I believe immediate changes are necessary in the United States today if we hope to develop our spirit as a free nation.

Strides have been made in granting more privileges and opportunities to the minority group in Southern states, but these are undone by the continuance of inequalities and injustices detrimental to the moral fiber of the nation. There are those in high office who would continue to blast any proposals giving opportunities for equal and better working conditions and the simple upholding of rights and privileges granted by our Constitution. (We should be ashamed of what they and others are doing to impede real progress. New York, N.Y.

We believe that all men are created equal and have the equal right to justice under law and that there should be freedom of thought, expression, and worship. These and the right to a better way of life and equal rights we believe

action desirable and feasible at this time. all "true Southerners" must take a stand
only after the Committee on Civil against the passage of any laws granting
ights had made an extensive study and these rights. Others say that the pro-
port of the situation, did the program posals are ridiculous. There are also
nerge. In part it asks federal legisla- individuals and organized groups ac-
on against lynching, the establishment tively protesting against any change for
a permanent FEPC, the strengthening the South, contending that the South
existing civil-rights statutes and more should remain as it is.
equate protection for the right to You can change this unpleasant pic-
te. Are these radical departures from ture in several ways. United effort in
tablished ideals of democracy? One urging Southern leaders to discontinue
ed only examine the Constitution. action against the South's minority is
And yet Southern leaders cry out that vitally needed. An effort can be made at

the polls to elect people who on local, state, and national levels of government will be leaders in democracy. Support organizations and individuals which are seeking to correct the present undesirable situation. Voice your support of the civil-rights program.

I believe that you realize the necessity of America discarding its hypocritical practices as quickly as possible and embarking on wiser and more expedient courses of action. 5-8-48

C. BAXTER TWIDDY

Elon College, N. C., April 24

What Of The South And The Democratic Party?

Montgomery, Ala
Southern Farmer

By AUBREY WILLIAMS

The present threat of certain political leaders in the South to bolt the Democratic Party is not of recent origin, as those who have created this disturbance over President Truman's Civil Rights proposals would have us believe, but is of long standing. April-48

It represents a conflict that dates back to the beginning of the Roosevelt Administration and runs all through that great Democrat's regime. It grows out of a fundamental disagreement over what sort of an America those on each side want to live in.

The reactionary wing of the Democratic Party, led by such men as Senator Byrd of Virginia, Senator Bailey of North Carolina, Senator George of Georgia and Vice-President John Garner, really turned on Roosevelt during the early days of his first term. They never were a match for him. 4-48

The Southern people being overwhelmingly for Roosevelt and his programs forced these men frequently to accept what they did not believe was for the best interest of the South and the Nation.

They Fooled No One

But they fooled no one in Washington—not that they tried to, for they were, and are still, honest men. They simply did not, and do not today, believe in the kind of life that Roosevelt and the Democratic Party were trying to create for the American people.

They opposed the Wagner Act; their answer was the open shop. They opposed the TVA, and later the REA; their answer was the private utilities. They had small liking for farm subsidies; their answer was the open market price for farm products. Yet these same men have consistently joined with their Republican brethren in supporting high tariff schedules, which have skinned the farmer for a hundred years. They were against Farm Security, and the Tenant Purchase Plan; their answer was that there were too many small farmers already.

In short, they have all along been bitterly opposed to the program which Roosevelt succeeded in getting the Democratic Party to enact, and now that he is dead they are having their say.

Civil Rights Not Real Issue

The Civil Rights proposals were simply a convenient stick that Truman put in their hands.

But here we must make a distinction. The disturbance they have stirred up has caused others that have never gone along with them on anything else to join with them in opposing the Civil Rights proposals. This is **not** the reason many were, and are, opposed to Truman. Truman's truckling to the Military and Wall Street has caused many to feel that these were the real makers of policy in Washington and that they were leading us straight into depression and then war. Governor Folsom has been crying to high heaven for months against the rule of Wall Street and the Military and Monopolists. This did not worry those that started the hue and cry against the Civil Rights program.

Others are now deserting Truman because they want to get off of a sinking ship.

Produced Liberal Leaders

For fifteen years the Democratic Party has been the liberal and progressive party in this country. In spite of a core of reactionary diehards, the South and Southern political leaders such as Lister Hill, Alben Barkley and Claude Pepper have played a powerful part in the job it has done during those years to make this a better country for everybody. It should continue to be the liberal and progressive party.

We need to open the electorate to more people. We need to abolish the poll tax. We need to give all the people a chance to vote for the things they need and want.

We need a civil rights program. Of course, the most bitter opposition to the Civil Rights proposal is directed at the F.E.P.C. I, for one, would not want to have the job of enforcing an F.E.P.C. in the South today. It's clear that with every Southern governor, every daily newspaper, and every member of Congress from the South against the F.E.P.C. there's little hope of passing it. Southern Farmer

But I would like to point out that during the war, the South accepted a form of F.E.P.C., and there were few complaints. When it was pointed out that one shipyard with all white workers could not get enough men to build ships—while another with white and Negro workers could get plenty of workers — the former was willing to change.

White people and Negro people in many places in the South are working in the same occupations without trouble. In Montgomery, Ala., for example, you see post office clerks and postmen of both races. There's a shoe factory on Court Street where white and Negro shoe repairmen do exactly the same kind of work. There are two labor unions in Montgomery which are in the A. F. of L. building construction trades which have Negro presidents—and white and Negro members in the same union. Montgomery, Ala.

You hear a lot of talk about intermarriage and mixing the races. The fact is the practice is not only frowned upon by whites—it is frowned upon by the Negro community with even greater bitterness and resentment.

Should Not Bolt Party

No possible good can come to anybody by bolting the Democratic Party. But the voters of the South want the Democratic Party to fight for a program that serves the common people. Folsom proved that. Ellis Arnall proved it four years ago. 4-48

One thing is sure. They do not want another war—they want peace. They do not want Universal Military Service; furthermore, if there is to be a draft, they want industry drafted as is provided in the bill introduced by Senator Hill. If their youth are to be sacrificed and the world destroyed they don't want anybody making a profit out of it.

We have in these United States the greatest Nation ever yet developed in man's long struggle to be free and still have something to eat. What we in the South need to do is to join it in all of its ways. We need to stop holding back. But to do this we will have to replace some of the reactionary political leaders of the South with people that want to bring to the South our rightful share of the power and plenty and democracy this Nation has created.

Texas Governor Supports Civil Rights In Race

Atlanta Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.

AUSTIN, Tex.—(A N P)—Texans were surprised last week when press releases anonunced that Gov. Beauford Jester, up for reelection, supported civil rights in his platform. He is the first southern governor to favor any civil rights proposals since President Truman's address to congress in February.

The governor's support of civil rights, however, was not all-out; it contained several if's. His platform calls an anti-lynching law although one is not necessary "in view of the absence of lynching in Texas"; an anti-poll tax law" if such move is favored by the people of Texas" and if another source of revenue can be found to support the school fund.

He favors the above if the federal government does not interfere. Development of the new Texas state university and Prairie View college up to the standards of the white state universities is also advocated by the governor. He also said he favored full protection of Negroes from bodily harm, giving Negroes their legal rights and raising the health and education of colored to the equivalent of that provided other races in Texas.

Negroes are skeptical about the governor's platform, but laud him for at least making such a list of proposals in Texas.

Truman Again Stands Pat on Civil Rights

WASHINGTON, March 25 — (INS) — President Truman optimistically and confidently predicted today that the Democrats will win in November.

The presidential prediction, in effect was that he will be renominated and reelected.

Mr. Truman told a news conference he was leaving the door open for the revolting southern democrats to come back into the fold. Kansas City Mo.

Any comment on the rising revolt in southern democratic ranks?" The President was asked. He said:

"It doesn't disturb me a bit—I'm going to give them a chance to walk back."

Mr. Truman reiterated that he was going through with his civil rights recommendations.

Race And Culture

To the Editor of The News:

I should like to comment on the article, "The Negro's Friend," which appeared in your paper April 5. It is true that God created all races, but there is no true evidence that one race is superior to another. There are strong potentialities within all races, and race cannot be an explanation for one's culture, for three reasons, namely: *The News*

1. From a contemporary point of view, there are all types of people existing in all races. Just as there are hillbilly whites, poor white trash and whites that are prosperous, the same types can be found in the Negro race and all other races. *Birmingham, Ala.*

2. Historically, we find that the culture of the Negro today is much different from that of 1619, because he has developed some of the potentialities endowed in him by our Creator. We find the same progress has been made by other races. The inventions of the Negro have played an important part in American democracy, and have been just as important to members of all races as the inventions of other races have been to him.

3. Legal authority has proved that no race is superior to another in mental capacity. *Fri.*

Thus one should think that one's culture is determined by geographical location, biological needs and one's ingenuity. *4-9-48*

Bessemer, Ala. STERLING WALLACE.

* * *

Segregation Desirable *4-9-48*

To the Editor of The News: *The News*

Had it not been for the war between the North and the South, there would not have been all this talk and letter-writing about segregation of the two races. The Northern haters of the conquered South were responsible for all this unnecessary agitation. Equality was almost forced upon the defeated and helpless Southern people.

There has never been equality among the two races and will never be. But the two races have always been segregated and it must ever be so, for God Almighty willed that it should be. Let our thoughts turn to the antiquity of man. We may not know when man first appeared upon the earth, but from the Genesis account of the creation of man we can learn enough of prehistoric times to satisfy us that the white race was superior to all other races. *Birmingham, Ala.*

Now it is up to the white people of America to do something for the Negro race that God Himself did not choose to do when He formed man and woman in the beginning. And the white American people are doing that very thing. Much has been done for the colored people and much more will be done.

Let us forget such a thing as equality socially, for this kind of talk only disturbs the mind and arouses public feeling.

From the letters I have read in the "Voice of the People," some seem to believe that segregation is both unconstitutional and unscriptural. Such belief is worse than the worst of nonsense. *The News 4-9-48*

Be patient, colored folks, and tolerant. Give the white man more time to make a better world for all to live in. *Birmingham, Ala.*

Birmingham. ALBERT S. FULGHUM.

* * *

Culture By Law

To the Editor of The News: *The News*

The high socio-cultural status that man enjoys today is the result of thousands of years of time and effort. It is not to be implied, however, that all peoples have made the same progress. In some remote sections of the world we still find people as primitive as our forefathers were thousands of years ago.

Some 300 years ago early settlers of this country imported a number of these primitive people to be used as slaves. By 1850 their number had increased to 500,000, which created a serious national problem. *Fri.*

The question of slavery was solved by four years of bloody war, but the race problem is still with us. Only 300 years removed from his native jungle, the Negro is led to believe by ambitious politicians that he has achieved a cultural status second to none. *4-9-48*

Fortunately, we have a leader with us today who proposes a simple solution to this problem. Without benefit of federal aid for better schools and homes, an all-important factor in the cultural development of mankind, he would simply have a law passed that within itself gives all people the same socio-cultural status. Since the solution is so simple, why not let it include the primitive peoples the world around? Why not legislate the same culture for the Negroes' African ancestors?

Fairfield Highlands. SAM BALLARD.

The South and Politics

Editor Constitution: First I would like to say something about my self and why I take an interest in what happens in the State of Georgia.

I was born in Atlanta on Whitehall Street and lived there until 20 years ago. Each year I return to see my friends and to make sure that our property holdings are still intact.

In my humble way I have tried to convince different men, both political and business acquaintances here, that all men should take an active interest and part in politics. I have tried to convince them also that the only true way of selecting the delegates to the National Convention is an open primary fight in which the people have an opportunity to select their true representative and to nominate the candiates of their respective parties. *4-12-48 Fri.*

The chief reasons for the Credential Committee of the Republican National Convention to frown upon the delegates from Georgia, as they have done in the past, are two-fold. First, they are not true representatives of the people and, secondly, they are usually men who can be easily persuaded to follow the line of least resistance. I have even heard men say that our delegates from Georgia could be purchased for a price. *The Constitution*

I noticed in the newspaper yesterday that the Roy Foster Republican Committee had scheduled county meetings to select delegates to a State convention. However, this Committee found itself blocked by a temporary court order. As I have said before, no group of men should have the power to name delegates to a State or National convention. *Atlanta, Ga.*

Another thing that I believe would create a "healthful" political condition would be for your paper to advocate the abolishment of the electoral vote and the electors in favor of the election of our Presidents by popular vote throughout the nation. It would prevent a few unscrupulous politicians from ruling their respective States but, more important, it would be a true expression of the people's desires.

While visiting in Florida recently I found that a number of men, who may be elected delegates are going to attempt to make the following a part of the Republican platform: The President, twice a year, shall summon the Governors from all States, regardless of party affiliations, to meet with the President and discuss the affairs of their respective States. Also as a part of the platform: The abolition of all Federal laws that infringe on States' rights.

It seems a shame that prior to each presidential election some candidate or group brings up the same old political cry: "Poll tax, lynching laws, etc." and other issues to arouse the minority groups. From what I have observed in the last few years, the Negro in Georgia is getting a better break than the Negro in the North. His educational, housing and health facilities are better. Federal laws are not the solution. It all rests with the State. *4-14-48*

Los Angeles, Calif. EDWIN O'MILES RAY.

Purely Political

The Constitution

Editor Constitution: In The Constitution recently you had an editorial titled "Civil Rights in Minnesota?" You say in substance that the mob violence used by the CIO Meat Packers and their kidnaping of some 25 or 30 workmen was a violation of the "civil rights" of these workers. You compare this crime to lynching. *Atlanta, Ga.*

Anyone who thinks that Truman's so-called "civil rights" measures were ever designed to protect the "civil rights" of any person is either a deluded or ignorant fool. There are now pending in the United States Congress 11 or 12 of these so-called "civil rights" proposals. For your information and for the information of your readers, I wish to quote a provision of Senate Bill 1465 introduced by Sen. Knowland, which bill is entitled "A Bill for the Better Assurance of the Protection of Persons Within the Several States from Mob Violence and Lynching, and for Other Purposes." Section 2 of this bill defines a mob as being three or more persons who exercise or attempt to exercise physical violence without authority of law to impose any correction or punishment over any citizen and any such violence which causes the death or serious bodily injury of the victim is defined as a lynching. This bill also has the following provision, "Provided, however, that 'lynching" shall not be deemed to include violence occurring between members of groups of lawbreakers such as are commonly designated as gangsters and racketeers, nor violence occurring during the course of picketing or boycotting incidental to any 'labor dispute' as that term is defined and used in the Act of March 23, 1932 (47 Stat. 70)."

Any 12-year-old child can read this bill and understand that it is not the purpose of the bill to protect anyone's "civil rights." The purpose of this bill and all the other so-called "civil rights" bills is to create racial strife and discord in the South. Its sponsors are the same people who continually repeat the slander that the South is a place where everybody has either hookworms or pellagra, or both, and the South is slurringly referred to as the Bible Belt. *Mon.*

Atlanta, *5-24-48* ALEX McLENNAN.

Ashamed of South

The Constitution

Editor Constitution: We the people of the United States have been asked to do justice to all citizens by giving constitutional rights to all alike. Our answer has shown clearly where we stand. Our Southern Governors are showing extreme displeasure when they themselves have sworn to uphold the law and defend the Constitution of the United States. *Atlanta, Ga.*

No one has asked the people of the South for any undue consideration. We have been asked to do justice, which is our duty. There will be peace in the world when justice is done and, without justice, we shall have dissatisfaction, bitterness and strife.

We as a people cannot hope to lead the world to peace and establish democracy in Europe when our Governors go on record as opposing the minimum rights and opportunity for all our people. Who will trust us? We shall also be weak because we shall be divided among ourselves. *Wed. 4-14-48*

I am ashamed of the stand we of the South have taken, and I am sure the best people in the South are also ashamed. *Atlanta, Ga. The Constitution*

REUBEN A. MUNDAY,

Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

What the Negro Wants

Louisville, Ky.

A writer to The Point of View says that now is the time to stop the Negro before he invades the white high and grade schools, etc. Evidently, the writer has never known the real and true Negro. For his information, I wish to say the Negro doesn't want to mix socially with the white race. He is perfectly satisfied to be with his own people, but the desire of every person of whatever color is a fair decent way of living. We only want equality in schools, colleges, parks, etc. If there were schools which carried the same courses for Negroes as the white schools carry, I venture to say that no Negro would try to gain admittance into white schools and colleges. *The Courier-Journal*

It's really pitiful that the writer of that letter has such weird conceptions of the Negro. Would the Negro be more contagious, ferocious and dishonest in the school than he has been in the home where he has been trusted for many years to cook, clean the house and act as nursemaid for the white family? We must bear in mind that God made everything, and, according to Genesis, everything He made was good, including the very darkest person. If some of us would spend more time with our Bibles, we would have less time for hatred and malice toward our fellow man. *5-28-48* BERNARD C. FRENCH.

Louisville. *Fri.*

Civil Rights Called Worse For South Than Threat Of '60s

The Times-Age-Herald Birmingham, Ala. 6-6-48

EDGEWATER PARK, Miss., June 5—(AP)—The son of a Confederate veteran says the civil rights program poses problems today greater than those that confronted the South in 1860.

George W. Howell of Aberdeen addressed the 103rd annual session of the Mississippi Division of the Sons of Confederate Veterans here Friday.

He said, "Our stand on this issue is not from hate or prejudice, but out of love for our American type of government."

Howell added, "We see in the civil rights program a further attempt not only to impose extensive federal control, but to completely obliterate our equilibrium of government."

The Sons re-elected Sam A. West, Sr., of Amory, as commander and named Jeff J. Moreno, of Biloxi, as vice commander. *6-6-48*

Doesn't Think South Had Cause To Revolt

The News Birmingham, Ala.

IN TRUMAN'S VIEW of that now celebrated episode, he feels that he only emphasized once again a principle of the Democratic Party expounded by Roosevelt; that the words he chose were little different in meaning from those of Lincoln. He feels that they were exaggerated and distorted by those who would like to get him out of the White House. He did not threaten to call out the troops to enforce those principles throughout the South. In his opinion he merely called attention to laws now on the books and to Supreme Court decisions concerning them. Sun. 5-6-48

Southern leaders and editorial writers were critical to the point of revolt. They said they had been living with the problem for more than three-quarters of a century; that they knew more about it and intended ultimately to settle it fairly in their own way.

Truman agrees with all that. They can settle it in their own way without his interference while at the same time keeping in mind the laws and decisions on the books, and he thinks that if Southerners took the trouble to study his message to Congress—the statement that started it all—they'd conclude that they haven't much to revolt about anyway.

American Dilemma Cited By Tulane Professor

Daily World Atlanta, Ga.

NEW ORLEANS—(ANP)— Just which way the United States will go on the controversial civil rights issue is a dilema facing the nation today, according to Dr. Gerald Capers, professor of history at Newcomb college, Tulane University. In a recent article entitled, "The Liberal Southerner's Point of View," appearing in the New Leader, a weekly publication devoted to social democracy, the professor pointed out that the nation faces two courses of action— either to give in to southern resistance to the bill or back northern views against 'states' rights and white supremacy."

Sun. 5-23-48

If the bill is passed, Dr. Capers thinks that race relations in the south, due to determined resistance by white citizens, would seriously suffer. On the other hand, he pointed out that nothern liberals regard states' rights and white supremacy as "shibboleths kept alive by southern demogogic politicians."

5-23-48

"It is not so much a desire for social justice as the international situation that has brought the issue to the forefront at the moment. We have in the south an unadulterated caste system by which the rights of millions of citizens are openly denied," he asserted.

Daily World Atlanta, Ga.

EXPOSE SEEN

'The situation is merely the most aggravated instance of American denial of democracy. It exposes us to the charge of hypocrisy when we prate of the four 'freedoms; it defeats our world propaganda campaign against totalitarian Soviet Russia to the same extent that it enchances the rs against us; and it exposes us to the serious danger that our 13 million Negroes may become converts to communism."

Sun. 5-23-48

He stated that nor hern liberals are not sold on the idea that progress of the southern Negro is possible only as it becomes acceptable to southern whites. "Civil rights are not a mere matter of strategic consideration in propaganda warfare, but of the spiritual revitalization of democracy.

Mississippi Will Not Tolerate Abolition Of Segregation—Wright

The News Birmingham, Ala. Herald

Describes Anti-Lynch Bill 'Most Dangerous' Of Truman Civil Rights

Sun. 5-9-48

JACKSON, Miss., May 8—(AP)—Gov. Fielding L. Wright declared Saturday Mississippi would never tolerate abolition of racial segregation "despite any law passed by Congress."

The governor also termed the anti-lynch bill "the most dangerous" of President Truman's civil rights proposals.

Wright made public Saturday the text of a state-wide radio address to be delivered Sunday, for the announced purpose of obtaining maximum newspaper and radio dissemination. His address was directed to the Negro population of Mississippi on the eve of states' rights Democratic convention here Monday in revolt against President Truman's civil rights program.

Sun.

"The wise of both races recognize the absolute necessity of segregation," Wright said. "As an intelligent Negro, you should be proud of your race just as the white man is proud of his. It should be your wish and desire to protect the integrity of your race. 5-9-48

"If you would only stop to examine conditions impartially, without prejudice, you will realize that in Mississippi, where segregation is practiced by consent of both races, we live together in more harmony and actually live as better neighbors with one another, than in those states which cry out so loudly about our customs.

* * *

"MOVE TO SOME OF the Northern states and see it first hand—the lack of neighborliness, the lack of friendliness, the lack of kindness and consideration.

"With all this in mind, and with all frankness, as governor of your state, I must tell you that regardless of any recommendation of President Truman, despite any law passed by Congress, and no matter what is said to you by the many associations claiming to represent you, there will continue to be segregation between the races in Mississippi. The News

"If any of you have become so deluded as to want to enter our white schools, patronize our hotels and cafes, enjoy social equality with the whites, then the kindness and true sympathy requires me to advise you to make your home in some state other than Mississippi."

The anti-lynching bill, he said, is 'one of the most unnecessary, most dangerous and entirely inexcusable items" in the president's civil rights program. Birmingham, Ala.

"Every student of crime in America," he contained, "knows that lynching is the one crime in this country which for years has been growing less and less and is now almost on the point of disappearing." 5-9-48

He said there was only one lynching in the U. S. last year and that "was one too many." Sun.

"This record has been made no by the federal government, but by the intelligent leadership in the South and by the promotion of harmonious relations between the races," Wright said.

CIVIL RIGHTS BILLS HAVE SLIM CHANCE

The Times

Congress Republicans to Press Anti-Lynching Measure but Face a Filibuster

New York, N. Y.

By WILLIAM S. WHITE

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, May 8—Republicans of the Senate, the critical arena, were unable this week, as they had been last week, to advance their first choice in the so-called civil rights program, the anti-lynching bill. Sun.

For a month, while the phalanx of Southern opposition has been watching silently and alertly from afar, the Republicans' ablest lawyers in the Senate Judiciary Committee have been studiously testing and retesting their anti-lynching measure. They have had these objectives in mind: 5-9-48

(1) To draw a plan so nearly "Constitution-proof" as to bring in some members who, while not at all associated with the irreconcilable Southerners, nevertheless have been hanging back in grave doubt as to whether what has been afoot could meet the ultimate test of the Supreme Court.

(2) To strike solely at lynching as it is commonly understood and not to attempt, in this one measure, collateral sanctions against such other matters as race discrimination, as are attempted in a pending House bill.

Reason for Approach

There has been sound reason for this soft-footed approach. The Republican command, represented at the top by Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio, had polled the party membership of the Senate to learn that the anti-lynching bill was preferred above all other civil-rights measures as the ground they would stand on for the test. Sun.

Having regard to the early scheduled adjournment, about June 18, for the party conventions, it has become plain that it is very likely to be action against lynching or no action at all on the civil-rights agenda. 5-9-48

It has become equally plain that the Republicans and Northern Democrats cannot put the bill through the Senate, in the teeth of a certain Southern filibuster of almost unexampled determination, unless they can marshal a two-third vote with which at length to silence the Southerners by cloture. The Times

Slim Margin of Time

Thus affairs stood at the end of the week, when yet more perplexities came on the scene. Senator Taft, as head of the Republican Policy Committee, made it plain that the anti-lynching bill was not anywhere near the top of the "must" program, largely because of the fact that such indispensables as rearmament measures stood in between. New York, N. Y.

It was conceded also, in other quarters, and at the same time, that there was no clear prospect that even the Judiciary Committee could clear the bill in less than two weeks. Sun. 5-9-48

With a determined filibuster in preparation, this would indicate a very slim margin in point of time for the bill. The Republicans, however, will not, if it can possibly be avoided, go to the Philadelphia convention without having written a record of trying by all available means to break through the Southerners. If they fail, they can say it was the Democrats, through Southern members of the party, who withstood their strongest charges.

"SECURE THESE RIGHTS"

Poinier in The Detroit Free Press

To Fight Anti-Poll Tax

Non-partisan delegations from various sections of the country will go to Washington on June 2 to demand immediate enactment of anti-poll tax and anti-lynching legislation, Paul Robeson, chairman of the Council on African Affairs, announced yesterday. Mr. Robeson, a member of the National Wallace-for-President Committee, said the planned Washington demonstration "has no affiliation with the Wallace campaign." 5-10-48

Southerners Who Believe In Christianity And Democracy Should Not Listen To Wall Street Lawyers And The Big Planters

South Should Develop A Positive Program To Replace The Civil Rights Report

By GOULD BEECH,
Editor, The Southern Farmer

Now that the South has made its opposition to the Civil Rights Report clear, there is a need for a positive program to take the place of this report.

Thinking Southerners know it is not enough to be AGAINST something. They are looking for a program they can be FOR.

There is much discussion going on to find a way for the South to take the lead in setting an example for the rest of the nation. Those who know the South know that since our nation was founded, there has been a strong democratic movement in this section.

Opposed Slavery

There were always Southerners who opposed slavery from the beginning—

Thomas Jefferson freed his slaves;

Andy Jackson was against slavery, and secession;

Hinton Helper was the leader of small, white farmers who opposed slavery;

Robert E. Lee freed his own slaves, and almost became the leader of the Union armies;

In every southern state there were strong movements against slavery—led by small white farmers who shouted that the Civil war was "a rich man's war, and a poor man's fight."

After the Civil War, this movement was organized around the Farmers Alliance, and the Knights of Labor. Politically, it became the powerful Peoples Party — whose members were called Populites.

The Populites were led by men like Tom Watson, of Georgia, Ben Tillman, of South Carolina, Walter Hines Page, of North Carolina, and Reuben F. Kolb, of Alabama. **The Peoples' Party elected congressmen in every southern state. In almost every southern state they elected governors — some of whom were cheated out of their offices by the planter-led Democrats.**

After William Jennings Bryan, the Populists disappeared as a political party. The South turned to mouthy demagogues like Tom Heflin of Alabama, Cole Blease of South Caroline, and James K. Vardaman of Mississippi. These men never did anything about the price of cotton, or the real needs of the South for schools.

President Roosevelt became the hero of the South, and the demagogues began to disappear. The South supported the Roosevelt program for human rights and human welfare. Of course, the Talmadges in Georgia, and Bilbo in Mississippi lived on for a time. They were joined by Senator Byrd, of Virginia, Walter George of Georgia, and Senator O'Daniel of Texas.

While refusing to yield to the Republicans and big city Democrats on federal legislation, the South knows it must find a way to make progress along certain lines.

Here Are Its Biggest Needs

1. To find a way to stop lynching and mob violence. In Georgia and South Carolina, there have been some of the worst lynchings in history this year. Other southern states have almost stopped lynchings—without federal interference.

2. To find a way to get rid of the poll tax. Only seven southern states still have a poll tax. In Alabama, Governor Folsom asked the Legislature to let the people vote on whether they wanted to keep the poll tax. The Legislature would not let the people of Alabama vote on the issue. The Black Belt landlords and the Alabama Power Company, the Southern Bell Telephone Company, and the U. S. Steel Corporation do not want the people to vote on this issue.

The poll tax is not a racial issue. That is what the confused intellectuals in Washington, New York and Chicago do not understand. More than 100,000 Negro war veterans could vote in Alabama without paying a poll tax. At the same time hundreds of thousands of white farm women are kept from the polls by the poll tax.

3. To give every man a chance to make a living. All over the South, white men and Negro men are working together on the same job. They ride on train engines together. They work in shipyards together. They work in post offices together. They work at the same filling stations together. The North does not know this. If the South is to avoid having the F.E.P.C. bill passed, it should get to work and speed up what it is already doing to make ability and not color the yardstick for getting a job.

4. To give every child, regardless of race, creed, or color, a good education. The Southern states have made progress in this. North Carolina has a single teachers pay scale. Alabama is about to have the same thing. Negro school buildings are being built all over the South. The South needs federal money under the Federal Aid Bill to speed up the time when a Southern child can get as good an education as the Northern child.

The spirit of Christian good will toward men is strong in the South. The spirit of democracy is stronger in the South than ever before.

Those southerners who believe in democracy and Christianity — and there are millions of them — must grab the ball. They must not let the race-haters, and the Wall Street corporation lawyers continue to lead them.

The real Southerners must now take over the leadership of the Democratic Party in the South.

Lawyer Stresses Evils Of Civil Rights Bill

Birmingham, Ala. The News Tues.

The civil rights bill proposed by President Truman is the same thing as that passed over President Andrew Johnson's veto after the Civil War and later declared unconstitutional by the U. S. Supreme Court.

Borden Burr, Birmingham attorney, made that statement at the luncheon meeting of the Young Men's Business Club at the Redmont Hotel yesterday. Tues.

Mr. Burr said civil rights is not a political subject, but is used by demagogues to stir up hostility between whites and Negroes. He urged reading of two books, "The Tragic Era" and a "Life of Andrew Johnson," by those who would get the true background of the South's plight and the racial issue.

He credited Sen. William E. Borah and other Republican senators as defending the South when bills bearing on so-called civil rights were introduced. 4-20-48

* * *

SEN. BORAH was quoted as saying in defense of the South: "Southern people have met the race problem better than any other people in recorded history."

Describing the committee on civil rights, Mr. Burr said the members were chosen specifically because it was known they would give the report desired.

The Negro minority in nine big cities were cited as the groups who brought about pressure for the civil rights program. Mr. Burr said these goups elected the Democratic national ticket in 1944. "The Negroes voted on Abraham Lincoln till the Democrats got them away during the last national election," Mr. Burr said. The News

Mr. Burr declared that "Uncle Tom's Cabin" w asmild in its accusations against the South compared with the current report by the civil rights committee. "In the report," he said, "the Southerner's pastime is depicted as hanging and beating up Negroes."

The speaker displayed the book containing the report and a letter from the White House. He said the letter, addressed to him, stated with pride that the book was ordered printed and distributed by President Truman. Birmingham, Ala.

"If it were just President Truman advocating the civil rights program, it would not be so bad," Mr. Burr said. "But the chairman of the Democratic Party has praised the president for having the courage to chart his course." Tues 4-20-48

W. D. KENDRICK, Jefferson inty Commission president, and T. Rogers, Morris business spoke briefly in behalf of candidacy for commission president.

TOM BIRDSONG introduced the speakers. 4-20-48

Both confined themselves to brief autobiographical sketches and asked for support in the coming election. The three other candidates in the race for commission president will appear at the club later.

Miles Lee, club president, appointed a committee to study the possibility of assigning a chaplain to the Medical College of Alabama here.

Rebels At Truman And His Proposals

The Commercial Appeal Memphis, Tenn. Tues. 6-20-48

Insult To South, Is View Of Memphian

To The Commercial Appeal:

We are watching a movie reel of events and the climax, which affects us here in the South more than the people in any other section and more than at any time in our history is rapidly approaching.

We have men like Kefauver running for the United States Senate who has to spend half his time explaining his pink record (and it is very pinko) and who would half the time be against the interests of the South.

We have a man like Senator Pepper of Florida who is so closely affiliated with Henry Wallace and his ideology that the difference is hard to distinguish.

We have a President of the United States who almost considers the late President Roosevelt a deity, and who is attempting to continue the curse of the New Deal on the American people—and the fact that he is the product of one of the most corrupt political machines in American politics does not seem to even cause him to blush.

Now he is trying to blame all mistakes on a Congress that is naturally suspicious of everything the New Deal wants or has done for the past 15 years.

How does this affect us here in the South?

This same President is recommending laws that would be an insult to the fifteen Southern States, and force us to accept and admit the negro into our parlors, all to get the votes of Harlem, the South Side in Chicago and like sections in most big Northern cities. A President of .22 caliber I would say.

Yet we are "blitzed" all the time by news articles in newspapers and magazines; by radio commentators; by "cockeyed" Northern authors of Books (such as "Color Blind" by Margaret Halsey, published by Simon & Schuster of N. Y.) to eliminate discrimination; "unity of our Nation", etc, etc. Many of these Northern haters of the South (most of them first or second generation) do not know that for the first eighty years of our history, all the Presidents of our Nation were Southerners, and I think we did alright. The Commercial Appeal

We built the foundation for the greatest nation on earth. Now we have the New Deal (or the remnants thereof), the Communists and their fellow travelers and minorities trying to tear down our wonderful mansion. This influence is creeping into our educational system, our churches, our social life. It is obvious that these elements despise our Anglo-Saxon civilization and if they can will destroy it, even if it involves dividing and splitting our Nation, which it surely is doing. Memphis, Tenn.

Fortunately we have men here in the South who are aware of the situation and I agree with them that it is better to destroy the present Democratic Party (as at present constituted) and get it out of the hands of the Northern New Dealers. Sun 6-20-48

Why can't we have a good Southern man as candidate? The South has been tagging along long enough, even though it is the backbone of the Party.

So, notwithstanding the Drew Pearsons, Walter Winchells, Eleanor Roosevelts, Thos. Stokes's, Max Lerners, and other Northern commentators and w riters, let us of the South stick together and keep the South the conservative bulwark of the Nation.

Let us continue to help the negro help himself among his own race. He is being educated at our expense now, and the fact that one-third of the negro population of this country now lives north of the Mason and Dixon line is proof that if he is not satisfied he can move to where he thinks there is Heaven to him.

F. K. LASHBROOK,
1824 Young. 6-20-48

RIGHTS BETRAYAL IS LAID TO LANGER

The Times New York, N.Y. Mon. 5-31-48

Common Cause Directors Say Senator Attempts to Confuse Draft With Liberties

Mrs. Natalie Wales Paine, president of Common Cause, Inc., released yesterday a statement accusing Senator William Langer of North Dakota of attempting to defeat selective service legislation by confusing it with the civil rights issue. Her reference was to Senator Langer's announcement that he would offer the entire Truman civil rights program as a rider amendment to the draft legislation.

Mrs. Paine, an advocate of the draft legislation, said that she approved of the civil rights program, too, but that those who seek to obstruct emergency defense measures were betraying the cause of civil liberties generally throughout the world.

Her statement was issued in the name of the directors of Common Cause, the list of which includes A. A. Berle Jr., Sumner Welles, Arthur Bliss Lane, George S. Counts, Eugene Lyons and Christopher Emmet, chairman.

The statement said:

"The directors of Common Cause are deeply concerned over the failure of Congress to deal promptly and courageously with the defense program, despite the menacing international situation.

"Congress has authorized a seventy-group Air Force. But the even greater need of manpower for all branches of our armed services, a need which could only be filled by selective service and universal military training, has not been met—despite the urgent pleas of all our defense leaders and despite the overwhelming support of public opinion, as revealed in all opinion polls. Mon 5-31-48

"We are appalled by the maneuver of Senator Langer, an avowed opponent of selective service, to defeat that measure by confusing it with the civil rights issue.

Strong U. S. Urged

"The members of Common Cause yield to no group in their loyalty to the principles of tolerance, brotherhood and equal rights for every American. Our opposition to racial discrimination is a fundamental part of our program. But when opponents of military service try to confuse the civil rights bill with emergency defense measures they are betraying the cause of civil liberties, not only in America but throughout the world.

"The only hope for freedom and minority rights, at home or abroad, is to make America strong enough to protect itself and other free nations. Under the guise of defending civil rights, Senator Langer is promoting totalitarianism when he confuses that issue with selective service. Let him fight openly for civil rights and, if he must, let him fight openly against selective service, but he cannot be allowed to oppose one under the guise of supporting the other. Times

"The maneuver of attaching an irrelevant amendment to a bill is one of the worst practices of our whole legislative system. It is dishonest whichever way it works. For it either serves to slip through one controversial measure without proper debate by attaching it to another measure which must be passed, or it serves to defeat a measure which has Congressional support by attaching to it another measure which has strong opposition. Neither issue is met and debated on its merits. New York N.Y.

"We cannot escape the conclusion that the reported tendency in Congress to temporize with defense and to tolerate such obstructive tactics is connected with Stalin's peace offensive. Apparently the Kremlin has succeeded in lulling our fears to sleep, at a time when politicians are already turning their attention to the approaching national conventions. Yet the menace of Soviet aggression has not been removed by any temporary setbacks, such as the Republocratic victory in Italy, or by any tactical changes of the party line." 5-31-48

Vote Republican

The Constitution

Editor Constitution: The only way for the Southern States to defeat Mr. Truman's "civil rights program" is to cut out the talk about fighting him in the Democratic convention, organizing new parties, etc., and resolve now to vote Republican in the coming presidential election and broadcast the resolution. Atlanta, Ga.

Eminent Southern Democratic politicians have loudly proclaimed they are going to block Mr. Truman's nomination and fight his program in the Democratic convention, but they do not explain how, in a total vote of 1,176, the 340 Southern votes are going to overcome the 836 against them. It is abvious that in bucking the Truman crowd the Southern delegates would stand no more chance, in the words of Uncle Remus, than a "sick sparrer wid a squinch owl." Sat.

The danger is that if the Southern people rely upon these politicians to help them out of the present crisis, they are liable to be sold out to the Truman crowd just as in 1936 they were sold out on the "two-thirds" rule to the Farley crowd.

By voting Republican, the South would not only defeat the "civic rights program" and end the degradation of the one-party system, but would give itself the greatest boost in its history.

Dixie! Vote Republican!

Atlanta. 5-15-48 A. ALEXANDER.

Not Ashamed

To the Editor of The News: The News Birmingham, Ala.

The News has given the Voice of the People a square deal in regards to the civil rights bill. We are hearing both sides. Some have put up the plea that the colored do not want social equality, intermarriage, etc. Some say God created all men equal. God also created the birds of the air, the beasts of the field and the fishes of the water. God still has control of wild life, so the jaybird is still a jaybird. The deer, tiger and the rest are still of the original. But let man take over, then the horse becomes a mule. They are now experimenting with the buffalo and cattle. We all know about the mongrel dogs, cats and chickens. Take away this law of segregation, we will have worse than the blond, blue-eyed Negroes. It was proved so during the war when our Negro troops were stationed in England. God meant for the races to be segregated. If it were not so He would not have put the Negroes in Africa, the yellow men in the Far East and the red men in America. Tues

Your editorial some weeks back, "No Way to Win Support," goes to show the colored are after social equality. While they put it up as segregation in the Army, if it works there, it will only be a matter of time before they will try it elsewhere. 5-25-48

For those who have moved from the South to the North, and are so ashamed of Alabama and Birmingham, I spent half my life in the North and am not ashamed of Alabama or Birmingham.

W. M. MILLHOLLAND.
122 Elyton Court, Apartment F, City 4.

Southerners Huddle On Rights Showdown

The News Birmingham, Ala.
Thurs. 5-13-48

WASHINGTON, May 13—(AP)—The Senate's Southern Democrats ordered a powwow today to decide whether to risk a civil rights showdown.

Sen. Russell (D., Ga.) called a meeting of the Dixie lawmakers as the Senate cleared the decks for a test vote this afternoon. The vote was scheduled on a motion to return to committee a bill which has raised the civil rights issue ahead of schedule.

The bill seeks congressional approval of an education compact entered into by 15 Southern states as the first step toward creating a series of regional universities.

Sen. Morse (R., Ore.) has moved to send the measure back to the judiciary committee for further study.

The News

MORSE HAS ANNOUNCED that if his motion is defeated, he will call up an amendment intended to prevent segregation of Negroes from white students in the proposed regional schools.

He also has threatened to tack the rest of President Truman's civil rights program to the compact bill. It was that program—calling for anti-lynch, anti-job discrimination and anti-poll tax legislation—which touched off the rebellion of Southern Democrats.

They have promised a filibuster whenever any of these measures is brought up.

Dixie senators have picked Russell to quarterback their battle. He told a reporter that at today's session the group expects to decide whether to:

1. Let the compact bill go back to the judiciary committee. The Southerners admit that would kill the measure for this session.

2. Or, line up against the Morse motion and take their chances on beating off the anti-segregation amendment.

Birmingham

Russell indicated he favors the latter course.

The

"I think there are a good many senators who are for civil rights who won't follow Morse," Russell said. "However, some of our fellows are a little frightened about what might happen on a showdown."

Times

SEN WHERRY (Neb.), acting Republican leader, predicted the measure would be sent back to committee.

5-13-48

The Republican leadership, with which Morse frequently disagrees, is planning to bring up an anti-lynch bill before the session ends next month.

But the issue is certain to come before the Senate in still another form. Russell and Sen. Maybank (D., S. C.) have served notice they will try to amend the draft-military training bill when it comes up for debate.

They want to write in a provision which would allow draftees to say whether they prefer to serve in a unit made up exclusively of men of their own race.

WALLACE SENDS PROTEST

The Times
5-21-48
New York, N.Y.

Calls for Early Senate Action on Rights Measures

Henry A. Wallace, third party candidate for President, sent letters yesterday to Senators Arthur H. Vandenberg and Alben W. Barkley, protesting against the failure of the Senate Judiciary Committee to vote out the Anti-Lynching Bill and urging the Senate to speed passage of that measure and other civil rights legislation.

"The inaction of the Judiciary Committee emphasizes the continued delay of the Senate on two other vital civil rights measures promised this session, the Anti-Poll Tax Bill and the Fair Employment Practices Bill," Mr. Wallace wrote. "Unless the Senate leadership of both parties acts, there will be no legislation during the present session of Congress to redeem repeated promises of both Republican and Democratic leaders to the Negro people. No legislation could be of greater importance to the protection of millions of Negro citizens in a period of growing attacks on their democratic rights."

Mem 5-24-48

Will Truman Withdraw?

Southern Farmer
Montgomery, Ala.

Two weeks ago the political question everywhere was—Will Truman withdraw? Today in Washington few insiders think he will. He is going about his work with the air of a man who has no intention of quitting.

The going has been rough for him. First big jolt was the pulling out of Wallace. Loss of Wallace began splintering the Democratic Party held together by Roosevelt.

Things went from bad to worse when Greek-Turkish Aid Program (Truman Doctrine) soured.

Then came a series of bad appointments — Marriner Eccles was taken out as chairman of Board of Federal Reserve System. James Landis was dropped from Civil Aeronautics Authority, new appointments had a bad odor about them. People began talking about the "Missouri Gang."

4-24-48

Then came the Civil Rights proposals. In these Truman asked for:

1. **A commission on Civil Rights**
2. **A law to make lynching a federal crime**

Monthly

3. **Abolition of the poll tax**
4. **A Fair Employment Practice Commission**
5. **Outlawing of Jim-Crow laws**
6. **Right to vote for Washington, D. C. residents, etc., etc.**

Reactionary Southerners grabbed the ball and hollered "Down with Truman."

4-48

But that is only one side of the Truman story. The other side starts with George C. Marshall, Secretary of State's peace proposal, now called the Marshall Plan. In this plan Truman, through his Secretary of State, offered American aid to war-stricken nations.

It was a "We will help you if you do your part" proposal — Americans liked that.

Russia wouldn't play. But the peoples of Western Europe would and things began to look brighter for peace.

April-48

Next Truman launched a "Strong America" program. By this he told the world America would fight. He proposed a military peacetime budget of more dollars than any people ever spent for arms in times of peace. This was his answer to Russia and the American people liked it.

His answer to the critics of American democracy was his Civil Rights proposals. The Southern politician didn't like it, but the people felt better, they could look their critics a bit straighter in the eye.

The big political fact in the Democratic camp is Truman can have the nomination if he wants it.

His record is better than the man. Democratic chiefs will talk about the record. Highlights in record are:

1. **Marshall Plan**
2. **Strong America**
3. **Opposed killing O.P.A.**
4. **Opposed Taft-Hartley Act**
5. **Supported farm subsidies**
6. **Civil Rights proposals**
7. **Opposed Tax-reduction**

As things now stand it looks like Truman has a 50-50 chance. A scandal in the "official family," a long ruinous strike such as John Lewis might pull could ruin his chances.

On the other hand, victories of democratic forces in Italy, France, or a better showing in Greece would straighten his hand.

Pittsburgh News

CIVIL RIGHTS — It is unlikely President Truman's civil rights program as a whole will be considered unless it is tacked onto another bill as Sen. Langer, North Dakota, threatens to do in connection with the draft. Outside the South the weight of voter opinion favors the program, but Southern voters oppose it in the ratio of 9 to 1.

Wash. 2-7-48

Tammy Chiefs Rip Dixie Stand On Civil Rights

The Defender
Chicago, Ill.
Sat. 5-15-48

NEW YORK—A telegram attacking Southern Democratic officials and members of Congress for opposing President Truman's Civil Rights Program was sent by three Tammany Negro Assembly District leaders to Senator J. Howard McGrath, Democratic National Chairman last week.

The district leaders, J. Raymond Jones, 15th dist. east; Cecil Carter, 12th dist. north and C. Mott Shaver of the 14th dist., stated in the telegram:

"The courage with which President Truman is fighting to make America the living ideal its representatives abroad have long pictured it and the boldness you have personally shown in the fact of obvious narrowness on the part of an element of our party stand today as beacons of leadership in our times.

"We are a group of leaders of the New York County Democratic organization who are cheered by the forthrightness of both the president and yourself."

Voice Of The People

Birmingham News

Psychology On Races

To the Editor of The News:

This letter is in reply to a portion of the letter of W. L. Stovall in "Voice of the People" June 1. Birmingham, Ala.

While some of the statements he made are true, on others he is badly misinformed. He says he is sad that "there are still those who think there are 'superior' and 'inferior' races," and then he inquires, "Is there any scientific evidence, or are the boastful assertions merely the result of wishful thinking?"

I am not taking sides to any extent in the current civil rights talks because I am in sympathy with the Negro on many of the issues, while on the other hand I feel that his leaders go too far in asking for such things as an unsegregated Army, lack of segregation on trains and in schools, and employment on the same percentage as the population.

I wish to present to the public and to Mr Stovall what I consider to be scientific evidence, and especially since he mentions intelligence tests as having proven that "there is no superior race." In his book, "Great Experiments in Psychology," Prof. Henry E. Garrett, professor of psychology at Columbia University, most vividly points out the differences that really exist between the intelligence of the various races and nationalities.

First, in the racial differences in intelligence, he lists the results obtained from both the Army "Alpha" and the Army "Beta" intelligqence tests. Here are median scores on Alpha and Beta of Negro and white soldiers:

	Alpha	Beta
White	59	43
Northern Negro	39	32
Southern Negro	12	20

The above list is the average scores made on these intelligence tests, the Alpha being designed for literates and the Beta test for illiterates. Prof. Garrett mentions that, due to the fact that the scoring was in different units for each test (5 points on one does not mean the same as 5 points on the other), the results of the two tests cannot be compared directly. Bal. 6-16-48

Of course some Negroes are more intelligent than some whites. For example, 25 per cent of Northern Negroes made as high as the average white score on both tests, and only 5 per cent of the Southern Negroes on the Alpha and 10 per cent on the Beta made scores as high as the median white score. Thus it would seem that the average white is five times as intelligent as the average Southern Negro and 1½ times as intelligent as the average Northern Negro.

One reason given in this book (which is one of the textbooks used at Alabama Polytechnic Institute in psychology) for the Northern Negro being superior to the Southern Negro is that the more intelligent Negroes migrated to the North. Another reason is perhaps better opportunities and environment.

The following table gives an interesting study of the effect of education on intelligence test scores. The results are taken from Army Alpha test, which has a maximum possible score of 212 points.

Median Alpha scores for given amounts of education:

Group	0 to 4 Gr'des	5 to 8 Gr'des	High Sch'l	Col'ge
White officers	112.5	117.1	131.1	143.2
White soldiers	22.0	51.1	92.1	117.8
Negro soldiers:				
(North)	17.0	37.2	71.2	90.5
(South)	7.2	16.3	45.7	63.8

It was also found that there was a distinct difference in the intelligence of Northern Europeans as compared to Southern Europeans. From a combination of intelligence tests with a maximum score of 2, the following results were obtained:

Country	Median Intelligence Score
England	14.87
Germany	13.88
Canada	13.66
Ireland	12.32
Greece	11.90
Russia	11.34
Italy	11.01
Poland	10.74

As a general rule, it has been proven that the white race, especially from Northern or cooler climates, is superior in intelligence to all other races, and certainly the Negro race. Whether this is a permanent condition remains to be seen. PERRY M. SMITH.

Auburn, Ala.

In the theory of weighing advantages against disadvantages, we must out of reality recognize the evil of prohibition. I would favor prohibition if its enforcement wasn't an utter impossibility. Drawing this conclusion which is based on experience and statistics, I find that a far greater good can be realized by the repeal of prohibition. I see a crying need for benefits of a far greater degree for the aged people than is now being provided. In the final analysis, it is imperative that we recognize the failings of the human community through meager benefits to our deserving people of old age. They were our champions of yesterday, we must be their protectors of today. The voice of humanity cries out in righteous indignation at our failings in this field. 6-16-48

Our teachers, serving the common good of our state and molding character for future citizenship, are serving for a mere pittance so far as pay is concerned. We must retreat from the enemies of education and provide our teachers with increased salaries—salaries that will permit them to serve with honor and dignity. Our teachers and our students are our greatest resources. We must recognize this and strive toward the end that they shall not be neglected in our day.

In advocating the complete repeal of prohibition, I am aware of the fact that I shall encounter opposition. I can almost in advance identify the type of people that will raise their muffled voices in a pale and puny defense of their pet monster. They will attempt to show that repeal is evil and unholy. Again I say the advantage far outweighs the disadvantage. Where are greater evils than the garguantan evil that comes from the neglect of the aged, the teachers, the schools and our brave veterans? Revenue derived from the sale of alcoholic beverages can provide increased benefits and salaries to those whose right we must recognize if we continue to preach progressiveness. 6-14-48

Prohibition is a failure. Illicit whisky brewed and vended by those who have little or no sense of quality and value is threatening to undermine our society in the dry areas. Search the court records and the records of our mental institutions and see for yourselves the tragic truth. Friends of repeal, you should demand the human truth and act on the merits. Proponents of prohibition, search the records and uncover the realistic truth—face the facts that prohibition is a failure and you can understand the necessity for repeal. We need liquor revenue for our state.

Demopolis, Ala. KYZER STEWART.

THEIR OWN MEDICINE

The Republic

A one-man filibuster—this time *for* civil rights—has stopped a bill proposing congressional sanction for segregated education in Southern schools. Senator Wayne Morse (R, Ore.) threatened his colleagues with a showdown fight on civil liberties if they refused to recommit a resolution which would authorize regional schools under the Southern state laws of segregation.

New York N. Y. 5-24-48

Already signed by 15 Dixie Governors, the regional school plan was presented for congressional approval in the form of a compact. With little debate, the House passed it 236-45.

Dixie 5-24-48

When the bill, signed by 29 Southern Senators, reached the Senate, Morse offered a counter amendment to prohibit segregation of students on a basis of race, creed or color in the schools.

Turning the filibuster weapon against those who most frequently use it for feudal purpose, Morse talked for three days, throwing back at Southerners their own favorite arguments that anti-lynching, anti-poll-tax and other such measures are unconstitutional and infringe states' rights. A compact among 15 states could be extended to 35 or 48, he reasoned, and there would no longer be state control of education. If the Senate insisted on passing the bill, Morse said he would attach all the proposals in President Truman's civil-rights program as separate amendments. This was too much for the Senators. They voted, 38 to 37, to recommit the bill.

New Republic 5-24-48

Publisher Williams Predicts Civil Rights Soon To Be Law

TALLADEGA, Ala., April 10—President Truman's Civil Rights Bill will soon become law Aubrey Williams, publisher of The Southern Farmer, Montgomery, predicted Saturday.

Addressing the Alabama Student Conference on Civil Rights meeting in a three-day session here, he praised President Truman for "being the first and only president ever to come out openly for the Civil Rights Bill."

"The battle for a decent America is being and will be fought in the South and we are fighting it here more cleanly than they are anywhere else in the nation," the speaker declared.

Mr. Williams begged Negroes to be patient and not to raise a hand in violence, to give anyone an opportunity to "slap them down" or criticise them. He urged them to learn to be good citizens in order that they may properly exercise their right to vote. He declared, "that is the only way they will ever

come into their own."

"The F. E. P. C. and the Anti-Lynching Bill will also become law soon, I believe," he said.

The speaker described himself as a "great admirer" of Henry Wallace very much," he declared, "but that has nothing to do with the subject at hand today."

Mr. Williams spoke also out against Universial Military Training. "We have got to fight Universal Military Training," he said. "It will give the military leaders a chance to poison our youth." Williams was introduced by W. M. Ferguson, Birmingham.

The Civil Rights conference opened at Talladega College here Friday. Speaking during the opening sessions were Dr. A. D. Beittel, president of the Negro institution, and Dr. Edward Weaver, professor of social sciences at the Montgomery State Teachers College.

About 40 students from the various Negro and white colleges in Alabama are attending the meeting, which will continue through Sun-

ACHIEVEMENT WOMAN IN SOCIAL WELFARE

Mrs. Tilly Exposition Honoree

Constitution Staff Photo—Hugh Stoval

WOMAN OF ACHIEVEMENT—Miss Elizabeth Meredith, left, President of the Atlanta Women's Chamber of Commerce, presents a chest of flat silver to Mrs. M. E. Tilly, acknowledging her selection by the women of the South as a Woman of Achievement for 1948.

For a lifetime of volunteer service to underprivileged people in the rocky by-ways of the South, Mrs. M. E. Tilly Saturday night found herself honored as the Woman of Achievement in social welfare at the First Annual Southeastern Women's Exposition at the Municipal Auditorium.

The award, a chest of flat silver, was made by Ralph McGill, Editor of The Constitution, and Miss Elizabeth Meredith, President of the Atlanta Women's Chamber of Commerce, who praised Mrs. Tilly's patient, sympathetic and courageous work among minority groups.

McGill listed her accomplishments on behalf of the Farm Security Administration several years ago cited her 10 months' service on President Truman's Commission for Civil Rights.

Miss Meredith described her first-hand work in the mills and mines and dusty roads wherever people had needed an understanding hand. Mrs. Tilly, a tiny small-voiced woman, replied:

"This is the most thrilling thing in the world. I don't know what I have achieved unless I have made some paths a little less rough and some life a little less seamy."

It was the fourth presentation in the Exposition, which will end Sunday evening with an award to Mrs. Arthur J. Moore, wife of the Methodist Bishop.

Official Schedule for Sunday

12 Noon —Doors open
2:15 p. m.—Millinery Matinee, with original creations by G. Howard Hodge, Lilly Dache, Lenesta, Florence Reichsman, and John Fredericks. Personal appearance by G. Howard Hodge.
4:00 p. m.—Prizes
8:00 p. m.—Fabulous Fashion Show, featuring French originals, $1,000,000 in diamonds, and a fortune in furs. Commentations by Vyvyan Donner.
9:30 p. m.—Presentation of award ta Mrs. Arthur Moore as Woman of Achievement in Public Welfare.
10:00 p. m.—Prizes.

THOMAS L. STOKES

What Will the Republicans Do?

WASHINGTON—Lately public attention has been directed toward the Democrats, their party split and the movement to drop Harry Truman as their pilot. As a result of Democrat troubles, forecasts are flying fast and free that the Republicans are a cinch to win the presidency this Fall. That, of itself, has whetted the public appetite for the preliminaries to picking a Republican nominee, such as the preferential primaries and State conventions where Republican hopefuls are vying with one another for what looks to be the real prize this year.

All that has diverted interest, insofar as Republicans are concerned, from much that goes on—or does not go on—in Congress here. That, however, happens to be the place where Republican performance is being tested. What Republicans do there, or do not do, is something which the voters undoubtedly will scan before they cast their votes in November, and therefore has its importance for the party as well as for the public.

In less than three months the Republican Party must sit down at Philadelphia to write a platform, as well as choose a candidate. For some years now that has been marely a routine matter of denouncing Democrats—chiefly a fellow named Franklin D. Roosevelt—and promising what the Republicans would do if they could ever get into the White House. But this year it's different. The Party has controlled Congress for the last two years and has had its own opportunity to make a record. That has been its responsibility.

This brings up something that has been overlooked of late, but which the Democrats and possibly a large segment of the public certainly won't overlook come campaign time—unless the Republicans do something about it meanwhile.

You may recall the promises of Republicans to do something about what generally goes under the name of "social welfare" measures, as well as something else known as "civil rights" measures. This objective was to be achieved in the second session of the Eightieth Congress, which began last January, and was designed to please the labor and progressive elements.

But nothing final has been done as yet. The party elders may think the victory in November so easy that nothing needs to be hurried along this line. But that is certainly not the statesmanlike attitude, and might even prove dangerous politically.

Little time is left before the conventions. There is time enough, however. Most of the program is, as we say, "in the mill." It needs a push from the party leadership to get it on the floor and on the books.

Two measures in the social welfare program have passed the Senate—the Taft-Wagner-Ellender Housing Bill last year, and the bill for federal aid to education a few days ago. The Senate Banking and Currency Committee is preparing some amendments to the housing measure which probably will go before the Senate within three weeks. The House Banking Committee still has not acted on housing and its bill is certain to provide no public housing. On the education bill, the House Labor Committee still has done nothing about a favorable report last July from a subcommittee.

In a few weeks the Senate Labor Committee is expected to wind up hearings that have been going on for nearly a year on health bills, including President Truman's proposal for national health insurance and the Taft-Smith-Ball Bill for grants to States for health and medical purposes. The House has done nothing. A number of health bills are sleeping peacefully in its Ways and Means Committee. No hearings have been scheduled.

Republicans have a fine opportunity to make good on a civil-rights program, which they long have espoused in party platforms and on which the Democratic Party is so badly split. A bill to abolish the poll tax in elections of Federal officials in the seven Southern States that still impose this restriction on the franchise passed the House again last session, as it had several times previously. It is expected to be reported from the Senate Rules Committee soon to face the usual filibuster by Southern Democrats. Republicans can show their good faith by an earnest effort to break this filibuster by a cloture limitation on debate.

A Federal antilynching bill has advanced to the House calendar ready for action, but it is still before a Senate subcommittee. Likewise, an FEPC bill, to prohibit discrimination in employment on account of race, creed or color, is on the Senate calendar, but the House Labor Committee has done nothing about a number of bills there.

What happens in the next few weeks will determine whether Republicans merely will promise again or whether they can point to accomplishment.

10 1948

PM on CR

Dixie Politicians Lose A Battle, If Not the War

THE Southern Governors may insist they have not lost the war on President TRUMAN's civil-rights program, that they have just begun to fight. But they certainly have lost an important battle. They got a short, flat "No" from the Democratic Party's national chairman to an all-important question: "Will your use your influence to have the highly controversial civil-rights legislation withdrawn from consideration by the Congress?"

The battle was lost because the Southerners moved into it armed with weapons from an arsenal that was stocked more than a hundred years ago. Now, as then, they let fly with a blunderbuss that detonates in the rumbling thunder of "Unconstitutionality!" and "States' Rights!" They ignore the modern armor which the Supreme Court has forged and progressively reinforced, in a process that continues into this very month, giving new, broader and more definite meanings to the protections of the Constitution.

What the five Governors set out to do, as leaders of a revolt, was to impose the will and standards of a section upon a political party and, through it, upon the whole country. They were aggressive, being fortified by the knowledge that the section had been successful in doing just this for years. But they were also grim. Some of the instruments by which they had prevailed so long are obsolete, and even they can see the rust gathering on others.

The two-thirds rule for nominations in the Democratic national convention has been abolished. This ends sectional or special-interest veto power in party control. The Southerners, attempting to trade on this point, got a properly positive refusal from Senator MCGRATH. Would he help restore the rule? "I will not," he responded. "I think that would be a step backward for the Democratic Party."

Another instrument would be blunted, if not shattered, by the program to which the Southern politicians object. This is the poll tax, long so effective in creating and maintaining an elite of voters, restricting the vote, making control easier, keeping the Democratic Party in Dixie exclusive and therefore unchallenged. But more effective has been the obstructive institution of the Senate filibuster. It is plain to see that this, too, is tottering, undermined by the issue of the President's program which is also the program to which the Republican Party is committed.

It was, indeed, the grimmest and most belligerent venture in Southern political revolt, the fiercest with threats. It was a sort of climactic effort, coming on top of revolts that have flared biennially for 16 years or more. In 1944 a Mississippi convention undertook to instruct the State's electors for BYRD of Virginia, a Texas convention to withhold the Lone Star State's electors from ROOSEVELT and TRUMAN. In 1940 the Democrats-for-WILLKIE were representative and well-financed. In 1934 Liberty Leaguers and Christian Democrats out of Texas tried to build up EUGENE TALMADGE in Georgia, after HUEY LONG'S death removed a natural leader of revolt.

And behind it all, observers with eyes sharpest for identification could see a relationship between the so-called political revolt and a revolt against economic reforms like T.V.A., S.E.C., utility regulation, monopoly control. Underneath it are more pillars for rebellion than resentment at proposed changes in ancient folkways. It doesn't all smell of magnolias, nor rustle like crinolines.

Because the rebels have taken the course they chose, it is too much to hope that the civil-rights legislation may now be debated on its merits. There is room for honest discussion of its practical aspects and its necessity in more than one detail. But the Southern politicians make inevitable the country's taking it or leaving it as it is. You would almost believe they were secretly for it, having made its enactment all but certain.

Harlem CRC to Act Against Cop Violence; Open New Office

Community action to stop police violence in Harlem will be organized by the Harlem Civil Rights Congress, Bertram Alzes, Harlem CRC Director, said at a reception yesterday marking the opening of the Congress' new Harlem headquarters.

Over 75 labor, religious, political and community leaders attended the reception. The new office is located at 307 Lenox Ave.

Citing the recent cases of cop violence against Samuel T. Symonette and two National Maritime Union memebers, Alves said, "only an organized militant community can stop this violation of our rights as Americans."

"Police brutality must be prevented," said Alzes. "But when and if it occurs, CRC will act to have the offending officers punished."

Alzes also said that legal aid would be extended to any victims of police brutality.

Among those present at the reception were Councilman Benjamin J. Davis; Louis Coleman, Executive Secretary, New York CRC; Joseph Cadden, national officer of CRC; Melvin Murray, Vice President of United Public Workers and others.

SOUTHERNERS PLAN SENATE FILIBUSTER ON RIGHTS PROGRAM

Group of 21 Will 'Stand Guard' Against Any Move to Advance President's Proposals

THEY DEMAND RADIO TIME

Telegram Cites Network Series Dramatizing Measures Urged by Truman Committee

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, March 6 — A group of Southern Democrats were ready, some said tonight, to "stand guard" against a move to bring any of President Truman's civil rights measures to the floor. They added that would be prepared "at a moment's notice" to filibuster any civil rights bill that might be brought forward.

At the same time twenty-one Senators, including many of the Southern phalanx, announced a flanking action against a broadcasting network. They demanded equal radio time to answer a program dramatizing President Truman's program. Both actions were directed at meeting head-on the proposals strongly advanced by the Administration.

The Southerners, who put themselves under the generalship of Senator Richard B. Russell of Georgia, mapped strategy to meet the civil rights issue whenever any of the prospective measures affecting anti-discrimination or other civil rights should be presented. Any of the speeches to be delivered, it was conceded, could develop into a filibuster.

Group Like House "Revolters"

The organization of the group to rally in opposition to the program sponsored by the Administration, comparable to a phalanx of Southern "revolters" formally organized in the House for the same purpose, took place in the office of Senator Harry F. Byrd of Virginia, whose name is advanced most frequently by Southerners as a possible candidate for the Democratic Presidential nomination.

It was emphasized, however, by many attending the strategy meeting that its objective was not designed to dethrone President Truman from his place as titular head of his party and potential candidate for President for the Democrats.

Instead it was asserted by more than one that the issue hinged solely on the position of Southerners "in regard to stopping civil rights legislation." The emphasis of the meeting, it was explained, was on the development of plans for action by the Southern contingent as a unit against attempts to modify the segregation practices prevailing in the South.

Plea for Broadcasting Time

In a telegram to Edgar Kobak, president of the Mutual Broadcasting System, the Southern twenty-one Senators noted that the network was putting on the air a series entitled "To Secure These Rights," dramatization of the civil rights recommendations made by the President's Committee on Civil Rights and subsequently endorsed by the Chief Executive in a request to Congress for legislation.

They asserted that they were opposed to the proposed legislation, "as are millions of American citizens whom we represent," and added:

"The definition of what constitutes a civil right or where an alleged right of the citizen invades the right of another is highly controversial. In the present circumstances it is a political issue.

"We do not have available the professional talent of a large broadcasting chain to dramatize the presentation of our opposition to the report of the President's committee, but we do wish to have accorded to us time to present our views equal to that used by this program."

"In view of the fact that so many of your outlets are located in the South," the telegram added, "we feel you will gladly comply with our request."

Signers of the Telegram

The list of signers was headed by Senator Russell, to whom the network was directed to make its reply.

Other signers were Senators Walter F. George of Georgia, Kenneth McKellar and Tom Stewart of Tennessee. Tom Connally and W. Lee O'Daniel of Texas, Harry F. Byrd and A. Willis Robertson of Virginia, James O. Eastland and John C. Stennis of Mississippi, Allen J. Ellender and John H. Overton of Louisiana, John L. McClellan and J. William Fulbright of Arkansas.

Also Clyde R. Hoey and William B. Umstead of North Carolina, Burnet R. Maybank and Olin D. Johnston of South Carolina, Lister Hill and John J. Sparkman of Alabama and Spessard L. Holland of Florida.

The senior Senator from Florida, Claude Pepper, did not sign the telegram. He has proclaimed his support of President Truman. On the other hand, such Administration supporters as both Senators from Alabama were included.

SOUTH AIDED BY GOP IN TEST ON RIGHTS

Majority Assists Democrats to Keep Bias Rules Out of Funds Bill, 119 to 40

By CLAYTON KNOWLES

'I Were White'

To the Editor of The News:

I am a Southern born and reared Negro, proud of my color and race. If I were white I would be ashamed to crowd into streetcars, take all the seats and let the Negro stand. I would be ashamed to take the Negro's taxes when he can't even sit on a bench in the courthouse yard, let alone be a tax collector. White people can enjoy themselves all over the nation, and get mad if we act like we want to enjoy ourselves. They think we never get tired, but we are human.

There is something puzzling about the mentality of white people. I have been acquainted with them for 25 years and I do not understand them yet. They sing and pray on Sundays and talk democracy on the air and in the papers. But just ask them for a little Christian brotherhood and a little real democ- racy, and they yell to high heaven—Negro! (spelled with an i and two g's. We don't want any so-called social equality; we just want to have what belongs to us, and to be left alone because God makes our way.

Bessemer, Ala. IDA M. DAVIS.

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, March 8—The Republican majority teamed up with Southern Democrats in the House today to snow under a move to restore anti-discrimination provisions that were in the original appropriations bill for the Department of Labor and the Federal Security Agency.

The lop-sided 119-40 margin by which this combination prevailed in the first floor test on the civil-rights issue served to reduce actual passage of the bill a few minutes later to an anti-climax.

The measure, which now goes to the Senate for action, provides $1,017,851,000 in funds for 1949 for the two agencies.

Marcantonio Makes Mave

Republican ranks were thin and the Democratic side of the chamber, apart from seats held by Southerners, also was sparsely filled as Representative Vito Marcantonio, American Labor party member from New York, offered an amendment to put back the anti-discrimination section eliminated last week in committee.

With the House sitting as the committee of the whole, a record vote was unlikely and so Mr. Marcantonio took note of the absences as he asked restoration of the section withholding Federal aid from states not offering equal job and educational opportunities to all.

"There is a most unusual situation this afternoon," he said. "I have never in a long, long time seen so many Democrats from below the Mason-Dixon Line on the floor and never so few Republicans in the Eightieth Congress as this afternoon * * *. And where are the Truman Democrats this afternoon?

"The President has sent a message to Congress—the civil-rights message. Its opponents are here in good number. Are the Democrats as mild on this issue as the Republicans have been in the Committee on Appropriations?"

Mr. Marcantonio then charged that the chamber was not full because both Democrats and Republicans were only "rendering lip service to this question on civil rights."

Bids Members Face Test

Asserting that the amendment before the House was "an infinitesimally small part" of the civil-rights program, the Representative declared it was a test that should be faced. He appealed to members "not to hind behind the procedure of the Committee of the Whole."

"I call upon honest men to stand up for the convictions they express," he said. He added that, if his motion failed, the Democrats could ask that the bill be recommitted with instructions to restore the section deleted last Friday in the full appropriations Committee by a 25-to-6 vote.

The vote then was taken first by voice, but Mr. Marcantonio insisted on a standing vote, which produced only forty ayes. Slightly more than half of the ayes came from the Republican side of the aisle.

The only prominent Republican noted in this number was Frank B. Keefe of Wisconsin, chairman of the subcommittee that included the anti-discrimination section in the original bill. Southern Democrats made up about two-thirds of the nays, with Republicans supplying virtually all of the rest.

Schwellenbach Decries Action

Mr. Marcantonio then sought a teller count, but was unable to muster the votes to obtain one. As soon as he failed, Representative Joe Hendricks of Florida took the floor to move that the bill be recommitted without recommendation. This move, designed only to prevent a like move with a recommendation, was beaten on a voice vote.

Later in the day Secretary of Labor Lewis B. Schwellenbach, denounced the action of the Republican House as "another blow at efficient and useful Government." He said it also was "a body blow to labor."

The House bill, in major provisions, carries $12,498,200 for the Department of Labor ,a cut of $4,102,100 below requests; $239,788,500 for the Federal Security Agency, a cut of $23,367,279; $7,200,000 for the National Labor Relations Board, a cut of $2,200,000; $2,640,000 for the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, a cut of $450,000, and $642,416,000 for the Railroad Retirement Board as requested.

Southern Civ

Editor, The Courier-Journal:

It looks as if Southern politicians (Governors, Congressmen, and others) are staging such a protest against Truman's civil-rights program as to threaten a bolt of the party. The reason for all of these reactions is that they are living far back in the 19th Century, in ante-bellum days, and do not realize that the Emancipation Proclamation is part of our history, or that Amendments Thirteen, Fourteen, and Fifteen have become part of our Constitution.

We wonder to what extent these Southern politicians observed Brotherhood Week in February. To be sure, they did not include the Negro as part of the circle. He was an Ishmael cast out of the household. Some of these leaders in the South, with such "pinched hearts and flat souls" (to use Edna St. Vincent Millay's expression) as to exclude Negroes, were probably together blue-printing future strategies of the Ku Klux Klan. Perhaps some of these leaders were actually out burning wooden crosses in hooded orgies at night to vent their hate toward those whom they would fain deny citizenship. How can people of intelligence join and constitute a mad mob, when a mob is a motley group of cowardly fools led by a foolish coward? Let's pray that blood may not flow in Southern cities over the question of inalienable rights.

We cannot exert a good influence for democracy abroad while guilty of so much that is anti-democracy and un-Americanism at home. We get the well deserved label of "hypocrisy." The civil-rights program is Jehovah saying to the Southern Pharaohs, "Let my people go!"

GORDON CRAIG WHITELEY.
Louisville.

The Poll Tax States

Charles G. Hamilton's letter regarding the political situation in Mississippi represents the opinion of thousands of Southerners living in States still under the yoke of the poll tax. Most politicians elected to office where there is a poll tax are not elected by a popular majority. They represent a chosen few, augmented, of course, by big business combines, which in turn seek cheap labor. The Negroes, of course, are the goats. The reason for this, as the politicians and their backers put it, is to keep the Negroes in their place, lest they deprive the white people of their just rights.

The patterns are practically the same in at least ten States of the Deep South. From these States come men who call themselves the true representatives of the people. They fight against popular legislation for the benefit of the underprivileged because they realize that once these people get to vote they would be forced to retire to the status of cracker barrel orators. The thousands of whites in States dominated by such men as Eastland, Rankin, Talmadge and others will lose more by continued support of these men than the Negroes will lose.

Contentment follows law and order, and the three must of necessity be attained by efforts of all the people. The progress of the Negroes will aid in the progress of the South, for what aids the South will aid all its people. The right kind of office-holders will safeguard states' rights, while fascist - minded office-holders will continue to foment turmoil and keep alive the rebel cry for rule by a select group.

MOSES R. PARKS.
Louisville.

Mayor Farnsley Praised

Louisville's colored citizens are rejoicing over the election of Charles Farnsley, the friend of all, as Mayor. We who believe in equal rights were cheered when Mr. Farnsley spoke up at a gathering at the University of Louisville and publicly said that he, as a trustee, would favor admitting colored students to classes on Belknap campus. We colored people applaud his stand.

All we have to do now is to obtain the repeal of the Day Law, which segregates the schools. As one who has had considerable teaching experience, I always have told my pupils to work for the day when colored and whites will attend all classes together, from kindergarten to college.

P. J. CUMMINGS.
Louisville, Ky.

Taft's Leadership

In answer to G. A. Chism's letter praising Senator Taft, we would like to point to Mr. Taft's leadership in past positions of political responsibility. Mr. Taft's advocacy of the suspension of O.P.A. has led to the sad plight of our economy today. Mr. Taft has sought to destroy the Marshall Plan. It seems to us that we should have learned the effects of isolationism. Mr. Taft is an advocate of tax reduction. Is it not obvious that tax reduction will not alleviate the burden of our enormous national debt, which should be paid when the value of the dollar is at a minimum?

We are not denouncing any political party, but we would

Mayor Charles Farnsley

like to see the American people awaken from their political slumber. Therefore, let us break down all biased party thinking and vote for the individual who has shown qualities of leadership necessary for such a high position as the Presidency.

TWO U. OF K. STUDENTS.
Lexington, Ky.

For Eisenhower

The red scorpion strikes again and again. This scourge of central Europe must arouse the American people. Again I say, as I said previously through this column, I believe General Eisenhower must be called upon to be our leader. We could not possibly put a man in the White House with a wider knowledge of world affairs, as world affairs must be known today. Politics be damned!—Eisenhower must be President.

WEST END VOTER.
Louisville.

DON'T SULK

Editor, The Advertiser:

The most logical and sensible article I have read on this civil rights mess is one published in Sunday's Advertiser, Feb. 29, by Mr. A. Hope Wheeler of Arlington, Texas.

If there ever was a time when the South needed the Democratic Party or the Democratic Party needed the South, it's now. With the whole world torn with strife and starvation, it's no time for the Democrats to split up on civil rights. . . . It's just the bottom rails coming to the top. That's already here or is coming whether we split or not.

It would be better if the South would join in and help to put it over in an orderly manner than to have it shoved on us by force. Most of this state's rights, civil rights stuff is just something the favored few have used to stay in power and keep the masses down. That's why we can't have a reapportionment; the reactionaries are against it. They would lose control of state machinery. That's why they don't want the poll tax repealed. It would give the common people too much power. The big boys have trotted so long with their tracers slack that they don't know what it is to tighten them a little. They are the fellows that are raising so much hell about civil rights. They are the same old reactionary gang that joined the Republicans to kill the League of Nations.

It's the same old reactionaries that split the party and helped the Republicans elect Herbert Hoover "who fiddled while Rome burned," and brought this country to the very brink of a revolution. It's the same old reactionary gang that fought F. D. Roosevelt on every thing that he tried to do for the forgotten men and women. . . . It isn't the state's rights or civil rights they are so opposed to, it's the New Deal.

They preach democracy and majority rule when it's in their favor, but when the shoe is on the other foot they start bolting and throwing the election into the House. They know that there will be no more chance of electing a Democrat there than a snow ball would have in hell. . . .

By all means instruct them to vote for the Democratic nominee whoever is the choice of the majority of the delegates. That's democracy, majority rule. Because you can't carry the ball don't sulk and not play; that's childish.

T. B. McDONALD.
Ozark, Ala.

Editor, The Advertiser:

This letter is in reply to Mr. William D. Cheatham's letter of March 5. I would like to say to him, read your Bible more thoroughly. He will find the Negro or Nodite, was really created before Adam. is a separate and distinct species of the human family; so recognized by their Creator from Adam's day to the time of our Savior.

The Negro is a human being, and is accountable to God; but he never sprang from Adam. He is an offspring of Nod. He was created on the sixth day: Read the 29th verse of Genesis and see what they were to live upon.

Now up till this time it had not fained. He made male and female and turned them loose in the world.

MRS. JAMES H. REYNOLDS.
Greenville, Ala.

10 1948

PM on CR

Voice Of The People

Equal Opportunity Only

The News
Birmingham Ala

To the Editor of The News:

I'm replying to various writers, including Mr. Shavers, of Talladega. Our neighborhood minister expressed my view exactly when he said several weeks ago on this subject: "I would not want any of the colored races in the same church or same home or same school or same cafe with me, but I would want them to be allowed to build up for themselves equally as good churches or homes or schools or cafes as I have available." Fine.

It is a fact that the Japanese of California or the Chinamen of New York or other states, or the Negroes of the South, or any other of the minority races in America, have and always have had just as good chance to build up fine churches and homes and schools for themselves as anyone, or to build and have just as good anything, or own as good cars, or build their own transportation companies, or anything else, and those too poor (in the South) have been well provided for at all times through various charities.

No informed person will say that the various colored races have been mistreated in these United States. It may be that we did mistreat and exterminate the Indians, the original Americans, but that is altogether another issue and is of the past, unchangeable. The Indians were not to be classed with our contemporary colored races—not in the same category. 4-2-48

Also, if you are an employer, you can now choose your employes, select those you want to employ. Under the so-called "civil rights" bill, an employer would be compelled to hire any colored person applying for a job, whether diseased or well, whether competent or incompetent, whether lazy or energetic—or complaints would be made against him.

The majority of the country is not naturally in favor of compulsory changes in national habits and methods of living—as The News editorial writer said in the third paragraph of the first editorial Monday. We Americans do not want any radical laws passed favoring any minority group and penalizing the majority. Mr. Truman was ill-advised to so favor the Japs, Negroes, etc., who comprise a very small percentage of our citizens.

736 Eighth Court, West. C. E. FRANCIS

JESTS AT SCARS WHO NEVER FELT A WOUND

Montgomery Advertiser

The Savannah Morning News, as old in the service of the Democratic Party as The Advertiser, is persuaded that the South should become a two-party region. And it is grumpy with other papers that insist on making haste slowly. Early this month The News commented:

Mon. 3-29-48

A notable example of a Southern newspaper which while appearing to oppose Truman, the man, nevertheless, insists upon remaining loyal to the so-called Democratic Party, is The Montgomery Advertiser. That newspaper, while confessing that it believes Harry Truman is "a goner anyway," to use two of the words in a caption over a recent editorial, nevertheless continued to be as strictly loyal to the one and only party as it has ever been since the days of the War Between the States. The Advertiser was founded in 1828 and its political policy has been pretty consistently along the one party line ever since.

It is interesting to note in its letter columns, however, that quite a considerable number of The Advertiser's readers are bitterly opposed to Mr. Truman, and that some of them, moreover, are also vigorously against the party he represents. These writers live in all parts of Alabama so that they appear to represent a pretty good cross-section of the thinking of the citizens of that state.

In its recent editorial in which it declares that Truman is "a goner anyway," The Advertiser, among other things, declared that "The lack of esteem for Truman's abilities—all apart from his anti-segregation advocacy—is a prime key to Southern disgust. The South would not be so scornful in the case of a Cleveland, Wilson or Roosevelt."

Against that postulate, a Mrs. J. F Duggar, Jr., of Hope Hull, Ala., on March 8, writes what appears to be a typical letter in oposition to The Advertiser's thesis on that point.

"I believe this to be an entirely wrong conclusion," she says. "The South would not swallow 'civil rights' legislation no matter who proposed it. Until Truman made known his campaign plans, which included 'selling us down the river for political expediency,' the South has backed his policy, both foreign and domestic. His personality didn't enter in, then, and it doesn't now."

Another reader, residing in Montgomery, who signs only his initials, takes Senator Lister Hill to task for declaring that he will support Truman, and that writer warns the senator that "a lot of us have certainly helped you to fight and now we don't want to begin at this late date fighting you!"

Still another reader, in the same issue, from Troy, Ala., declares "We are gluttons for punishment. Since 1865 we have been dealt the short end of the national stick in economic and political matters . . ."

These contributions to the Alabama newspaper, we discover, are typical of the current letter writers to the newspapers of most of the other Southern States.

Mon. 3-29-48

In remarking The Advertiser's ancient allegiance to the Democratic Party, The News is one who jests at scars that never felt a wound. For the fact is, The Advertiser is an old hand at bolting the Democratic Party, and where was The News in the 1896 blitz?

The Advertiser could not stomach William Jennings Bryan's, 16-to-1 silver platform, seeing in it financial disaster to the country. For 30 years The Advertiser, in those days a virtual arbiter of party matters in Alabama, had inculcated a belief in party regularity.

But free silver was too much, and The Advertiser bolted the Democratic Party to support the Palmer-Buckner ticket of the "National Democratic Party."

At the party's Indianapolis convention, the then editor of The Advertiser, Frank P. Glass, was a delegate and architect.

The revolt got nowhere. Bryan lost only Kentucky—and that to McKinley. The Advertiser's third party got but a few thousand votes in Alabama.

Legislating Equality

To the Editor of The News:

This is in answer to Alvin Shaver's letter, "What's All the Fuss?" The News

I am told by a very good source in Washington that the civil rights bill was mainly dished up by some prize rabble-rousers, mostly foreign and not representative of the American people. Birmingham Ala.

You can't legislate that the Negro shall go to white schools, eat and mingle with the white race and be employed on an equal basis without infringing on the rights of the white man to manage his own affairs, employ whom he wishes and associate with whom he chooses. These rights are given under the constitution. Thurs 4-1-48

The Negro is free to earn his place in the world and prove his worth. Some have done that, such as Dr. Carver, Booker Washington, but the majority are not ready to assume actual responsibility. If they were they would be working toward that amongst their own race, accepting leadership of those best qualified to lead them. There is no law that can make all people equal. Negroes can get an education. There are many Negro schools.

Under what theory could it be right to force people to accept association with the Negro if this be contrary to their way of living?

THOMAS HOWLETT.

South's Solons Study 'No Open Party Break' Plan for More Power

Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.

By GLADSTONE WILLIAMS,
Constitution Washington Correspondent.
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WASHINGTON, Feb. 21—Southern Congressmen are discussing a plan for the South to wield a greater strength in the next presidential election without necessity of an open break against the Democratic Party ticket because of opposition to President Truman's civil rights stand.

The plan calls for the Southern States to name presidential electors through their legislatures rather than through a popular vote at the polls.

Thurs 2-22-48

Under the plan, sometime between now and the November election, each Southern legislature would meet and name uninstructed delegates to the electoral college. They would be pledged to no particular candidate, pledged only to vote for the presidential candidate most favorable to the South's stand that Mr. Truman's civil rights program proposes for Federal legislation things best left to the individual States.

The presidential electors from the Southern States named by legislatures could look over the field of all candidates after voting by other States, and could cast their ballots where they would do the most good.

There would be a period between the November voting in other States and the meeting of the electoral college—a period with "open season" for trading with the candidates.

If the election in other States went by a landslide for any candidate, then the plan would be ineffective.

But if the election were close, then the Southern votes would control and there might be pledges of vetos against any of the Truman proposals.

By then controlling more than one-third of the votes in either house of Congress, the Southerners could prohibit the passage of any legislation unfavorable to them. All they need is the pledge of the next President to exercise his veto power.

If the election were not too close, nor candidates too favorable, the electors from the South might be able to force the election into

Our Peril And Our Unity

The News

In union there is strength. Again and again we have said it. All Americans have repeated it. We are still saying it.

We do not mean absolute uniformity of opinion. Indeed we believe in a diversity of ideas, in full freedom to express and work for our respective ideas.

We do mean union in devotion to certain basic ideals—to the ideals of freedom, of human dignity, of tolerance, truth and justice. We mean union in devotion to reason, to good will. Birmingham, Ala.

Without that basic union, our freedom to differ, to contend for ideas and objectives, would be impossible. Without that union, we could not possibly have both strength and freedom. Sure.

We might have strength of a sort through far-reaching controls, as in war. But we could not have our full freedoms at the same time. 3-28-48

For a time we might have a sort of freedom without basic unity in the purposes and ideals of our people. But it could not be a lasting freedom. It would be a freedom that would be undermined by confusion and cynicism and conflict.

* * *

Once more this nation is faeing grave perils. The world is in another acute stage of fundamental crisis. Our country is in profound and urgent need of maintaining its strength. We mean, especially, the strength of union in devotion to fundamental aims and attitudes. Only that kind of strength can be lasting, can be adequate to the demands of freedom and justice in this time of complexity, doubt and fear.

How strong, then, are we in this fundamental way? How much devotion do we have to the public interest, to the ways of reason and good will, to the ideals of human justice and dignity?

Here in the South many of our leaders—and of our ordinary citizens—are deeply incensed by a program advanced by the President of the United States, following a report made by a special commission of citizens of high standing. The unsoundness of that program, the dangers it involves, seem plain to the vast majority of Southerners. This newspaper frequently has expressed its own opposition to the program. But the differences of opinion here involved have to do with methods, not objectives. Americans surely are agreed on common objectives of justice for all races. Yet much of the criticism of the president goes to extreme lengths. He is accused of being motivated solely by politics, of advancing a program directed against the South.

Much of the talk implies or directly charges that he is utterly unworthy to be President of the United States.

There are other citizens who deeply regret the president's present position on Palestine. They hold that he should have stood by partition. Of course, they have the right to express their views. But here again the difference is largely as to method. Mr. Truman declares he still favors partition, when feasible; that he will support U. N. action. Yet the feeling against him is intense and often finds expression in bitter words.

The News

American industry is again being seriously curtailed by the coal strike, though need for the products of our industry is acute in this country and in other lands. The difference is over the meaning of statistics. Yet the division in spirit and in fact is appalling.

In many other ways questions arise as to the unity and strength of our people, in the fundamentals essential to freedom.

Through the centuries nations have lost their strength, their freedom, through disunity, distrust, conflict. In this age we have seen that happen again and again.

We should not dare to think that we are necessarily exempt from such a fate, that we face no such dangers. Sure.

In the present world situation all civilization is menaced. If war comes, chaos will be almost certain. 3-28-48

If confusion and conflict among our own people destroy our own strength, how can we be saved? Birmingham, Ala.

Let every American stand by conscience and conviction. But let every American do so in ever-vigilant fidelity to that spirit which alone can maintain our unity and our strength.

What's All The Fuss?

Birm., 3-27-48

To the Editor of The News:

I consider myself an average citizen, feeling strongly about either major political party, but believing myself able to judge a candidate for public office by his ability to know right from wrong and to carry this out in the interest of the general public. The News

For a long time now I have read letters from your readers in regard to Mr. Truman's civil rights program. Most of the letters make me sick, as they seem to be inspired by nothing less than selfish interest. I can't for the life of me, see where we white citizens have anything to lose by allowing our Negro friends and neighbors their full rights as citizens. It is very clear to all thinking people that neither Negroes nor white people desire to marry outside their race. I hope none of us wishes to take advantage of the other race through it not being able to exercise its rights, such as paying taxes, voting, buying licenses, etc. Why, I ask in all earnestness, should colored people not have the same chance for an education and advancement as white people, provided the same does not interfere with the rights of others? Isn't our foundation law founded on equal rights according to our likes and desires, as long as it does not interfere with the rights of others? Then what do we have to fear? If there is any just reason for all this scare and scramble about civil rights for all people in the United States, I sincerely want someone to set me right on it with sound and honest reasoning. Birmingham, Ala.

This is not written in support of Mr. Truman or any other man, either in or out of public office. I write this in the interest of all of us who have a sincere desire to live up to our constitution, both white and colored and religions of all faiths who believe right makes might instead of might makes right. If I'm wrong, I am willing to listen to reason, but if I am right I would like to see the people of the South show that there is some of the likeness of God in their makeup. 3-28-48

Talladega, Ala. ALVIN C. SHAVERS.

Dixie Leaders Ready Report On Civil Rights

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

BALTIMORE, March 11.—(AP)—A committee will complete a report on Friday of President Truman's civil rights program to be submitted Saturday in Washington to the Southern Governors Conference, Governor Lane of Maryland announced Thursday.

Lane, chairman of the conference, said both the committee and conference sessions will be held in the capital.

Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina is chairman of the committee. It was appointed Feb. 9 at a Florida session of the conference where the touchy civil rights program was avoided in floor discussions. 3-12-48.

The committee was appointed instead to prepare recommendations. It was authorized to call the conference to hear its report within 40 days. 3-12-48

Gallup Discovers The South

This is the first of a series of reports to be issued from time to time by the Gallup Poll on the current attitude of Southern voters toward the civil rights program, the Truman administration and other political matters affecting the 13 Southern states.

By GEORGE GALLUP
Director, American Institute of Public Opinion

PRINCETON, N. J., April 3—Southern voters who have heard about President Truman's civil rights program are overwhelmingly opposed to it, and there is a general feeling throughout the South that the present administration in Washington has not dealt fairly with their section.

In February polls by the Institute found that the number of Southern whites favoring his nomination had dropped from 73 per cent to 60 per cent. It was on February 2 that President Truman announced his civil rights program which irritated many Southerners by recommending a Federal anti-lynch law, action against poll taxes, a Federal F.E.P.C. law and other civil rights measures.

George Gallup

The poll of the South was conducted among a cross-section of the white voting population. It was found that 68 per cent had heard or read about the civil rights program. These people were asked:

"How do you feel about Truman's civil rights program? Do you think Congress should or should not pass the program as a whole?"

The vote: The Advertiser

Should	6%
Should not	56
No opinion	6
	68%
Had not heard of program	32%

In summary, more than nine times as many Southern whites familiar with the program oppose it as favor it.

The Southern voters were also asked:

"Do you think the present administration in Washington has dealt, fairly, in general, with the South?"

Their vote: Montgomery, Ala.

Yes	34%
No	51
No opinion	15

Sure. 4-4-48

The main reasons given by those dissatisfied were that the administration is trying to bring equality between whites and Negroes, that Washington has been attempting to interfere with states rights and that the civil rights program was proposed without a full understanding of the situation in the South.

Outside the South the opinion of the country on the civil rights program is favorable, among those who have heard about it. The proportion who are aware that such a program was proposed is 55 per cent, and their attitudes follow:

OUTSIDE SOUTH	
Congress should pass program	21%
Should not	15
No opinion	19
	55%
Had not heard of program	45%

Overwhelmingly in favor of passage of the program are Negroes outside the South, as might be expected. More than seven out of every 10 have heard about the program, and their vote follows: The Advertiser

NEGROES OUTSIDE SOUTH	
Pass the program	58%
Opposed	2
No opinion	11
	71%
Have not heard of program	29%

Birmingham, Ala.

RALPH McGILL

Atlanta Constitution

The Mind Of the South

Atlanta, Ga.

Fri - 2 - 27 - 48

This man came in and introduced himself. I had never seen him nor heard of him.

He is a substantial businessman in one of the most progressive communities of Georgia. He is a member of a church; regards himself as friendly to the Negro's problem; is an annual contributor to the Negro charities and churches in his community; as a prominent member of the Chamber of Commerce in his community he has lent assistance, through committees of which he was a member, to various Negro agricultural projects, and so on.

All this came out in the course of the talk and was not presented by him in any "some-of-my-best-friends-are-Negroes" manner.

Person As I said, I did not know him, and as far as I knew, and know, I do not know any of his friends, although I probably do as I know many persons in his city and county.

I am sure, however, that he regards himself as a kind, tolerant and well-intentioned person. And he perhaps is.

But he was, as he talked, so emotionally aroused that his hands shook and his voice trembled. He was not speaking out of anger, but out of an accumulation of long gathering, and more or less pent up, emotion.

Civil Rights He felt a deep sense of injustice. The left-wing liberals will laugh at that, with perhaps some reason, but a person's feelings are what they are.

The South, he felt, had not only been milked of its raw materials and its wealth, but even now the productive wealth of Southern labor and manufacturing was largely going North.

This, he felt, had not been properly publicized. One of his complaints was that the South had not, and was not, properly presenting its case. In this, of course, he was wrong. The South, and its newspapers, have so belabored the colonial status of the South; the freight rates and the tariffs; that most of the Southerners have been wearied by them. Nevertheless, he felt a failure.

He was most wrought up about the charge the South fails to educate Negro children.

Fri 2 - 27 - 1948

Taxes He had figures from his county, and others, showing that about 2½ percent of the school taxes collected came from Negroes, but that about 20 percent of the amount of the amount collected went to Negro education. He had comparable figures showing that in health and welfare the tax proportions were equally out of balance.

He asked if the residents of Vermont, for example, or any other State which regards the Southern problem as one in which the South has acted with arbitrary and constant injustice, knows of these facts.

I assured him they probably did not, even though it often had been published, but that if they did it would make little difference; that the problem was one no other nation or people had ever faced, and that we had prejudiced our cause by certain obvious and flagrant failures which we did not like to admit. Because of this, the obvious fact that reform must come from the will of the people is overlooked, and there exists enough public opinion and political weight to bring them about as force measures if the Congress so desires.

No Mobster Keep in mind that this was not a bad man. He had education, he regarded himself as a genuine Christian; his conversation was free of profane or unreasoned statements; and he was deeply troubled as he was aroused.

He was no "white trash" lyncher; not at all an illiterate farm hand fearful of the encroachment of the Negro as an economic competitor; no poolroom hanger-on; no Ku Klux Klan member.

Yet, he was ready to join a movement for the South to abandon its public school system and for each community to support private schools. He was ready to campaign to make of juries and the jury system a defensive system against Federal legislation. He was of the opinion that his country was against him and that all of his belief in it was betrayed. That many a Negro felt the same would not, and could not, occur to him. Yet, he was, and is, basically fair. I present him not to excuse, to indorse, defend or accept. But he is important.

He is not one. He is many.

Addition To him you must add those who are illiterate and fearful; who are easily led and quick to violence; who are the stuff of mobs. It is against this added total that the progressive idea must contend.

I go about, appearing on programs which are no pleasure; trying to interpret the mind of the South and winning unimportant abuse thereby; and I constantly am amazed by those to whom history means nothing and who think that upsetting the mores of centuries is easy or a matter of laws. We have enough laws for all civil rights now. The Bill of Rights, so called, is enough. But we do not have the public will to translate them into human rights. I am interested in human rights. So, I know that the proposals which now agitate the South are productive of more evil for my generation than any this generation has met. Tolerance will come, when it comes, from the people.

OPINION

Civil Rights and Foreign Policy

WASHINGTON

If you have ever sat in the Senate gallery with a copy of the Constitution in your hand and listened to some Southern Democrat filibuster against anti-poll tax or anti-lynching legislation, you can get an idea of what bewilderment believers in democracy everywhere must feel at our present Southern "revolt" against the Truman Civil Rights Program.

P. M. Dec. 4 - 47

The contrast between the human rights the Constitution so nobly expresses and the way in which many Southern politicians would thwart them is a heart-breaking example of how high ideals can be twisted and turned to satisfy prejudice.

Mon 3 - 1 - 48

But the "revolt," coming as it does at a time like this, involves more than sectional prejudice and Southern determination to maintain white supremacy." It has in it a profoundly important bearing on issues that today have become world wide—that may even determine peace or war. For it concerns deeply the role we have taken on the world stage—the role of the defenders of democracy against all sorts of shabby tricks to subvert it.

The Issues Are Universal

The issues are not local ones. They are universal. We have first of all, the question of the right of man to vote—to have a voice in the government of which he is a part—without being subject to poll taxes or other forms of artificial exclusion and without coercion. This is a philosophical concept for which we have stood for more than a century; it is the philosophical concept we are defending before the world today; it is a philosophical concept that has involved us deeply in the affairs of other nations.

Again, we have the question of lynching—which, in fact, is murder and should be described that way—involving the very fundamental concept of the right of man to be protected in his life within the bounds of law. That, too, is not a sectional issue, but a universal one and one that comes close to the hearts of all men who have lived through the worst blood bath that mankind has seen for ages. Most of all, it must come close to the hearts of Americans who have been sickened by the cheapness with which human life has been held through the past decade.

These are simple issues, fundamental ones. They are so fundamental that the Chinese peasant and the native of the remote islands of the Pacific can understand them. Does he have the right to share in his own government and is his life to be protected within the law? These are no longer academic and philosophical questions for the world's millions. They are real even in the world's farthest spots.

Gov. Tuck's Attack On Democracy

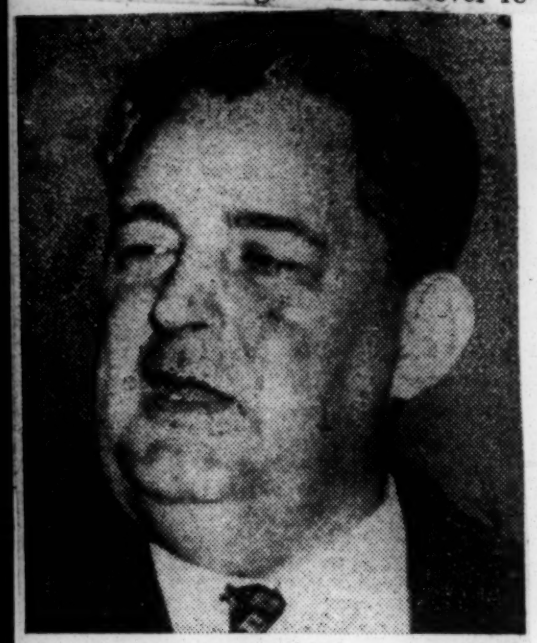
Mon. 3 - 1 - 48

Yet here we have a considerable section of our own South now busy seeking ways of subverting the whole democratic process in order to prevent the fulfilment of these simple rights for millions of their fellow citizens. We have the very respectable Governor of Virginia, William M. Tuck, asking his state legislature to turn back the clock of American democracy:

¶ First he recommends that the names of the Presidential and Vice Presidential nominees be eliminated from the ballot and a simple party designation substituted. This is a device by which Virginia's electors would deliver their votes into the hands of uninstructed electors to be voted as the state party organization directed. It would be throw-back to a system long since discarded and it would be used for no other purpose than political revenge. Whether you like President Truman or don't like him is not the issue at stake; the issue is the democratic election of a President by the people directly and without political manipulation.

¶ Again, Gov. Tuck would have the Virginia ballot limited to parties which participated in the last election or polled

at least 10 per cent in any general election during the past five years. That would bar Henry Wallace whose views against discrimination and segregation are no less hated than Truman's by the Southern ruling groups. In fact, it would in practice bar any third party from getting on the Virginia ballot. It would set up a vested interest in the two parties now amiably in the same field and would effectively bar Virginians from ever re-



Gov. Tuck

placing either of them.

There are, of course, the threats of filibusters and what amounts to political secession.

All these things have one thing in common; they are devices thought up to thwart the expression of the democratic will of the entire nation — not merely seeking to deny constitutionally guaranteed democratic rights, but using undemocratic means by which to destroy them.

When Gov. Tuck laments the invasion of state's rights by the Federal Government and cries that this means the beginning of totalitarian rule, he is completely ignoring the more basic invasion of man's rights within his own state.

Philosophically, this is an intolerable position for the rest of the nation.

A few days ago, a committee of Southern governors put it this way:

"A vast majority of the Democrats of the South are determined to restore the Democratic Party to the principles of Jefferson and Jackson and will resort to whatever means are necessary to accomplish this end."

Aside from the presumption of the governors linking the names of Jefferson and Jackson to their cause, the threat is serious-enough business for our own country. It becomes infinitely more serious when you put it in the framework of what is happening in the world today and our immense part in it.

I have no doubt, for instance, that a great many of the same Southern editors who are supporting this kind of talk are publishing at the same time denunciations of what the Communists have just done in Czechoslovakia. Their position on Czechoslovakia is understandable enough. The spectacle of so democratic a country being forced to bend to the will of undemocratic forces is painful to any American who knows the story of the birth and rebirth of that country.

But when you stop to think clearly and honestly, is there any philosophical difference between the Communists of Czechoslovakia who are willing to use any means to secure their ends and these Southern Democrats who are equally willing to use any means to achieve *theirs?*

I think not. The rights of men are indivisable whether they involve the right of a Negro to vote in Alabama and to be secure in his life against murder, or of a Slovak National Socialist to be represented in the Prague cabinet. Certainly intelligent Europeans who read of the "revolt" against civil rights in the South are going to find it difficult to make great distinctions between that and what has happened at Prague.

A Blow to U. S. Prestige

This is no light matter. The future position of the United States as a world leader depends on moral considerations such as these quite as much as it may depend on the atom bomb. What Southern Democrats are doing is to undermine our position in the world as the champion of democracy. It is a blow to American prestige and American standing in the community of nations that we can ill afford at a crucial moment like this. It should stiffen the Administration's efforts to make good on its program not only for our own self-respect, but for our standing before mankind, which today is being asked to choose between the American and Russian ways of life.

—ALEXANDER H. UHL

Civil Rights

By Marquis Childs

WASHINGTON—On every political front, in Congress and out, the issue finally gets down to how power is to be exercised under the American form of government. We are facing the fact that, with responsibility divided between the states and the federal government, there are gaping holes in which no authority can function.

The absence of any government—anarchy—may be in theory a highly desirable condition.

What is more, change will come in the yeasty time in which we are living. It will come through the processes of democracy, or it will come in ways that can only be harmful and destructive to what we cherish most.

These thoughts are stirred by an editorial in The Mobile (Ala.) Press. The editorial agrees that there is a threat to freedom in recent proposals to curb information and thought. True, says the editorial, this is the "shadow of the police state."

But it goes on to say that President Truman's civil-rights program is likewise the shadow of a coercive state. The language used is strong:

* * *

Federal Gestapo

"ONE PARTICULARLY ALARMING measure endorsed by the president is the FEPC bill. That shadow of the police state grows even darker when one studies carefully this measure, which would create a dictatorial agency that could destroy the constitutional rights of citizens. This bureaucratic agency could tell an employer who he could hire or not hire. It could dictate to unions as to membership, forcing them to admit persons they did not want.

"The FEPC measure would set up an army of spies traveling throughout the United States. Operatives of this Gestapo-like agency would have the power to act as complainant, prosecutor, judge and jury. The FEPC is a step toward the destruction of free enterprise."

Political demagogy and expediency to one side, here is the root of the Southern revolt against the Truman proposals. It is in the profound fear of coercion—of having an alien way of life imposed by force which would shatter a pattern cherished with blood and tears.

* * *

Southern Liberals

THIS FEELING IS DEEP AND REAL and it cannot be brushed aside as mere rhetoric. If any proof were needed, it is in the reaction of Southern liberals such as Hodding Carter, of Greenville, Miss., who have considered themselves New Dealers. They cannot accept the imposition of the civil-rights program by the federal government.

Visiting the South even briefly, you realize that Southerners are acutely aware of what the rest of the country may be thinking. They want to believe that their way of life is good, is workable and is capable of change. What is more, they want the visitor to believe it. They tell him of changes—of how Negro members of Northern football teams came to the South and played with their teams against the all-white teams of the South.

To the Northerner, who brings his own prejudices with him, these changes are likely to seem very small gains indeed. He may argue that, if progress in granting equal opportunity is to be so slow, then the rest of the country will begin to believe the president's program may be necessary.

Here, in my opinion, is the weakness of the South's position. Granted that their problem is of a kind and magnitude which the Northerner cannot comprehend. Granted that their fear of coercion and the police state comes out of a belief in freedom and in the rights of the individual that is perhaps deeper than in any other part of the country

* * *

Process Of Change

YET THE FACT REMAINS THAT the South has not used the powers of the states to channel the process of change. Consider what might have been the reaction to the president's proposals. Instead of political conventions devoted to ways and means of resisting Mr. Truman personally, the South might have held a convention to study how opportunity might be equalized within the framework of states' rights and the pattern of Southern conduct. Such a meeting would have made a deep impression on the country.

Two facts tend to becloud the passionate belief of the honest Southerner in freedom and in the rights of the separate states and the individual man. One is that some Southern interests seem determined to keep a lower wage differential based mainly on the Negro for economic gain.

The other and more damaging fact is that so many Southern representatives in Congress seem always ready to vote for the measures that repress and coerce those whom they do not like. You cannot claim rights and freedoms for yourself that you constantly seek to deny to others.—©.

Students in South Support Drive For Civil Rights

The Worker
New York, N. Y.
Sun. 6-6-48

By Mary Southard

Southern students have recently spoken out on a number of questions, reflecting the growth of a powerful progressive current in the colleges and universities of this section of the country.

The following examples indicate the scope and intensity of the progressive trend:

* * *

Issue Pro-Wallace Plea at Southwestern

MEMPHIS, Tenn.—The Students for Wallace Committee, which was recently organized on the campus of Southwestern University here, issued a statement of principles which was distributed in mimeographed copies to students at the university.

The statement, signed by five student members of the Wallace committee, says in part:

"We, students of Southwestern University, of various religious, social and political backgrounds, are drawn together by a common desire for lasting world peace, and a firm belief in the democratic heritage of the American people. We believe that these tenets are endangered nationally by an increasing abrogation of our civil liberties, the threat of a disastrous depression, and internationally by the constant fear of another and even more horrible world war. The Worker

"As young Americans we are determined to contribute our utmost to avert disaster through a positive policy for peace, freedom and security.

"We believe that these aims can best be furthered by supporting the policies and working for the election as President of the U.S. of Henry Wallace.

"Mr. Wallace today represents more than a leader; he is symbolic of the struggle for rational progress of all humanity, for greater dignity of the individual and more security of society as a whole." New York, N.Y.

The statement continues with a call for genuine cooperation for peace with the Soviet Union and an attack on red-baiting. Sun

". . . Let us remember that only recently fascism came to Germany, Italy and Spain under the guise of hysterical anti-communism. Let us not again be duped by vicious propaganda. Therefore, all who believe in civil liberties, peace and the safeguarding of the American Constitution are urged to join us while we can still stand up to fight for the rights of the American people. Let it not again be too little and too late. Instead, let us be the pioneers of the century of the common man.

"SPEAK UP FOR PEACE. SPEAK UP NOW. DON'T BE INTIMIDATED. JOIN THE FIGHT FOR PEACE ON THE CAMPUS NOW." 6-6-48

Mundt Bill Exposed At Chapel Hill

The Worker
New York, N.Y.

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.— Twenty white students from the local colleges here addressed a public letter to the **Birmingham News**, condemning Police Commissioner Eugene Connor's fascist-like treatment of Sen. Glen Taylor and the Southern Youth Legislature. 6-6-48

Sun.

". . . It is perhaps permissible," they wrote, "for us who are white college students . . . to raise a protest. Our protest will sound adolescent to our elders—or to some of them—but some of us were not 'too young' to fight a war, in spite of the fact that we thought that certain values in our democratic philosophy were in danger.

"To some of us, perhaps, Sen. Taylor's political views are not in harmony with our own. That point is not important. It is extremely important, it seems to us, that Sen. Taylor's views of the Southern Negro Youth Congress were not in harmony with those of the police commissioner. Press reports on the incident seem to indicate a possibility that the Senator was not arrested for 'disorderly conduct,' but for reasons of his political views, which, in the eyes of the police commissioner, are undesirable.

"The implications of such a situation should be obvious. If a police organization has the power to forcibly suppress a citizen who is of a rival political group, then our 'land of liberty' is an hypocrisy. Our limited experience and public school education had led us to assume that any citizen had an 'inalianable' right to hold whatever political view he chose, short of a revolutionary one and that it was the task of law enforcement agencies to protect that right. Apparently we (and our interpretation of the aim of the Founding Fathers) were wrong. The Worker

"We do not feel that Mr. Connor is correct in assuming that all loyal white southerners are behind him in his position. Certainly we are not behind him. His action in this case is far too short of what we believe justice or law enforcement include." New York, N.Y.

Score Police Terror In Birmingham

CHAPEL HILL, N. C. — Junius Scales, student leader at the University of North Carolina, made a radio broadcast last week exposing the Mundt bill. The speech was carried on three of the largest N. C. stations, Raleigh, Winston-Salem and Durham. Sun.

In exposing how the bill is directed at suppressing the organizations of the people, Scales said:

"You might be surprised to know that if you even talk about how much you need a union where you work, you are pulling another 'Communist trick'; in the language of the bill, you are 'inciting economic . . . strife and conflict.'

"In the last few days some of our Negro citizens got tired of being kicked around and decided to register to vote and throw out the old white supremacy parties. When the machine registrars refused to let you register, you insisted on your citizenship rights. Did you know that according to this Mundt bill you were 'inciting racial strife and conflict' (another alleged Communist method of overthrowing the government). 6-6-48

"In other words, if you happen to be a leader in any organization that Wall Street and the Attorney General don't like—such as the new Wallace party, or a union, or a peace organization, or the NAACP—you have two choices: either you can deny that it's a Communist organization and get sent to jail for refusing to register, or you can register and go to jail for trying to establish a 'foreign, totalitarian dictatorship.' The Worker

"There is no need for driving the Communists out in the open. . . . We paid out money for this broadcast because we want the people to know where we stand. What they would like is that the Communist Party file a list of its members so the corporations can fire them from their jobs and blacklist them. The Party member is usually just a plain workingman like yourself, maybe the man who works beside you in the shop, mill or factory. The bosses would like nothing better than to put the finger on him and get rid of him. The Communist Party will never subject its members to blacklisting by employers. The Worker

"The Communist Party says that the test of true allegiance to our country is resistance to Wall Street's program of fascism and war. That is why we ask you to act now against the Mundt bill." New York, N.Y. Sun 6-6-48

Reply to a Northerner

The Constitution

Editor Constitution: In reply to a Northerner's views, just what does he mean when he says that the white man here is more than good to us? The Southern Negro fought and died for the U. S. A. Now, what have we got that we didn't deserve? Atlanta, Ga.

Yes, five Negro employees stole food from Georgia Tech. But if you'll read about all of the crimes, the Negro will not be the only one you will read about. I think the Georgia law is sufficient for all, including the two men that robbed several liquor stores and homes here in Atlanta. One of them was a Northerner and not a Negro. Thurs. 4-15-48 A. D. SMITH.

Atlanta.

A Southern Program for Civil Rights

The Constitution

From the Capitol of the Confederacy has come a plea for a Southern Civil Rights Program.

The Rev. A. S. Turnipseed, Pastor of a Montgomery Methodist Church, is urging the South to adopt a positive rather than a negative course of action in defending ourselves against the revolutionary proposals of professional agitators.

Atlanta, Ga.

He lists a five-point program:

1. Repeal of the poll tax by each of the seven States which still use it. Fri.

2. Better job opportunities for Negroes both in State Government and private industry, without an FEPC law. 4-23-48

3. Federal aid for education so that $140 a year can be spent for every pupil. "This bases Federal aid on the needs of each child," he said, "and thereby removes the race issue."

4. A Congressional appropriation to help build new regional colleges for both races. The Constitution

5. More modern courts and legal machinery to give justice to everyone regardless of race.

The South has been making progress as all but the most intolerant on either side will admit. Atlanta, Ga.

Undeniably, there is room—and need—for improvement, within the Southern pattern of segregation, in the field of civil rights. Fri. 4-23-48

We do not know that we need to adopt any one or five or 10-point program, as some would have us do, to provide an agenda for further effort. But if one is indicated, the Rev. Turnipseed has given us some good suggestions.

Study Shows Rights Program Launched Wave Of Terrorism

(10) Atlanta Daily World Sat

Advertisements

Appeal To Base Instincts In South

Sat. 7-3-48

BY CARTER JEWELL

RICHMOND—(ANP)— A survey of newspaper stories and events in the south in the last two months shows that police officers and other officials in the south have become more actve in abusing, attacking and arresting Negro citizens on any pretext available since public discussions have been held on President Truman's civil rights program for Negroes.

There is no mistake about it. The south intends to defeat the civil rights program by lawless attacks on Negroes by resorting to brute force imprisonment and murder of Negroes who dare assert their rights. Already so-called liberal whites have proved to be of no value in the civil rights program in the south.

President Truman's civil rights program has played right into the use every good opportunity to stir up ill feeling between Negroes and whites for their own political advantage. 7-3-48

BIASED STATEMENTS

The Birmingham Post of May 3, 1948, carried a full page political advertisement of the Jefferson County Democratic campaign committee full of prejudicial statements on Mr. Truman's civil rights program for Negroes.

The advertisement after appealing to the instincts of white voters urges them to:

"Vote for these delegates and electors who won't vote for Truman or any one who favors 'civil rights' for Negroes before or after the Philadelphia convention."

White bus drivers are vigilant these days to see that Negroes ride Jim crow in the south. Mrs. Lucinda Goodman, recreational worker, was arrested in Norfolk, Va., last week because she refused to relinquish her seat in the front part of a city bus and stand to give a seat to a white passenger. The Negro man who interceded in her behalf and Mrs. Goodman were fined $5.60 each in police court the next morning. Atlanta Daily World

Hostile whites and members or sympathizers of the Ku Klux Klan sought recently to frighten a Negro family from their home in Wall Township, N. J., by burning a cross near their home. Every advance of Negroes is opposed by ignorant and prejudiced whites in every section of the United States.

In Norfolk a Negro, Gus McLawrence, is brutally beaten after his arrest allegedly on a drunken charge,, but the police department manages to escape blame even after McLawrence's cell mate is exonerated of any connection with the beating. Atlanta Ga.

MYSTERY REPORT

The white dailies in Norfolk report the McLawrence beating as a 'mystery' after his cellmate was exonerated, but the Negro public thinks the "cracker" police did the beating.

Southern whites are determined to keep Negroes slaves. Truman's civil rights program seems to reveal this plan. Florida's Governor Caldwell said in his commencement address at the Medical College of Virginia that Truman's civil rights program for Negroes was purely a political stunt. 7-3-48

The American Council of Christian Churches convention meeting in Atlanta, in May, described the civil rights program as a socialists scheme said the solution of the problems involved in the social rights issues re to be found "the preaching of the gospel" which race hating whites never or seldom use to improve race relations.

The impotence of the white church to act positively on civil rights for Negroes was brought out in the failure of the White Ministerial association of Norfolk to take a decided stand in favor of President Truman's civil rights program for Negroes during brotherhood month last February. The Norfolk white ministers found an opportunity to take no decided action on the issue.

In Richmond, Danville, Lynchberg, Newport News, Roanoke and in other Virginia cities police officials have been much more particular about seeing that Negroes observe rigidly Virginia racial segregation laws. 7-3-48

Fundamentally, however, the civil rights issue in Virginia seems mostly professional and political. The white and Negro masses get along much better until the white professionals who claim they work to preserve civilization and the politicians who claim they want to prevent Negro domination, get into the picture.

Reports reaching Richmond reveal that in Brambleton, a supposedly tough interracial section in Norfolk, Va., the lowly whites and blacks are handling the interracial problem expertly. 7-3-48

When Negroes first moved into Brambleton, a white section, one Negro home was attacked by white hoodlums under the direction of professional whites. But that has been the only outstanding case of anti-Negro attack in that neighborhood.

White and colored children now play together. White and Negro families get along well together. It is the politicians, the professionals and shallow white religious leaders who make trouble between the races in Virginia.

With A Grain Of Salt

Journal Guide

Civil Rights Program Has Forced South To Take Inventory Of Its Shortcomings

Sat 3-20-48

By ARTHUR P. DAVIS

"TRUMAN is a cheap politician, and all he has done by his civil rights program is to stir up trouble for us here in the South. The white folks are meaner now than they have been for a long time."

The above statement was made to me last week by one of my Virginia friends—a realistic and conservative business man. Although I disagree strongly with my friend's viewpoint, I think it should be considered because it represents a natural reaction on the part of a small segment (at least I hope it is small) of the South's Negro population.

Let us examine the **wrongness** of the attitude expressed in the statement. In the first place, it doesn't matter a tinker's damn whether Truman is a cheap politician or not. Neither does it matter if Truman is anti-Negro in his real thinking, as Drew Pearson has recently implied; just as it didn't matter whether or not Lincoln **meant** to free the slaves.

The important fact for us is that Lincoln **did** free the slaves. With regard to Truman, the important fact is that, whatever the reasons, he has come out forthrightly for a civil rights program and so far has stuck manfully by it.

* * * *

LET US NOW look at the second part of my friend's statement. That the South has become more hostile towards the Negro since this civil rights business started is undeniable. Even many of those "liberal" southerners we once called our "friends" have turned sharply against us. Conditions have definitely worsened; antagonism is open and undisguised. But this antagonism is really a good sign. It is the southern way of thinking a thing out; it is the southern equivalent of a disturbed conscience. And though we may suffer a little **now**, in the long run we shall gain.

Truman put the region on the defensive. Irritated at its inability to justify its "way of life," the South has naturally lashed out at the regional scapegoat—the Negro.

But many southerners are examining their homeland objectively for the first time, thanks to the President. If you wish to see how much thinking the South is really doing, read the letters written to the editors of the better Dixie papers. They show an aroused and questioning people. Let me quote from a typical example (this one appeared in the Richmond News-Leader for March 12):

> **"Southerners don't like to admit it, but the northern attitude and treatment of the Negro are more democratic and Christian.**
>
> **"Harvard University admits Negro students, the University of Virginia doesn't. How do the two schools rank in world value?"**

Sat 3-20-48

THE VIRGINIAN who wrote the above statements is beginning to look at things steadily and see them whole. And there are many others like him.

Any way you look at them, Truman's proposals are good for our group. They can even make the South, out of sheer perverseness, do something for us just to spite the "damyankees." Already there are signs of this tendency. Note these two items from an editorial on the Tuck bill in the Richmond News-Leader for March 10:

> **"The South must remove the legitimate grievances of the Negro if it is to prevent force bills, . . .**
>
> **"The South frankly and admittedly must stall at this session of Congress and do everything it can to prevent the enactment of the civil rights program, while the South makes a genuine, whole-hearted effort to meet the just demands of reasonable Negroes who do not make 'rights' a cloak for social privilege."**

YES, MR. TRUMAN has stirred up trouble in the South, the **best** trouble that has been stirred up since the days of the abolitionists. He has put the whole race business so definitely in the open, the whole nation has to face it. In spite of anything else on the unpleasant side of the ledger, this frontal treatment of the race issue is good.

Of course, nobody believes for a moment that the South will become democratic—a leopard cannot change its spots. But it is some consolation to know that the South can be pushed by the force of decent national opinion (as expressed by the President's program) to take stock of its shortcomings.

RALPH McGILL

The Constitution

Southern Voices

Atlanta, Ga.

Have a Word to Say

Mar. 2-9-48

On Saturday afternoon a telegram was delivered to press agencies and to the Southern Governor's Conference in Tallahassee, Fla.

It read as follows:

"Surely the statesmanlike thing for the South to do in the civil rights controversy is to declare an honest intention to provide speedily the fundamental civil rights which the nation and the world expect from us.

"These include protection from physical violence, the right to citizenship, including service on juries, equality of opportunity in education, health, housing and travel, and persistent efforts to get fair play in private employment. This should also include access to State and local administrative employment in at least the degree of fairness shown in this regard by Southern offices of federal agencies. If the Governors speak responsibly to this effect the nation will gladly let the South implement these rights itself. More, the nation will help with funds.

"That way lies sound progress. The other, nothing but bitterness. We of all peoples understand the lesson of history on this sort of thing. Responsible citizenship can do no less than this . . ."

It was signed by George S. Mitchell, executive director of the Southern Regional Council. (This is not to be confused in any degree or manner with the largely discredited radical and unaccepted Southern Conference for Human Welfare. It is an interracial organization, including Southern Negro leaders from Virginia through Texas, as well as white progressives of church, business and professional life in the South.) Mar. 2-9-48

Southern This was not a Northern voice. It was of, by and for the South.

The Southern Negro leaders who back this statement will be assailed by the radicals in the South, and, more especially, in the North. It will be attacked by Walter White, of the NCAACP, and by Henry Wallace's party. The Constitution

Note that it does NOT ask for an end to segregation.

Note that it does NOT ask for an FEPC. It asks for a fair opportunity. Atlanta, Ga.

Note that it makes NO mention of anti-lynch legislation by the Federal Congress. Mon. 2-9-48

Consider all these facts. Let us consider them honestly and well.

Answer What will the answer of the South be to this? It is important that every honest Southerner think on these.

I would like to see those who have been most violent in their attack on the Truman, Republican and Wallace proposals speak up on this. Mon. 2-19-48

How shall we treat it—this Southern answer to Mr. Truman?

Objections There are perfectly valid objections to the proposals by the President in the field of civil rights.

There are constitutional objections and objections in principle.

There also are practical objections.

There is also the objection that the interest of those now pushing the so-called "rights" is political and not moral.

I have honestly opposed them and will continue to do so. I have especially opposed the FEPC bill.

Yet I cannot live with myself and refuse to discuss the central point in issue.

There is no great plot against us. History is pressing in on us. The tides that run with such violence in Indochina, in India, in the Middle East, in all the world, for that matter, wash our shores.

The immediate abolition of segregation and a compulsory employment bill have now become the public policy of both major political parties and of the third (Wallace) party. These we oppose. Mon. 2-9-48

Yet let us note that this actually affects the South—and only the South—in that only in the South would traditional social and economic patterns be broken; only in the South would force and revolution replace evolutionary progress.

Dominant Race We cannot always make negative answers. We must answer the radicals with good faith, not merely angry protests.

The South talks much about white supremacy and the dominant race.

Let the dominant race admit, then, that to justify our traditional pattern of segregation we must be fair and honest.

Let us admit that, with a few exceptions, we restrict Negro employment to the least rewarding fields of work. This denial is based entirely on prejudice.

Let us admit that while lynchings have almost disappeared, the Negro does not receive full and equal justice. There are many kinds of lynchings, some mental.

Let us admit that our failure to provide equal educational opportunity is in the national spotlight of Supreme Court decisions.

We, the dominant race, have repeatedly insisted we want to be fair to the Negro.

Let us admit that the record shows we have not.

Have we been willing to give him a fair share of our municipal funds? The Constitution

Let every city that has discussed, most righteously, the need for Negro parks and playgrounds, ask what has been done.

We Southerners who have lived with this problem from birth will not surrender to revolutionary legislation by President Truman, Republicans, Henry Wallace or anyone else.

We will fight it. But we will fail if we do not see that the best weapons we have for fighting are not political secession, but honest and just action. Atlanta, Ga.

We can give to the Negro a right to work, without FEPC, which we will not accept. We can give him education and political rights.

We must do this not because we have to, but because only in this manner can we justify the principle of segregation to which we are committed. Mon. 2-9-48

States' rights also means States' responsibilities.

Drew Pearson

The Record, Columbia, S.C. 3-10-48

Civil-Rights In South

Southern politicoes say they are sore about the Truman civil-rights message because they had just begun to make strides to put their own house in order . . . Gov. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina went all out to prosecute the white taxi-drivers who lynched a Negro near Greenville . . . Georgia, under Ellis Arnall, had abolished its poll tax . . . South Carolina was getting ready to abolish its tax . . . Now, say political leaders, this progress will be reversed . . . Young southerners don't seem worried about Truman's civil-rights program. Students at Stetson university, plus young reporters on various newspapers, said they thought it was a political tempest-in-a-teapot . . . Karl Bickel, who retired as head of the United Press because he wanted to take life easy, is now busier than ever running the town of Sarasota, plus the Ringling museum, plus the Florida Historical society, plus any other enterprise that helps the community. Regarding race relations, Karl says: "The thing that will solve the Negro problem is high wages for field hands. When they get paid well they want to buy things. They not only improve themselves, but they also help business."

Our Minorities

To the Editor of The News-Age-Herald:

These United States were founded and built up by the great majority of the people (led, of course, by George Washington, Andrew Jackson, Woodrow Wilson and others). The point is that the Japanese, Jews, Negroes and other minorities cannot be said to have constituted this great majority which built the country. The News

The dog is never satisfied if his tail wags him around in all directions. The country is not satisfied if any minority changes its mode of living. It would be absurd for a few red Indians to change the entire mode of living of the country, or for any other minority to do so. Birmingham, Ala.

New York and Illinois and Missouri are comparatively free from the Japanese of California or the Negroes of the South; in fact, Missouri is freer of both than many other states. Yet we can guess what either of these three states would do if the Japanese or Negroes tried to take over the churches, schools, hotels, theaters, etc. In fact, New York did show something in 1921 or 1922 when a number of troublesome aliens were eliminated in a businesslike manner and signs placed on trains and interurban cars governing their continued elimination. In the North no minority is allowed to take over and change the mode of living of the great majority. Sun. 3-28-48

In the South the Negroes are taken care of much better and more carefully than the helpless or very poor whites. If you doubt this, ask the welfare agencies if there aren't hundreds of white families in such poor living condition that they are virtually starving and freezing. One reason is that the colored people are listed on the various lists for aid while many destitute, crippled whites are not so listed. Also the colored people know they will be fed and clothed and do not hesitate to ask for what they need.

The Negroes of the South are far better off than the poorer crippled, destitute whites of any section at all. Any people or agencies (such as the Reds, for instance) which try to legislate radical laws are not doing the Negroes a favor; they are building up the resistance of the 135,000,000 other people, and it will mean eventually less for the Negro than he has now. The majority will not forever allow any minority to change its mode of living.

CHARLES C. BRIAN.

Box 2691, Birmingham.

SOUTHERN TRAGEDY

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER: An open forum, such as that which took place Thursday night in the Montgomery City Auditorium, often serves as the finger on the pulse of a people.

Unfortunately, one left the "Town Hall of the Air" with the impression that the sole reason for the Democratic fracture devolves upon the question of Civil Rights.

Now, calmly, rationally, let us pose a question or two:

First, would it not be right to assume that the South supported the late President Roosevelt, and that this support continued with negligible defection through four elections? The Advertiser

Second, could not Roosevelt be described as one of the greatest, if not the greatest, advocates of Civil Rights of our time?

Third, does it not now seem paradoxical that the South should desert President Truman simply because he reiterates Roosevelt's stand on Civil Rights?

True, the President's sudden mouthings seem tinged with the malodorous discoloration of opportunism. But was not F. D. R. the greater opportunist of the two? Montgomery, Ala.

True, the South, by evolution rather than revolution, is more near the solution of a problem which at the very least is extremely painful (as an observer on the Northern scene for many years, this writer can say that the Northern "solution" has caused, and will continue to cause, nothing but disillusionment to both races). But, again, what of Roosevelt and his many inflammatory applications of Civil Rights? Sat. 3-27-48

The Truman tragedy lies in the fact that the President has never cut the brilliant figure, has never approached the glib forensic vivacity, that characterized the Rooseveltian era. Indeed, with few exceptions, never has a president been so completely disassociated from that high office in the public mind.

The Southern tragedy is that at a time when infinitely more dire events are crowding the world stage, the South is again preoccupied with the Civil Rights bit which is usually cast at this time by presidential anglers.

It is in the tragedy of the Negro, however, that the South must provide the solution:

Respect comes of mutual understanding and sincerity of purpose, and never of fear; for fear implies chains, and chains have not yet been forged which can long keep a people from their ultimate sublimation. When such respect exists be-

Racial Goodwill

To the Editor of The News:

Inflammatory agitation that impresses the world with the opinion that the South is hell for all races of men. The Southland has a race. They exist in the North. We do not live in a world of perfection. There are ills for the Negro is a wrong idea. We have our irregularities in the South as

3-1-48

FRANK MONTELEONE.

Montgomery.

served as a hotbed for the Negro race. Many of our great men were born in the Southland. Men such as Booker T. Washington, George W. Carver, educators, preachers, doctors, musicians, artists, lawyers and movie stars caught the spirit in their native South.

The Southern whites are the most Christ-like people in the world. They never turn you down. In sickness and in trouble they will come to your rescue. The Times

We should strive to perpetuate this spirit of goodwill. Birmingham Ala

During the early '30s the Scottsboro trial brought Communists and many other agitators to sling mud on the South. But a Christian-minded judge let justice reign in spite of prejudice from outsiders. Times,

A short while ago I visited the small town of Scottsboro on a goodwill tour. I talked to men of each race and was greatly surprised to see such an exceptionally good spirit manifested by the two races. 3-18-48

I read a liberal letter in The Birmingham News on democracy for the Negroes, written by Mrs. L. B. Wallace, of Scottsboro. Let us not destroy our friendship. We can heal our sores by removing the scars from the Southland and displaying the white flag of peace and goodwill.

B. S. STONE,
Chaplain, Goodwill Order of the South,
Huntsville, Ala.

RALPH T. JONES

The Constitution

'And Lesser Breeds Without the Law'

Atlanta, Ga

Mon. 3-1-48

As one who was not born within the confines of this area we call Dixie, I have always hesitated to express personal opinions on the delicate subject of racial relations, between whites and Negroes, in this part of the world.

On the other hand, I was born in England into a society which accepted without question the assumption contained in the words of Rudyard Kipling, "and lesser breeds without the law." As a boy and youth, attending an English school, looking upon the world from within that little island which for so long considered itself the focus of everything important in the world, it seemed axiomatic that there are, scattered around, "lesser breeds" of mankind than our own proud Anglo-Saxons.

National conceit, I'll admit. I'll admit more. We rather took it for granted, as obvious truth, that all "breeds" other than our own were "lesser." The Constitution

Furthermore, I have lived in this South for by far the greater portion of my life. I married into a proud old family of South Carolina. Even if not born Southern, I have certainly been exposed to the Southern idea. Atlanta, Ga.

So, I claim, I can and do understand the Southern position in regard to this delicate question of the races which live here side by side. Mon 3-1-48

The Tragedy Perhaps, then, I have acquired the right to say, here, that I think the real tragedy of the recent Southern eruption over the "civil rights issue," raised by President Truman, is the apparently obvious fact that it has been raised more for political purposes than for any true understanding of the issue or any genuine concern over any "civil rights" involved.

The timing of the presidential pronouncement, in an election year, when the cause of the Democratic Party is admittedly rather desperate, in the national picture, plainly indicates it is a move intended to lure Negro votes to the Democratic candidates in some States which may thus be swung, with their heavy electoral votes, into the Democratic column next November. There are several such States where a solid Negro vote could well prove the deciding factor. Mon 3-1-48

What is more, I strongly suspect that some of the very vocal indignation coming from Southern politicians is largely inspired by political considerations on the State or local level.

The Wrong Approach It seems to me that the enactment of Federal laws can have no desirable effect upon the civil rights problem as it affects the Negro. You can't change such a condition, whether you regard it as right or as evil, just by passing a law. In such an issue, where emotions are so near the surface, attempts to force compliance to such laws can only result in aggravating the basic circumstances and lessening respect for all laws. The Constitution

The simple logic of the situation, looking at it in the broad sense, is that American treatment of the Negro as a "lesser breed," a citizen of second-class rating only, cannot be defended. It brands this nation as hypocritical in all its world dealings. It makes us ridiculous as champions of a democracy that is based upon the theory of equality of opportunity and of civil rights for all citizens.

I don't think any Southerners possessed of any vision at all will want to deny that statement. Atlanta, Ga.

No decent citizen can defend lynching.

But it will be no easier to secure a verdict of guilty just by sitting the jurors in a Federal instead of a State court.

And any laws such as the FEPC proposal or anti-segregation enactments can only be enforced to the degree of willingness of the people directly involved. Mon 3-1-48

Law, as a solution of such a problem, is ridiculous. Time, education and growing sense of brotherhood among all men is the only answer.

Action On Rights Called For

Journal Guide

Sat 3-6-48

Norfolk Va

Ways Of Improving Relations In South Discussed By Group

Special to Journal and Guide

ATLANTA, Ga. — White and colored leaders from all sections of the South endorsed in principle the civil rights proposals of President Truman in a meeting here Friday of last week after studying the proposals and called for the enactment of a law against race and religious discrimination in employment and racial segregation in all graduate and professional schools, both public and private.

The meeting sponsored by the Southern Regional Council, an interracial organization, was attended by upwards of 400 white and colored delegates representing 11 southern states, 72 towns and 52 organizations. The group's action followed a workshop on a Federal anti-lynching law backed up by the local efforts of local citizens.

The group called for an FEPC agency in the executive branch of the Federal Government to remedy discrimination in federal employment, which "not only continued unabated, but is on the increase at the present time." Sat 3-6-48

OPPOSE SEGREGATION

The group also expressed favor in the abolition of segregation in state and private graduate schools and the abolition of segregation in the Armed Forces.

Most significant was the group's opposition to the regional school plan of southern governors which the leaders said "perpetuates discrimination."

Other measures advocated by the group were the abolition of poll taxes as a prerequisite to voting and all other barriers to the ballot. They called for full citizenship for American Indians and residents of all U. S. possessions.

Jury service for all, revocation of the President's so-called royalty program and the establishment of professionalized policed forces with adequate salaries were advocated by the group.

The tenor of the discussions was well represented by A. Abbot Rosen, chief of the Civil Rights Section of the Department of Justice who told leaders at the morning session "We must set our own house in order so we can enter the court of world opinion with clean hands."

URGES ACTION

Paul D. Williams, president of the Southern Regional Council and chairman of the meeting, urged the groups to return to their communities and "put these principles into effect at the grassroots level."

Others heard at the meeting were Boris Shiskin, AFL economist; Mrs. M. E. Tilly, prominent Atlanta church leader who, like Mr. Shiskin, was a member of the President's Civil Rights Committee; Dr. George S. Mitchell, executive director of the council; Thelma Stevens, and Alexander Miller, head of the Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'Rith.

The meeting, held in the Schroeter Building of the Lutheran Church of the Redeemer, was called to make a study of civil rights and to seek some means of strengthening these rights throughout the South. Cooperating with the Southern Regional Council were other organizations equally interested in aiding the civil rights program in the South.

As We Daily Worker See It

Southern Bourbons Start Their Filibuster Early

New York, N. Y. Fri. 2-6-48

By Rob F. Hall

THE SOUTHERN bourbons have started their filibuster early this year. It has begun outside the walls of the Senate chamber and far from the Capitol dome. Gov. Fielding Wright of Mississippi opened it with his message to the state Legislature. He said the Truman Administration and the Democratic Party leadership was adopting a too "liberal" attitude towards the Negro people. The Governor was particularly annoyed by a Supreme Court decision which directed the State of Oklahoma to provide equal education for Negroes.

The South Carolina State legislature followed that with its own blast. It repeated in perhaps more detail the threat contained in Gov. Wright's amazing polemic. The South, according to these gentlemen, may secede from the Democratic Party and enter its own electoral college candidates on the ballot in the November elections.

The secessionists would commit themselves to no one. But by thus withholding their state votes from Truman, they would deprive any major candidate of the necessary majority. Under the Constitution, the election would then be thrown into the House of Representatives which would choose between the three highest candidates. This would give the Southern Congressmen the decisive voice in the election of the President.

IT ALL sounds sort of confusing, but it's not a new idea. It was advanced in 1944 by anti-FDR Democrats and was peddled around that year by various Southern governors of notable Ku Klux leanings. But only in Texas was a serious effort made by these gentlemen. They put their Old Regular Democratic Party on the ballot in opposition to Roosevelt and were soundly defeated.

At this stage, no one who understands political realities in the South believes the bourbon gentlemen will go even that far. And if they do, it is doubted whether they and their little reactionary political machines can actually capture more than a couple of states. Daily Worker

The significance of the movement and the heated words which accompany it is that it is a filibuster, pure and simple. It is designed, like all filibusters conducted by the Southern gentry, to stir up noise and confusion so they can have their reactionary way about any matter that happens to be pending at the moment. New York, N. Y.

IN THIS instance, the filibuster is designed to guarantee that promises made to the Negro people by President Truman, especially in his civil rights message last Monday, shall remain merely promises. Of course the Democrats, including Mr. Truman, never had any intention of carrying these verbal concessions into action. But even this mild flirtation with the voters of New York, Chicago, etc., has aroused Southern reaction to the pitch of frenzy. Fri. 2-6-48

It has also been suggested that the filibuster is aimed at forcing President Truman to choose a Southerner as a running mate.

It is not impossible, of course, that the Southern Bourbons will succeed in one or more of their objectives. Harry S. Truman, as a good Missourian, "understands" the feelings of his colleagues from the Deep South. Since he became its leader, the Democratic Party has more than once bowed before the filibusterers and withdrawn legislation of which they disapproved. Mr. Truman would not feel at all uncomfortable to have Texas' Sam Rayburn or even Georgia's Eugene Cox on the ticket with him.

If Mr. Truman and his political advisers were smart, however, Daily Worker they wouldn't waste time worrying about Fielding Wright and the South Carolina planters. Reports from south of the Mason and Dixon line indicate that the Democratic Party is faced with revolt of quite a different kind.

Gov. Jim Folsom of Alabama has just thrown his hat in the ring as a favorite son candidate for the Presidency in opposition to Truman who, he says, is "hog-tied by Wall Street lawyers and State Department fancy pants."

Big Jim is not a Wallace man, but he represents in his state the popular forces of the common folks which are swelling the third party movement. New York, N. Y.

The message of Henry Wallace has made a deep impression among the workers, small farmers and the Negro people of the South. It is these folks, and not the Fielding Wrights, who are going to tear that old Democratic Party of Truman-Rankin and George asunder one of these days. Fri. 2-6-48

RALPH McGILL

The Constitution

Congress Is The Battleground

Atlanta, Ga. Sun. 2-8-48

Loud cries of "Secession" echo from the rostrums of the land.

If one of the dead of 1860 or 1861 should rise from the grave and cock an attentive ear to the new-fangled contraption known as radio, or look at the headlines of his favorite newspaper, he would see some very familiar phrases.

From Washington and Tallahassee, and from scheduled and flag stops in between, there are speeches and the sounds of breasts being beaten and tocsins being sounded.

Let's examine it for a moment.

President Harry S. Truman has proposed what already has been offered by Republican leaders and by third-party-leader Henry Wallace—a program of so-called civil rights.

His proposal—like the others—calls for the establishment by Congress of a fair-employment-practices committee with compulsory and enforcement teeth. It also would abolish the poll tax, create anti-lynch legislation, and set aside state laws relating to segregation in travel.

Even those who believe in these objectives are embarrassed by the cynical political use of them.

A majority of the people in the states most affected oppose them. If it comes to it they will say to the Supreme Court, as once said Andrew Jackson:

"Enforce your decrees."

That would develop tragically.

No thoughtful person wishes that to happen.

Facts There will be an effort made to stampede opinion by saying that the opposition is entirely that of sodden Southerners. Let it be noted that Republican Senators Taft and Ball also lead opposition to the measure. The Constitution

Let it be noted, too, that in the South there are many who oppose it, but who are embarrassed by the company in which they find themselves. Atlanta, Ga. Sun. 2-8-48

Among those shouting the loudest are those who hate the Negro; who have exploited him; robbed him, debased him, and deprived him of justice and education. They never intend to give the Negro a chance nor do they believe he should have equality before the law. They are the worst enemies of the South. They have made a fiction of our justification of segregation laws—namely that they provide separate but equal facilities. They prevent the Southern ideal of fairness to the Negro from being a fact. They prevent a gradual but ordrly progress. We must be just, not because we have to, but because we want to be.

Unhappy It is not a happy position to be placed with them, in opposing the FEPC, for example. Yet most of the Southern progressives are in opposition. The Constitution

I believe, with them, that the bill is wrong and will not be possible of enforcement; that it will work more harm than good. There has been a great effort to over-simplify this legislation and present it as a panacea. It is neither simple nor a panacea. Sun. 2-8-48

I believe without reservation in the objectives of the proposal—namely, that no person should be deprived of the right to work because of his race or religion. Atlanta, Ga.

How? But, how shall we obtain that objective?

Does a man who invests his own money in a business have the right to say whom he shall employ and why? Or does he not? The Constitution

Is it a violation of his civil rights to say to him that he does not have that right? Atlanta, Ga. Sun. 2-8-48

Can we enforce such a law—if we pass it?

My own answer is that it cannot be enforced any more than a similar exploration in the attempt to enforce moral right with law—the prohibition law. An increasing army of enforcement officers was destroying civil liberties and rights before that law was repealed.

If an FEPC force bill is passed minority groups will live to curse it.

Personally, I see no great objection to Federal anti-lynching laws. Yet, practically, I believe the effect will be to produce a worse, and more sinister sort of violence, especially if this legislation should be passed with the accompanying proposals.

But, for the present, there is no bill before the Congress. And—

It is in Congress such proposals must be defeated or lost.

It is with the people, finally, if they do become laws, that they will be accepted or defied.

The Wallace program is more radical. Sun. 2-8-48

The Republican proposals are identical.

If a Southern Democratic party is formed then the Democratic party will lose Congressmen in all the border states and the Democratic representation in Congress will be greatly reduced.

It will not form a two-party system in the South.

It will establish, for a generation or more, the Republican party in Tennessee, Kentucky, Maryland, perhaps Virginia and Delaware.

It will destroy what minority power the Democratic party might have in the event of an anticipated Republican victory.

Secession is not the answer.

The floor of Congress is the place to make the fight.

And let us pray it will be settled there and not reduced to defiance of the law, and the stultifying of the jury system by a people who will not be coerced.

Secession Some say, "Don't discourage secession from the Democratic party. . . Don't say there is nothing to be gained by leaving the party." The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

I still ask, "Where will you turn?"

Booker T. Washington on Civil Rights

Booker T. Washington is generally considered to have had a better than average insight into the problems of the Negro race. *The Constitution*

Certainly he has never been accused of not having had its interests at heart or of being prejudiced by color in his thinking. *Atlanta, Ga*

Civil rights were an issue in Booker T. Washington's day, too. *Wed. 3-3-48*

Speaking in 1884 before the National Education Association in Madison, Wis., Washington said:

"Brains, property and character for the Negro will settle the question of civil rights. The best course to pursue in regard to the civil rights bill in the South is to let it alone. Let it alone and it will settle itself. *The Constitution*

"Good school teachers and plenty of money to pay them will be more potent in settling the race question than many civil rights and investigating committees."

That was more than half a century ago.

Had the National Government taken Booker T. Washington's advice then and spent more money educating and less time, in election years, exploiting the Negro, the latter would be immeasurably better off today. *Atlanta, Ga. Wed. 3-3-48*

RALPH McGILL

The Constitution

They Simply Do Not Trust Us

Atlanta, Ga. Thurs. 3-4-48

It says here—in this United Press dispatch from Washington:

"WASHINGTON, March 3—(UP)—The House Judiciary Committee Tuesday approved a GOP-sponsored anti-lynching bill. The action came as a Southern Democrat pleaded with the Republicans to abandon the bill and make friends with the South. The Committee vote was 18 to 8."

With that back of the hand across their faces, I trust the hotheads will realize the Republican Party is fully committed to all phases of the civil rights bill, antipoll tax, antilynching, anti-segregation on interstate travel and all else save the FEPC.

There may be good reasons for Southerners going to the Republicans.

I hope all those who are dissatisfied with the Democratic Party will carefully evaluate the Republicans and go with them if they find that party attractive.

But only the most simple-minded will look to the Republicans for any comfort on the civil rights issue.

The House is going to pass the bill.

The Senate, too, will pass it if there are enough Republicans willing to vote to limit debate, thereby destroying the filibuster.

What the South has got to learn is that the rest of the nation regards the Southern position as wrong.

That may seem unjustified to some, as indeed, it may be.

But there it is. I want the South to think straight on the subject.

There is more bitter tea for us to take.

It is this. The South, by its failure to correct the injustices within the segregation pattern, while our laws said that the education, travel and the courthouse justice should be equal within that system, has created the state of mind in the rest of the country which makes our predicament one with which they have no sympathy at all. *The Constitution*

It is true they generally have a distorted picture of it.

It also is true that the swarm of race baiters, from both sides, have added to the distortion. *Atlanta, Ga.*

It is almost entirely overlooked that the problem is one no other people in history have had to face. *Thurs. 3-4-48*

More important, it is true the South has made enormous progress in the span of 80 years . . . a progress more rapid than that in any other situation with even similar factors.

But we have allowed enough evil to make the rest of the nation look upon us without sympathy.

Federal Law

We have plenty of laws against violence, such as lynching. We have not enforced them well in Georgia. We have allowed local pride to cover up the most ghastly crimes.

Therefore, most of the nation regards an antilynching law as proper, and even necessary, despite the fact lynching has about disappeared. *The Constitution*

To the thoughtful person it is disturbing to see Federal law more and more replacing local law. It has got to stop somewhere. But it isn't stopping. *Atlanta, Ga.*

It is disturbing to see a national complex which accepts the fact of local law failure and regards the steady encroachment of Federal law apathetically. *Thurs. 3-4-48*

Those who whoop the loudest for the proposed Federal laws ignore the practical results. There are sound reasons why Federal laws should not be passed. But for the Southern voices in Congress to charge them with being Communistic is not merely ridiculous, it is silly. Do not the foolish geese who so describe the proposals know that they are making Communistic hay by saying that an attempt to provide human beings with protection from mobs is Communism?

Primer

I write all this as a sort of primer for Southern thinking. The plain truth is that national public opinion is against us, because of our own failures.

I want the South to act, reflecting its true self. That true self can be warm-hearted, just and decent. Persons, not laws, finally must settle personal problems.

But what I am trying to do is to hold the State and party together. If the Democratic Party wants to defeat Harry S. Truman's nomination, that is the Party's business. But the party must not destroy itself. *The Constitution*

And seeking comfort from the Republican Party is folly. That Party, cynically, will pass an antilynch bill. It has no real idea of an FEPC bill. Not yet, at any rate. *Atlanta, Ga.*

But what honest person can insist that there is not justification for some of the national coldness toward us when the Ku Klux Klan burns a cross on the courthouse lawn in Wrightsville, Ga., on the eve of a primary? *Thurs. 3-4-48*

They, and others like them, do the South as much harm as the worst Negro radical or the most inflammatory Negro organization.

We lost again Tuesday night at Wrightsville. The Ku Klux Klan and their sort of people are damning the South and assuring us of continued Federal pressure.

Make no mistake about it.

The South's Rights

The Constitution

Editor Constitution: While everyone is speaking about "rights" these days, let's see how many of us has "rights" and who doesn't have "rights." By the way, I would like to emphasize that word.

We in the South are hounded and low-rated to the scum of the earth for so-called lynching and mob rule. All right, we have a brutal murder in our own community, the defendants are arrested, taken to jail, a jury is drawn. A special session of court is held. The defendants confess, they are duly represented by counsel, the jury renders the verdict, the judge does his duty and sentences the guilty ones. All this is done by due process of law we hear so much about. *Atlanta, Ga.*

But are the Pinks, the Reds, the Northern meddlers satisfied? No. They howl about lynching. They howl if we try them by law. They attack and aggravate our court officials. They are stirring up anarchy among law-abiding people. Do they have any "right" to cause hatred among us? *Sun. 3-14-48*

Our courts are capable of dealing with offenders, whether it be a minor or serious offense. Yet, we are being imposed upon by these so-called "rights" groups. We of the South have rights, too, and we think we are going to look after them.

Ellaville. MARION JONES.

Governor Osborn on Civil Rights

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga. Sun. 3-14-48

From his well-earned retirement in Possum Poke, Worth County, Ga., Michigan's former Gov. Chase Osborn has written a letter to the Detroit Free Press on the opportunity afforded the Republican Party for Southern support. (10)

As to civil rights, Gov. Osborn quotes from a recent Constitution editorial in support of our mutual conviction that Federal legislation will only worsen the Negro's plight. *3-14-48 Sun.*

"Postpone coercion," urges the Governor, "and offer a candidate acceptable to the South—preferably Vandenberg—with a strong program of Federal aid for basic education. Intolerance breeds unendingly in the swamps of ignorance. Coercive Federal laws are impotent, except to make the mire deeper. EDUCATION—an all-out program of basic education for both whites and Negroes—will ditch and drain off the source of injustice and danger." *The Constitution*

Gov. Osborn may have lived in the South so long that his views will be dismissed lightly by the professional protagonists of racial uplift. *Sun. 3-14-48*

But those who recall his record of liberalism and reputation as an independent thinker will find cause for contemplation in the Osborn viewpoint. *Atlanta, Ga.*

Mixed Group Talk at Tenn. U. Barred

Campus Discussion

KNOXVILLE, Tenn. (ANP) — University of Tennessee students, known as the World Affairs Discussion Group, was forced to hold its discussion on the President's Civil Liberties program at St. John's Episcopal Church last week after being denied the right to meet in Ayres Hall on the university campus.

Dr. J. Herman Daves, TVA director of colored personnel, was principal speaker.

Graham W. Leonard, U.T. student and program chairman of the group, sought to have the meeting in Ayres Hall but was turned down by the Dean of the University, Fred C. Smith, who made the following statement:

"The university has no objection to the students meeting in university buildings to discuss the racial problem and the civil rights bill, bu there is a policy prohibiting interracial discussion groups dealing with these delicate problems."

Acting Prexy Okeys Ban

After being refused use of the building, Leonard is said to have called Dr. C. E. Brehm, acting president of U.T., in Nashville who also denied Leonard permission to use the building for an interracial meeting.

Mrs. Fain S. Roby, a liberal arts student who heads a Wallace-For-President Club, said a meeting of her club had been planned for the same room in Ayers Hall, to be held prior to the discussing group session.

She and several of her club members attended the St. John's church meeting.

Many U.T. students including two political science professors attended the meeting. One speaker introduced as "Robert Hobson, senior as agriculture from Mississippi," spoke on civil liberties questions also, saying he agreed with six of the 10 points.

'Philanthropist' Tips His Hand

3-14-48 The Worker
New York, N.Y.

HOUSTON, Tex. — H. R. Cullen, local oilman and "philanthropist," in a prepared statement to the local press, Wednesday, Feb. 26, rebuked the Negroes of America for not putting a stop to demands for legislation for civil rights, anti-lynching, and other social and economic measures in their behalf.

3-14-48

The Texas tycoon actually demanded that Negroes fight. Mr. Cullen says that the call for civil rights has caused great "strife" at a time when we should be "pulling together."3-14-48

In January, 1946, Cullen donated $100,000 to the building fund of the Jim-Crow Houston College for Negroes. It now becomes apparent that there were strings attached to that benevolent bundle.

NEGRO VOTES URGED TO AID DEMOCRACY

The Times New York, N.Y.

Backing Asked for Candidates Whose Records Show They Work for Human Rights

Sun 3-28-48

Negro voters were asked yesterday to utilize "the balance of power they hold in at least seventeen states in the support of candidates and measures which advance the cause of democracy." The appeal was made by the representatives of twenty Negro non-partisan organizations at the Willkie Memorial Building, 20 West Fortieth Street.

The meeting, which was called by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People following a pattern adopted in other national election years, declared, "We warn Negro men and women to avoid hasty emotional and sentimental political decisions and commitments."

The committee urged a "meticulous scrutiny of not only the statements but the voting and public records of every candidate, irrespective of party, whether he aspire to the Presidency or to the Congress or other Federal, state or local offices.

Backs Civil Rights Program

Placing emphasis upon human rights, the committee endorsed without reservation the recommendations of the President's Committee on Civil Rights and predicted that Negroes would support parties and candidates "who support this report and undertake to translate its recommendations into national, state and local administrative action."

The Times

Calling for legislation to enact a Permanent Federal Fair Employment Practices Committee, an anti-lynch law, and a law to abolish the poll tax, the meeting asked for the support of these measures "although these measures alone do not comprise a comprehensive program to protect civil rights in America."

New York, N.Y.

The meeting agreed that the three bills should receive bi-partisan support and predicted Negro opposition to legislators "who fail to work and vote for this minimal program."

Sun. 3-28-48

Denying the existence of a minority strong enough to defeat these measures by filibuster, the committee said that "even under the archaic rules of the Senate, a filibuster by this minority can be broken if there is a will to do so."

The resolution adopted by the committee said that "our nation, to its shame, is condemned throughout the world for speaking of freedom while continuing to permit the perpetuation of gross discrimination against its own minorities. Our representatives in the United Nations and to the international assembles are hopelessly handicapped in their effort to make peace because of segregation and discrimination at home."

Asks End of Bias in Military

As an immediate step, the group asked that all segregation and discrimination in the armed forces "be forthwith abolished and that any public official, however high his rank, who fails to act against these evils be removed from office."

The Times

The resolution also asked that state political candidates commit themselves to the abolition of segregation and discrimination in all National Guard units.

New York, N.Y.

Declaring that Negroes are vitally affected by all legislation dealing with labor, housing, health and education, the committee said that "any legislative effort to curtail the freedom of organized labor is a curtailment of the freedom of the Negro." All such legislation, the statement read, must contain adequate safeguards for the protection of minorities.

Sun. 3-28-48

Bishop William Y. Bell of the social action committee of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church presided. A continuing committee included Dr. Channing H. Tobias, Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, Thomas H. Young, Walter F. White and Benjamin F. McLaurin.